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COMMENTARY

ON

THE BOOKS OF KINGS

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PREFATORY NOTE BY THE TRANSLATOR.

[redacted]separate Commentary on the Books of Kings has been wanted in the English language. This want has now for [redacted]st time been supplied in a very able manner by the fol[redacted]g work. Its author has devoted much of his time and [redacted]ention to the elucidation of the Old Testament, and he is one of the safest of German commentators. His apologetischer Versuch über die Chronik, Berlin, 1833, was a very important contribution towards this object, and prepared the way for the present treatise, which appeared in 1846. The author has since issued a Commentary on the Book of Joshua, which appears in the series of the Foreign Theological Library for this year. An Introduction to the Old Testament also came from his pen in the year 1853. The present work, as well as all the others, is distinguished by a sober, judicious, and careful investigation of the meaning of the text, a large and well-selected array of solid information, and a firm attachment to evangelical doctrine. The reader may not accord with his opinions or conclusions on every point; but he cannot fail to reap much benefit from his well-directed labours, and to acknowledge his valuable aid in the study of this important portion of Holy Scripture.

The translator has only to express his hope that the meaning of the author has been throughout correctly and plainly conveyed to the English reader.

INTRODUCTION.

§ 1. NAME, CONTENTS, SCOPE AND CHARACTER OF THE BOOKS OF KINGS.

The Books of Kings formed originally only one book סֵפֶר מְלָכִים. Even to the times of Origen and Jerome the Hebrew manuscripts contained them as an uninterrupted and continuous work; comp. Eusebius, *hist. eccl.* vi. 25, and Jerome in the *prol. galeat.* The separation of them into two books is due to the LXX. and the Vulgate, where they are named *βασιλειῶν τρίτη καὶ τετάρτη* (third and fourth Book of Kings), *Regum* iii. *et* iv., and was first introduced into the Hebrew editions also by Dan. Bomberg. The work bears the name Book of Kings from its contents, as it narrates the history of the Israelitish Kings from Solomon to the dissolution of the kingdom at the Babylonish captivity. The history of these Kings forms not merely the chronological thread, which runs through the whole work, but also the chief contents of the books, from which they with justice derive their name, and the principle of division for the three periods, into which the history of these times divides itself. The first period embraces the forty years' government of Solomon, in which the theocracy was raised to the summit of its external and internal power, and from which towards the end of Solomon's reign it began again to decline. Solomon's departure from the Lord drew after it the departure of the ten tribes from the royal family of David; and the second period extends over the whole time of the separate contemporary kingdoms of Israel and Judah, from 975 to 722 B.C., containing in three epochs the history of both kingdoms till the overthrow of the first: see Comment. Lastly, the third period includes the his-

tory of the remaining kingdom of Judah till its overthrow, and the Babylonish captivity, from 722 till about 560 B.C.—Still the author did not intend to give a mere political history of the Kings. It cannot escape the attentive reader, that, as Gesenius has properly remarked in his Comm. on Isai. i. p. 934, "the narrative of the activity of the prophets in the state and of their miracles forms a leading topic of this book." Fr. Kern in Bengel's new Archives of Theol. ii. 2, p. 469 ff. has entered into a more exact investigation of "what is properly positive in the composition of the books of Kings, and of the relation between what is given and what is omitted of the historical books, to which the author refers;" and has endeavoured to prove by a complete induction, that the basis of the work is the very definite design, "to present the history of the Israelito-Jewish Kings in relation with the claims, acts, announcements, and predictions of the prophets from Solomon to the Babylonish captivity." Accordingly Hävernick (Hdb. d. hist. krit. Einl. in d. A.T. ii. 1, p. 146) and de Wette (Lehrb. d. hist. krit. Einl. in d. A.T. § 183 of 5th ed.) designate the general tendency of these books as "prophetico-didactic," with which the whole plan and structure of the work corresponds, "which designs by no means to give a mere external political or internal religious and ecclesiastical view, but has applied itself with the most decided preference to the delineation of the prophetic in relation to the kingly office, so that the view given penetrates as deeply into the whole life and conduct of the prophets as of the Kings and people." (Häv. in passage quoted.) But though these views of the scope and character of our books contain much truth, yet the fundamental idea, which guided the author in his extracts from the larger historical works so often quoted by him, is neither clearly apprehended nor duly appreciated. The author did not follow a prophetico-didactic tendency as opposed to a purely historical aim in the selection and elaboration of his materials; nor is the line of Kings only "the external thread, by which the main subject is arranged in chronological order, and which thereby forms rather the formal than the material unity of the whole." (Häv. p. 150.) But the history of the Kings forms the kernel and centre of the whole work, the representation as well of the duration and spirit of their

government, as of those of their acts which had most influence on the progress of the theocracy; to which the narrative of the activity of the prophets neither runs externally parallel nor occupies a superior or inferior place, but into which it is admitted as a spiritual element of life, which pervaded the theocracy during this period. As invisible but actual King of the theocracy the Lord had prepared the prophets as the organs of his will, who represented his law and right over against the earthly kings, and were to stand beside these, counselling and guiding or reproving and warning, and, when necessary, to prove their messages to be the words of God by signs and wonders before the people. As long, therefore, as theocratically-minded sovereigns occupy the throne, we see the prophets active only in giving aid and counsel in difficult positions of the theocracy, whereas under the untheocratic reigns they display their whole Divine authority, and, as the messengers of God, oppose the Kings with such power and effect, that these behove to bow before them or underlie their sentences. Our author therefore makes the activity of the prophets a chief point of his history, not in consequence of a prophetico-didactic tendency, but because he wrote the history of the theocracy in times in which the activity of the prophets exercised so important an influence upon it. If he had wished to subordinate the history of the Kings to that of the prophets, he would certainly, to name only one of a number of facts, not have given so comparatively full an account of the reign of Solomon, of the wisdom, the many buildings, the trade, the revenues, and the riches of this monarch. Or had he, as Häv. p. 147 thinks, because he had so little remarkable to relate in the history of the later Kings, been unable to resist giving in the commencement of his work a few details of the glory and splendour of Solomon, and lingering a while to gaze in admiration on the scene, yet the description would not have been so regularly arranged and carried out, as it actually has been and is shown to have been in the Commentary.

The author has in general followed no principle proper to himself or peculiar, but simply and only endeavoured to represent the progressive development of the theocracy during the period described by him according to the principle which the Lord has laid down in the promise made to King David in 2 Sam. vii.

12—16: "And when thy days be fulfilled and thou shalt sleep with thy fathers, I will set up thy seed after thee, which shall proceed out of thy bowels, and I will establish his kingdom. He shall build an house for my name, and I will establish the throne of his kingdom for ever. I will be his father and he shall be my son. If he commit iniquity I will chasten him with the rod of men and with the stripes of the children of men: But my mercy shall not depart from him, as I took it from Saul, whom I put away before thee. And thy house and thy kingdom shall be established for ever before thee; thy throne shall be established for ever." This glorious promise forms the golden thread, which runs through the whole history of the Kings from Solomon to the Babylonish exile; it forms the leading idea in the representation of this history in the books before us. How the Lord fulfilled this gracious word, how he first chastised, then banished, yet not for ever, the seed of David on account of their transgressions, this the author designs to explain in the history of the Kings. Setting out from this point of view he shows in the history of the reign of Solomon, how Solomon, notwithstanding the attempted usurpation of the throne by Adonijah, received the whole kingdom of his father, as the seed of David chosen and confirmed in his sovereignty by the Lord, and how the Lord in the very beginning of his reign renewed at Gibeon the promise made to his father on condition of sincere obedience to his commands, and at his entreaty gave him not only a wise and understanding heart, but also riches and honour, so that his like was not to be found among all the kings of the earth, 1 Ki. i. 1, v. 14; how Solomon then accomplished the work of building the temple, which was committed to him by his father according to the will of the Lord, and the Lord after its completion again assured him of the fulfilment of that promise, v. 15, ix. 9; lastly, how Solomon, after he had arrived at the highest earthly glory by the completion of all his remaining buildings, by the great fame of his wisdom reaching even to distant nations, and by his great riches, acquired partly by navigation and trade, partly by tribute and presents, forgot his God, who had promised and bestowed all this glory, and in his old age allowed himself to be seduced by his many foreign wives into apostasy from the Lord, and therefore behoved to hear the sentence of God

"Forasmuch as thou hast not kept my covenant and my statutes, which I have commanded thee, I will surely rend the kingdom from thee and will give it to thy servant. Notwithstanding, in thy days I will not do it, for David thy father's sake: I will rend it out of the hand of thy son. Howbeit, I will not rend away all the kingdom, I will give one tribe to thy son for David my servant's sake and for Jerusalem's sake, which I have chosen," ix. 10, xi. 13. The reference to the promise 2 Sam. vii. lies clearly at the root of this penal sentence of God. Because God promised to the seed of David perpetual possession of the throne, therefore a part of the kingdom, including the chosen city Jerusalem, is to remain with the son of Solomon, and only the sovereignty of ten tribes is to be given to his servant (Jeroboam, ix. 26—40.) The historical accomplishment of this sentence forms the contents of the second period, in which the ten tribes form a distinct kingdom beside the kingdom of Judah, which remains to the descendants of Solomon.

In this period certainly the history of the kingdom of the ten tribes is treated with comparatively greater fulness than that of the kingdom of Judah, but only because it presented more material for the theocratic historian than the latter. For as the ten tribes arbitrarily effected the separation from the royal house of David announced of God by his prophets; as Jeroboam their appointed king, by the introduction of the unlawful worship of the calves, made the political separation an occasion of apostasy from the Lord and his consecrated sanctuary; as all his successors on the throne continued these sins of Jeroboam; lastly, as the dynasty of the house of Omri aggravated this apostasy still more by the elevation of the Phœnician Baal-worship to be the predominant state religion; so the Lord behoved by his servants the prophets to hold up ever anew before the apostates his law and their sin, and to give power and force by miracles to the word of his servants against the stiff-necked transgressors, in order that the perverse might have no excuse for their sin, and their final banishment from his presence might appear to be the just penalty of their unmitigated obduracy. But here, because the activity of the prophets was so important, the historical record of it must occupy a larger space. Comp. also the remarks in the Com. 1 Ki. xvi. 29–34.—Much less violent was the combat

of the theocratic principle, defended by the prophets in Israel, with the untheocratic proceedings of the Kings of Judah. These, as the legitimate successors of the royal house of David, did not all certainly walk in the commandments and statutes of the Lord as their ancestor David; but their declension could not so easily and rapidly shake and undermine the theocratic foundations, which the kingdom and people had in the Levitical priesthood and the legally constituted temple worship at Jerusalem. By means of this spiritual power pervading the whole life of the state and the people, even the kings were ever brought back again to the law and testimony of the Lord, so that after individual back-sliding sovereigns others theocratically disposed followed, who zealously laboured to fulfil the Divine law and establish it in the kingdom. The history of the kingdom of Judah had therefore a much more peaceful course, and the Lord has less occasion here than in the kingdom of Israel to guide its development by the interference of his extraordinary messengers the prophets. It could therefore in general be comprised in a much narrower space. Where, on the other hand, events important for the progress of the theocracy occurred in Judah, the narrator dwells on these as long as on the important events of the kingdom of Israel. (Comp. 2 Ki. xi., xii., xvi.) But even if here and there it appears as if the history of the kingdom of the ten tribes overshadowed that of Judah, by which appearance Eichhorn (Einl. in. d. A.T. iii., p. 542 cf.) was betrayed into the ungrounded assertion, that the history of the kingdom of Judah was only introduced on account of the synchronism, this appearance vanishes on closer inspection, and it is seen that the author treats both kingdoms with equal justice, because he points out how the Lord testified to both in like manner and endured both with much long-suffering and mercy. But according to the different relation of both kingdoms to the Lord this exposition also behoved to be differently arranged. When the sovereignty of the ten tribes was announced to Jeroboam, he had received the promise, on the condition of perfect obedience to the commands of God, that the Lord would be with him to build him a sure house, as he had done for David, and would give Israel unto him (1 Ki. xi. 37 f.) Thus the possession of the sovereignty over Israel was promised to him for his posterity, as long as this

kingdom should endure: for it was not to endure for ever; the separation was again to cease; for which reason the perpetual endurance of the kingdom was not ensured to him (1 Ki. xi. 38.) But Jeroboam was as far from fulfilling this condition as any of his successors on the throne of Israel. Nevertheless the Lord had patience with the kings and tribes who were disobedient to his laws, and not only warned them by his prophets from the beginning to the end of the kingdom, and chastised the whole kingdom by threatening as well as by executing the threatened judgments on several kings and dynasties, or even by enemies, but also repeatedly renewed his grace to them on account of his covenant with Abraham (2 Ki. xiii. 22) in order to move them to repentance until the period of respite had elapsed, when the kingdom was overthrown and the ten tribes were carried away to Assyria and Media.—In the kingdom of Judah the succession for ever was promised to the house of David; the Lord, therefore, chastised the backsliding certainly by hostile invasions, but still for His servant David's sake caused a light to shine for the royal house, so that He did not punish the idolatrous kings of Judah with the extirpation of their race (1 Ki. xv. 4; 2 Ki. viii. 19), and even when the godless Athaliah destroyed all the royal seed, preserved Joash, the infant son of Ahaziah, and soon raised him to the throne of his father (2 Ki. xi.) But because this kingdom possessed in the uninterrupted succession of the royal race of David as firm a political as it had a strong spiritual ground in the chosen city of Jerusalem, with its temple consecrated of the Lord himself as the place for the revelation of His name, it was enabled to survive the kingdom of the ten tribes for a long period. After Ahaz had by his ungodliness brought it to the brink of destruction, it received in Hezekiah a king, who did that which was right in the eyes of Jehovah altogether as his father David had done, and in the great distress of Judah through the mighty army of the proud Sennacherib took refuge with the Lord, who at his entreaty protected and delivered Jerusalem for his own sake and that of his servant David (2 Ki. xix. 34, xx. 6.) But when at length, through the long reign of the idolatrous Manasseh, apostasy and moral corruption had become so predominant in Judah, that even the pious Josiah withhis zealously pursued

religious reformation was only able to suppress the external worship of idols, but could effect no real conversion of the people to the Lord their God, and the Lord, as the Holy One of Israel, behoved to pronounce the decree of the rejection of Judah from his sight on account of the sins of Manasseh, and to carry it into execution by Nebuchadnezzar (2 Ki. xxiii. 26 f., xxiv. 3 f.), Jehoiachin was certainly carried captive to Babylon, and under Zedekiah the kingdom was destroyed by the burning of Jerusalem and the temple. Yet the Lord did not utterly quench the light of His servant David, but Jehoiachin, after he had languished thirty-seven years in prison at Babylon, suffering for his own and his father's sins, was released from his prison by the son of Nebuchadnezzar, and raised again to honour, as Evil-merodach set his seat above the seat of the kings that were with him in Babylon, and caused him to eat all his life at his own table. The narrative of this agreeable turn in the captivity of Jehoiachin, with which our books close, is so essential to the plan of our author, that without this communication his work would want its right conclusion. For this event casts on the dark night of the exile the first ray of a better future, which was to break forth for the seed of David, and through them for the whole people in their future deliverance from Babylon, and secured for them the certain fulfilment of the promise, that the Lord will not for ever withdraw his grace from the seed of David.

§ 2. AGE AND AUTHOR OF THE BOOKS OF KINGS.

It admits of no doubt that the Books of Kings were composed by one author at one and the same time.[1] The internal unity of

[1] The unity of these books with those of Samuel, which was asserted by Eichhorn (Einl. iii. p. 560 ff.), Jahn (Einl. ii. 1, p. 232 f.), de Wette (Beitr. i., p. 43), and J. G. Herbst (Einl. ii. p. 139 f.), has been long since given up again by de Wette himself (Einl. § 186), and amply disproved by others, for example Hävern. (Einl. ii., 1, p. 142 f.) and Welte (in Herbst's Einl. ii. p. 142 ff.); while on the other hand the latest advocate of this opinion, C. H. Graf, in his shallow rationalistic *Dissertat. de librorum Samuelis et Regum compositione, scriptoribus, fide historica, imprimis de rerum a Samuele gestarum auctoritate.*

the work appears as distinctly from the construction of the whole according to a fixed and consistently carried out principle (comp. § 1), as from the similarity of style and language. From beginning to end the author quotes written sources, and marks carefully the chronologies of the leading events. Besides, certain standing formulae occur again and again throughout the entire work. Thus the commencement and close of each reign, the description of its spirit, the death and burial of the kings, is throughout expressed and described in the same phrases and words; and not only is exact reference made to the law, and the relation of the sovereigns to it, but this reference is rendered more emphatic by express allusion to the Mosaic law.[1] In the language also of our books, along with a considerable diversity, occasioned by the sources employed, we cannot fail to observe a great pervading unity; from the beginning to the end of the work the influence of the later speech usage is apparent.[2] This

Argentor. 1840, has not advanced a single new argument of any importance.

[1] For the most of the above-mentioned points, the citation of the proof-passages would be superfluous, as they must of themselves strike the eye of every attentive reader of our books. With respect to the references to the law of Moses, comp. 1 Ki. ii. 3, vi. 12 f., ix. 4, xi. 33 f.; 2 Ki. x. 31, xi. 12, xiv. 6, xvii. 13, 15, 19, 34, 37, xviii. 6, xxii. 8 ff., xxiii. 21, &c.

[2] Thus the remark made by Stähelin in Tholuck's litt. Anz. 1838 p. 526, and in the "Krit. Untersuchungen ü. d. Pent. Jos., Richt., Sam., u. der Könige Berlin," p. 135, that the first two chaps. of our books are connected in language with the books of Samuel, as the Cherethi and Pelethi mentioned several times in the 2d Book of Samuel are found only in 1 Ki. i. 38, and only in these two chapters occur פִּדְּה נַפְשׁ, 1 Ki. i. 29, as in 2 Sa. iv. 9; מָרִיא, 1 Ki. i. 9, 19, 25, as in 2 Sa. vi. 13; מִלֵּט נַפְשׁ, 1 Ki. i. 12, 1 Sa. xix. 11, 2 Sa. xix. 6, is explained by the unity of the sources of these chapters with those of the books of Samuel, and by no means proves, as de Wette, Einl. p. 242, believes, that these chapters were originally connected with the 2nd Book of Samuel. Among the peculiarities of usage to be explained by the diversity of the sources is certainly also to be included the frequent occurrence of Aramaising suffixes in 2 Ki. iv., from which Eichhorn and others draw the unfounded conclusion, that this passage proceeds from another author than that of the remaining parts of our books. See in Comm. p. 355, note. Peculiarities of later speech-usage are *words;* as בְּדָק, 2 Ki. xii. 6 ff., xxii. 5; דָּיוֹק, 2 Ki. xxv. 1; כֹּר for חֹמֶר, 1 Ki. v. 2, 25; מְזִרְנוֹת, 1 Ki. xx. 14 ff; פְּחָה, 1 Ki. x. 15,

pervading unity of matter, language, and style, is acknowledged even by de Wette, when he declares (Einl. § 184): "nowhere is clearly seen the insertion or collocation of different narratives;" and what this sceptical critic notwithstanding professes to have discovered as exceptions to this statement, have been already met by Hävern. (Einl. ii. 1, p. 169), and are also obviated further in the Comm.

If we enquire concerning the time of the composition of this work, it is so far ascertained, that it cannot have been before the second year of the reign of Evilmerodach, to which the narrative is extended, but at all events some time after this date. It has been thought, certainly, that, as it is stated that Jehoiachin obtained sustenance for life from Evilmerodach, and mention is only made of Evilmerodach as King of Babylon, Jehoiachin must have died before Evilmerodach, and our author have written under or soon after Evilmerodach (Häv. p. 170.) But this reasoning is by no means conclusive. Our author might find it sufficient for his purpose, merely to mention the end of Jehoiachin's incarceration and his elevation from the state of a captive, and to close his work with this happy turn of the captivity of the seed of David, without referring to the Babylonish kings following Evilmerodach, and without taking into consideration whether Jehoiachin died before or after Evilmerodach. This only can be determined with certainty, that the composition of our books was completed before the end of the captivity. For this happy event would not have been left unmentioned by the author, if he had written after its occurrence, as it quite suited his purpose, since it afforded the most splendid evidence, that God certainly chas-

xx. 24, 2 Ki. xviii. 24; קָבֶל, 2 Ki. xv. 10; רַב, 2 Ki. xxv. 6, &c.; *word-forms*, as צִדְנִין, 1 Ki. xi. 33; רְצִין, 2 Ki. xi. 13; סְבִיב, 2 Ki. viii. 21; בְּהִשְׁתַּחֲוָיָתִי, 2 Ki. v. 18; מְשַׁלְּנוּ, 2 Ki. vi. 11; בְּהַשְׁדָּה, 2 Ki. vii. 12; אוֹתוֹ for אֹתוֹ, 2 Ki. i. 15, iii. 11 f., viii. 8; אוֹתָם for אֹתָם, 2 Ki. vi. 16, &c. Comp. here also the collection of later peculiarities by Stähelin, Krit. Unters. p. 150, in which, however, some things are erroneously noted, for example, חֻפְשִׁית, 2 Ki. xv. 5, in the unfounded sense of "sickness," הִתְמַכֵּר לַעֲשׂוֹת הָרַע, 1 Ki. xxi. 20, 25, 2 Ki. xvii. 17, and several others.

tised, but did not entirely reject the seed of David on account of their sins. With this view agree also the later peculiarities of diction in our books. The other grounds of de Wette derived from the spirit of the book, as "the constant reference to the law of Moses, the disapprobation of the offerings on the high places, the rigid prophetic pragmatism, the gloomy view of the history and the legends and exaggerations," rest partly on erroneous dogmatic presuppositions and partly on peculiar esthetic opinions, which can be of no importance in criticism.

From the time of composition it has been attempted to determine the author of our book. Following the guidance of certain old theologians (see Carpzov's Introd. 1, 242 sq.) Hävernick i. p.q. p. 171 thought he could show with the highest historical probability, that Jeremiah was the author of our work. Setting out from the Talmudic notice in *Baba bathra fol.* 15, 1; ירמיה כתב ספרו וספר מלפם וקינות he finds this not to be despised testimony of the old Jewish opinion supported by internal grounds. Besides the surprising affinity of the whole linguistic character of our book with the writings of Jeremiah, there appears on closer inspection a still more intimate alliance in the same gloomy view of the history, so that especially in 2 Ki. xvii. 11 ff. we think we hear the prophet speaking; in certain favourite ideas of both works, as that of the choice and perpetuity of the house of David, and of the choice of Jerusalem; in the like propensity for borrowing phrases from the Pentateuch, and in the exact reference to earlier prophecies and their careful use, here for the history, there for the prophecy. To this is added the relation of 2 Ki. xxiv. 18 ff. to Jer. lii., which can only be explained by both sections coming from the hand of Jeremiah. Now as this passage from the very beginning belongs altogether to the manner of the author of the Books of Kings, this can be no other than the prophet Jeremiah. These considerations include all that can be said for this view; but still they are deficient in convincing power. For to begin with the last point, to which Hävernick himself attaches most importance, the generally verbal correspondence of 2 Ki. xxiv. 18—xxv. 30, with Jer. lii., cannot be explained by Jeremiah having composed both accounts, the one for the Books of Kings, the other as an appendix to the collection of his prophecies. On the other hand these parallel

sections are, as will be shown on 2 Ki. xxiv. 18, abstracts made independently of each other from a common larger source, of which Jeremiah cannot at all be the author, because the latest events of that section occurred at least seventy years after his entrance on the prophetic office. And besides the difference of the two accounts in matter, on which compare the Commentary, several variations in style speak against its composition by Jeremiah, as הֲמוֹן 2 Ki. xxv. 11 for הֲאָמוֹן Jer. lii. 15; דַּלַּת הָאָרֶץ 2 Ki. xxv. 12 for דַּלּוֹת הָאָרֶץ Jer. lii. 16, comp. v. 15, whereas דַּלַּת ה׳ occurs Jer. xl. 7, and וַיְדַבְּרוּ אִתּוֹ מִשְׁפָּט 2 Ki. xxv. 6 for וַיְדַבֵּר אִתּוֹ מִשְׁפָּטִים Jer. lii. 9, as Jeremiah always writes, comp. i. 16. iv. 12, xxxix. 5. If therefore the last section of our work was not composed by Jeremiah, of course the whole work cannot have proceeded from his hand; and in reality the affinity asserted by Hävernick in the remainder is not so close as to prove the identity of authorship in both. The reference to earlier prophecies peculiarly characterising Jeremiah, which A. Küper has so luminously pointed out in *Jeremias librorum ss. interpres atque vindex. Berol.* 1837, is quite a different thing from the historical proof given in our books, that the sayings of the prophets were exactly fulfilled. The borrowing of phrases from the Pentateuch, for example 2 Ki. xxiii. 26, and Jer. iv. 8, comp. with Deut. xiii. 18, is common to the writers during and after the captivity. How closely, for instance, Ezekiel and Zechariah follow the Pentateuch in thoughts and words! And does not the prophetic language of all the prophets rest more or less on the Pentateuch? Farther, if Jeremiah, as well as the author of our work, gives prominence to the idea of the choice of the house of David, and of Jerusalem (comp. 1 Ki. ii. 4, viii. 25, ix. 5, with Jer. xxxiii. 17, xiii. 13, xvii. 25, xxii. 4), the prophet only agrees in this with the history recorded in the annals of the kingdom of Judah, which our author has extracted, whereas other verbal agreements, as 2 Ki. xvii. 14 with Jer. vii. 26, the phrase only occurring 2 Ki. xvii. 15, and Jer. ii. 5 וַיֵּלְכוּ אַחֲרֵי הַהֶבֶל וַיֶּהְבָּלוּ and other examples collected by Küper and Hävernick, are sufficiently explained by the acquaintance of our author with the prophecies of Jeremiah and his making use of them. After the statement therefore of the common

and kindred thoughts, phrases, and words in the prophecies of Jeremiah and the Books of Kings, Küper has with perfect correctness remarked: *ex solis ejusmodi consensus vestigiis audacius foret, si quis prophetæ partes in conscribendis libris historicis derivaret* (l.c. p. 57.) Lastly, if Hävernick contends still in favour of his view, that "in the age in which it was written no other man is known so competent in every respect to the task as Jeremiah," it follows from this, that we cannot name the author, but certainly not that no suitably qualified prophet then lived. And our difficulty of finding another author among the known prophets of that time can no more than the complaints in Ps. lxxiv. 9, and Lam. ii. 9, of the deficiency of prophets then existing, move us to ascribe the composition of our work on insufficient grounds to Jeremiah, since that difficulty is set aside by a simple *non liquet*, and this complaint, according to the correct explanation of Clauss, Beitr. 3. Krit. u. exeg. der Ps. p. 406 expresses only "the defect of consolatory prophets, who, amidst the imminent disorder and alarm, might have pointed out to the anxious a present help and a not distant term of their calamity, and thereby afforded an immediate relief."

§ 3. OF THE SOURCES AND CREDIBILITY OF THE BOOKS OF KINGS.

As the Books of Kings record the history of the theocracy from 1016 to 562 B.C., and thus include a space of more than 450 years, the author living at the end of this time can only have prepared his accounts of the greatest part of the period described by him from older sources. Concerning these sources, also, he leaves the reader in no uncertainty. At the close of the history of Solomon's reign he refers to the סֵפֶר דִּבְרֵי שְׁלֹמֹה (1 Ki. xi. 41), then for every king of Judah to the סֵפֶר דִּבְרֵי הַיָּמִים לְמַלְכֵי יְהוּדָה (1 Ki. xiv. 29, xv. 7, 23, xxii. 46; 2 Ki. viii. 23, xii. 20, &c.), and for every king of Israel to the סֵפֶר דִּבְרֵי הַיָּמִים לְמַלְכֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל (1 Ki. xiv. 19, xv. 31, xvi. 5, 14, 20, 27, xxii. 39; 2 Ki. i. 18, x. 34, &c.), in which more may be found concerning the history, the particular acts, buildings, &c., of the

several kings. And there cannot be a doubt that the ספר דברי שלמה was a public chronicle of the reign of Solomon, and the ספר ד׳ הי׳ למלכי ישראל and ספר ד׳ הי׳ למלכי יהודה were public annals of the two kingdoms. To this points in the latter the correspondence of the title with that of the public annals of the kingdom of the Medes and Persians, which are called Esth. x. 2 סֵפֶר דִּבְרֵי הַיָּמִים לְמַלְכֵי מָדַי וּפָרָס. To this assumption, that our author drew the materials of his history from public annals of the kingdom, objection has certainly been made by Bertholdt (Einl. iii. p. 947 ff.), de Wette (Einl. p. 240), and various others: but if we disregard the several hypotheses and assertions of Bertholdt, so far as they have been given up as untenable by later critics (see the refutation of them by Hävern. i. p. q. p. 154 ff.), the objections are reduced to the following point: "The time in which the author wrote, and the legendary nature of several narratives, preclude the assumption, that the sources cited could be the official annals of the kingdoms" (de Wette.) But the supposed legendary nature of several narratives, to which, according to the more definite statement of Stähelin i. p. q. p. 152 ff., as well the miraculous deeds as the definite and exactly fulfilled predictions of the prophets are referred, rests merely on the unproved rationalistic presumption, that miracles and predictions are impossible and therefore unreal. This argument is nothing more than an uncritical prejudgment, to which only dogmatic partiality can attach any importance in criticism. The time in which our author wrote might still speak very strongly against the actual use of the annals of the kingdoms cited by him, if we understand by the "official annals of the kingdoms" the state archives of the two realms, of which it is altogether probable, although not proved, that they perished with these kingdoms. Identifying, therefore, the royal annals with the state archives, Movers declares (Krit. Untersuchungen ü. d. bibl. Chronik. Bonn 1834 p. 185 f.), that our author certainly cites constantly the annals of the kingdoms, but makes use of them not immediately, but only mediately in extracts, as appears from the following passage: "they must proceed originally neither from himself nor from the contemporary annalists of the kingdom, but from a historian who wrote earlier than the one and later than the other." To this opinion, also, B. Welte

in Herbst's Einl. ii. p. 155 f. accedes, only with the modification that he first assumes that the author of our books, besides the source mentioned by Movers, the Sepher Melachim composed from the annals of the kingdom, employed also the annals of the kingdom themselves, and therefore regards only the former of the two passages cited by Movers for his opinion, 1 Ki. viii. 8 and xii. 19, as demonstrative, as Hävern. p. 159 had already satisfactorily shown of the other, that the remark contained in it "unto this day" proceeds from the author of our books. Now if this passage actually contain the proof derived from it, we should certainly have reason to say farther with Welte, that the use of other sources, perhaps derived at an earlier period from the annals of the kingdom, along with these should not be denied, merely because the author names no such source, and the original sources themselves were at his command. "For if he wished to refer to a historical work, where the full details of a circumstance summarily stated were to be found, he might fairly name only the annals of the kingdom, and omit another more abridged work, that he perhaps also employed. On the contrary such a work, if it ever existed, could not be indifferent to him, and he must have had frequent occasion to have recourse to it, even if it were only for the lightening of his labour." But the first question is, whether the existence of such a historical work beside the annals of the kingdom be demonstrable. In order to answer this question, we must first form a clear conception of these annals of the kingdom. Were they nothing else than the notices recorded by the מַזְכִּירִים, officially appointed by the kings, of the reigns, acts, and undertakings of these sovereigns? In this case they could not possibly be composed in one spirit and according to the theocratic principle throughout, because, even with regard to the kingdom of Judah, not all the kings were theocratically disposed, and the godless rulers would not have suffered their acts to be judged according to the standard of the law, and entered accordingly in the public annals of the kingdom. But if we look wholly to the kingdom of Israel, there is no evidence whatever that these kings had public annalists of the kingdom, whose office it was to write the chronological history of their reigns. But even if we were to presuppose this as certain, yet of the proceedings of the prophets

who so vigorously opposed the kings and idolatrous priests, especially of an Elijah or an Elisha, these Israelitish annalists of the kingdom would have introduced into their annals at most only such sayings and doings as concerned the kingdom, certainly not their whole ministry, least of all the miracles they wrought on private individuals, and their whole agencies in the schools of the prophets. Thus, if we assume such official annals as the source of our author, we must on the one hand regard the theocratic principle pervading his abstract as his own, whereby, having marked out for the reader in his abstract the right point of view from which to regard the history, he could always direct those who wished to learn more of the several doings of the kings to these annals. On the other hand we must assume that he drew his full accounts of the ministry of the prophets partly at least from other sources, and did not specially quote these, merely because he had adopted everything important out of them into his work. Farther, as these annals are designated a סֵפֶר דִּבְרֵי הַיָּמִים, we must also assume, that they were continued without interruption from the time of the origin of both kingdoms in Israel to the end of the reign of Pekah, and in Judah to the death of Jehoiakim, when they are cited for the last time (comp. 2 Ki. xv. 31, and xxiv. 5), so that they formed in each kingdom a "book of the Chronicles of the Kings" and, as Hävern., p. 151 expresses it, lay before our author in an already complete form. The annals of the reign of Solomon, however, must have formed a separate and independent work under the title סֵפֶר דִּבְרֵי שְׁלֹמֹה, closing with the death of that monarch. If we regard our Books of Kings by themselves, there is no fundamental objection to this view of the sources cited in them. It is fully sufficient, not only for the explanation of the citations, but also for the vindication of the credibility of our books, while the composition of these annals, according to a fixed theocratic principle, neither presumes nor demands any alteration of the historical material deposited in the sources. The passage also urged by Movers and Welte finds its complete solution in this view. For even, if neither our author after the destruction of the temple, nor a contemporary annalist, could make the remark, that the staves of the ark of the covenant were there (that is, in the most holy place) unto this day, yet the annalist, who

after the death of Solomon concluded the annals of his reign, might very well add this remark, in order to show, that the appointment of Moses, that the staves should not be taken out of the rings of the ark of the covenant (Ex. xxv. 15) was observed. Thus this passage also proves nothing for the existence of a source different from the annals of the kingdom.

But if we compare the Books of Chronicles, and the written sources therein cited, with our books and their citations, the view hitherto unfolded of the royal annals proves itself to be untenable. For the chronicler, although he has for the most part used the same sources as the author of our books,[1] yet cites *(a)* for the history of Solomon, "the words of Nathan the prophet, the prophecy of Ahijah the Shilonite, and the vision of Iddo the seer against Jeroboam the son of Nebat" (2 Chr. ix. 29), and *(b)* for the history of the kingdom of Judah, besides a greater historical work, entitled[2] the book of the kings of Judah and Israel, in several reigns, also various prophetical writings,

[1] The proof of this see in my apologet. Versuch ü. d. BB. d. Chronik. Berl. 1833, p. 199 ff. The contrary hypothesis of Movers, that the writer of Chronicles has drawn the sections, which he has in common with the books of Samuel and Kings, from these canonical books, Hävern. Einl. ii. 1 p. 195 ff. has already opposed. Welte also, i. p. q. p. 188 f., after stating and examining the grounds asserted for this hypothesis, comes to the conclusion, that he cannot regard them as satisfactory. He certainly at the same time finds the grounds for our position unsatisfactory, and remarks: "Since the writer of Chronicles must have been acquainted with the Books of Kings, because they were extant long before his time, and paid attention to earlier historical works bearing on his subject, as his references to such prove, some use of them is antecedently at least highly probable. For the Books of Kings must have been to the chronicler, if they were ever known to him, a very welcome means of lightening his labour, which he could not possibly allow to lie beside him unregarded." But the probability of this assertion is not quite so evident. For since the author of Chronicles has manifestly used the full annals as sources, and since, as any careful comparison shows, see for example in the Comm. p. 70, 138, &c., even in the parallel sections he follows throughout his own plan without concerning himself with the apparent contradictions, into which his work, constructed on other principles, repeatedly falls with the narrative of the Books of Kings, he must certainly have allowed these books to lie by him unregarded, because he considered their use much more an aggravation than an alleviation of his labour.

[2] The title of this work is variously given, now סֵפֶר מַלְכֵי יְהוּדָה וְיִשְׂרָאֵל, (2 Chr. xxv. 26, xxviii. 26, xxxii. 32), now ס׳ מ׳ יש׳

which must not only have stood in the closest connection with the book of the kings of Judah and Israel, and the book of the chronicles of the kings cited in our work, but two of which, according to his own express statement, were adopted into the book of the kings of Israel and Judah, that is, into the annals of the kingdoms. Comp. 2 Chr. xx. 34, and xxxii. 32; Kleinert, die Echth. des Jes. i. p. 51; Hävern. i. p. q. p. 198 and Gesen. Comm. on Is. i. p. 25. Hence it becomes clear, that the annals used and quoted by our author were composed, if not wholly, yet in great part, by the prophet. The סֵפֶר דִּבְרֵי שְׁלֹמֹה must have had on the whole the same contents as the three prophetical writings cited by the author of Chronicles, and can only have consisted of these, because thus only is explained the great agreement of Chronicles with our books in the history of Solomon; comp. my apolog. Vers. p. 251. The annals also of the kings of Israel and Judah must have been a work of the prophets, first on the ground that, according to the before cited passages, whole prophetical writings were adopted into them, and next because the chronicler, even where he cites only prophetical writings, as for example in the history of Rehoboam, (comp. 2 Chr. xii. 2—11, with 1 Ki. xiv. 25—28), agrees with our Books of Kings as

יְהוּדָה, (2 Chr. xxvii. 7, xxxv. 27, xxxvi. 8), now סֵ֣פֶר הַמְּלָכִים לִיהוּדָה וְיִשְׂרָאֵל, (2 Chr. xvi. 11), now סֵ֣פֶר מַלְכֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל, (2 Chr. xx. 34), or דִּבְרֵי מַלְכֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל, (2 Chr. xxxiii. 18), or even מִדְרַשׁ סֵפֶר הַמְּלָכִים (2 Chr. xxiv. 27.) For that all these citations are only variations in the title of one and the same work, and that the annals of the kings of Israel and Judah cited the Books of Kings, which the author of the Books of Kings used separate, and the author of Chronicles united into one book, as I have endeavoured to show in my apol. Vers. p. 252 ff., of all this I am still fully convinced. Neither the objections of the anonymous writer in Tholuck's litt. Anz. 1835, Nov. 71 ff., nor the strictures of Welte i. p. q. p. 195 f., nor the grounds on which Hävern. i. p. q. p. 193 ff. endeavours to prove this to be a historical work constructed after the annals of the kingdoms have been able to shake this conviction. For how far the biblical writers vary in the designation of one and the same work is manifest enough from the fact that the state annals of the Medes and Persians are named in Esther x. 2 סֵפֶר דִּבְרֵי הַיָּמִים לְמַלְכֵי מָדַי וּפָרָס, but in vi. 1, סֵפֶר הַזִּכְרֹנוֹת דִּבְרֵי הַיָּמִים, lastly, in the Chaldaic part of the Book of Ezra iv. 15 only סִפְרָא דְכַרְנַיָּא.

verbally as where he refers to the book of the Kings of Judah and Israel; comp. my. apol. Vers. p. 257. But if this be established, then these annals were not the official chronicles of the two kingdoms which the מַזְכִּירִים appointed by the kings had recorded, but historical works in the form of annals, which were composed by the prophets and under their influence. This assumption, based upon the distinct testimony of the writer of Chronicles, is also the only one that corresponds with the theocratic character of the history. From the great importance which the history of the covenant-people, exhibited according to the spirit of the theocracy, had, not merely for the present, but also for the future, the prophets, who in their propheeies and addresses held forth to the people not only the law as a rule and direction, but also the history of the past frequently as the mirror and example of their life, must have reckoned the composition of the theocratic history among the duties of the call given to them by the Lord, and composed accordingly the history of their time by noting down public annals, in which, without respect of persons, the life and conduct of the Kings were judged and exhibited according to the standard of the revealed law.[1] These annals may very well be regarded as a work continued with the history of the times, exhibiting the whole period of a reign without interruption, as during this whole interval prophets were never wanting either in Israel or Judah, of whom the later always might and did continue the labour of the foregoing, so that, according to this view of the public annals, it is not necessary to assume, that the several historical writings of the prophets contemporary with the events should be collected and reduced into a larger historical work in the form of annals at a later period, but shortly before or during or immediately after the close of the reign. Especially against this assumption is the circumstance, that the writer of Chronicles in some reigns cites as sources only special prophetical writings, in others only the royal annals, and in others again the royal annals, together with sundry prophetical writings. For if this history in the shape of annals were

[1] Thus the prophet Isaiah wrote the history of the reign of Uzziah (2 Chr. xxvi. 22), and the prophet Iddo composed a מִדְרָשׁ of the reign of Abijah (2 Chr. xiii. 22.)

first at an after period put together, partly from the historical writings, partly from the sayings and predictions of the prophets intermingled with history, no valid ground can be conceived why the editor of this large work admitted only some of these works wholly, others not at all into his work, and made partial extracts from others, so that the chronicler thought it necessary to refer at one time only to the prophetical writings instead of the annals, at another time to the latter along with the former, as writings in which more is to be found concerning the history of which he has given only an abstract. This proceeding is only explained on the supposition, that the gradually formed annals of the kings were composed by various prophets living and acting contemporaneously, and not only beside but independently of these other prophets, noted the most important proceedings of the prophets in separate writings, which were handed down to posterity along with the annals. In this case it is easy to conceive how the chronicler, who employed both kinds of writings for his work, might find it to his purpose to refer in different reigns according to the nature of the written sources before him, now to the annals, now to sundry prophetical writings, now to both at the same time.

Now if an authentic representation of the history might be expected from the author of our work according to the view first given of the royal annals, we may cherish this expectation with still greater confidence according to the view now presented of his sources. For in the latter case he prepared his work from public annals composed by the prophets, the credibility of which is fully guaranteed by the position which these men of God occupied in the theocracy. The conscientious use of these sources for the composition of a true and reliable history, we may unhesitatingly infer from the circumstance, that his contemporaries, to whom the annals employed by him were so easily accessible, that he could constantly refer the reader of his book to them, thought his work worth preserving, while they allowed the annals gradually to perish. This inference is fully justified also by the contents of our books. With a candour regardless of consequences, and with entire impartiality, the life and conduct of the kings are judged according to the standard of the divine law. Thus, for example, the idolatry of the celebrated

King Solomon, into which he allowed himself to be betrayed in his old age by his many foreign wives, is as little unnoticed as that which was right in the sight of God, when performed by the sovereigns of the ten tribes who revolted from the royal house of David. The weak-minded despondency of even the greatest of prophets Elijah, in face of the empty threats of Jezebel, is as openly recorded as his bold encounter with Ahab and the prophets of Baal in the strength of the Lord. Our books breathe throughout the spirit of the purest truth, the chastest morals, the genuine piety of the old covenant; a spirit, which precludes even the possibility of garbling the history. The historical character of our work is also on the whole pretty generally recognised. In the latest edition of his introduction, even De Wette has fallen away from his former assertion, that our author furnished rather a didactic poem than a historical work, and speaks only of many myths and exaggerations, as well as traditions, which his work contains along with genuine historical and credible accounts and living sketches. But how imperfectly this opinion is supported, and how it rests altogether on dogmatic presumptions, and labours under internal contradictions, has been already convincingly shown by Hävernick (Einl. ii. 1, § 170), so that we have no need to dwell longer on this point at present, as the several objections will be considered and disposed of in the Commentary.

§ 4. EXEGETICAL HELPS.

EPHRAEM *Syri* (Deacon at Edessa, † 378) ܦܫܝܛܐ *explanatio in I. et II. regnorum libr.*, in the first volume of his Syriac works, Rome 1737. *fol.*

THEODORETI (bishop of Cyrus on the Euphrates, † 457 or 458) *quæstiones in libr. III. et IV. regnorum*, in the first vol. of his works, published by Schulze and Nösselt. Halle. 1769. 8.

PROCOPII *Gazaei* (in the 6th cent.) *in libros Regum et Paralip. scholia, ed. Jo. Meursius. Lugd. Bat.* 1620. 4. These scholia are a mere abstract from Theodoret's quæstions.

The *Commentarii in libros Regum III. et IV.*, in the *Max. biblioth. vet. Patr. tom. VI., p.* 965 *sqq.*, which are falsely ascribed to *Eucherius*, bishop of Lyons (434—454), contain only allegorical and didactic remarks on several passages of the books of Kings without exegetical value.

R. Sal. Jarchi (שי"ר in the 12th cent.) *comment. Heb. in libr. Jos. Judic., Ruth, Sam., Regum etc., lat. vers. a Jo. Fr. Breithaupto. Goth.* 1714. 4.

The commentaries of *Nic. Serarius in libr. Jos., Jud., Ruth, Regum et Paralip. Mog.* 1609. 2 *voll. fol.*, and *Franc. de Mendoza in libr. Regum. Col.* 1634 *fol.*, as also *Seb. Leonardi ὑπομνήματα in libr. Regum, Lips.* 1610, were not at my command.

Corn. a Lapide (Jesuit, † 1637) *Commentar. in Jos., Jud., Ruth, IV. libr. Regum etc., tom. II. Antw.* 1718. *fol. Annotata ad libr. I. et II. Regum* by *Seb. Münster, Franc. Vatablus, Isidor. Clarius, Jo. Drusius* and *Hugo Grotius* in the 2d vol. of the *Critici Sacri. Frcf.* 1695 *fol.*

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FIRST SECTION.

HISTORY OF THE REIGN OF SOLOMON.

The history of Solomon's reign begins by stating how Solomon obtained the throne and established his dominion, ch. i.—ii. Then follows the account of his government, how God hearing his prayer bestowed on him more wisdom, riches, and glory, than all other kings, ch. iii.—x. The chief and central point of this account consists of the tolerably full description of the buildings of Solomon, by which his reign was so much distinguished, ch. v. 15—ix. 28. The close contains the narrative of his fall towards the end of his life and of his death, ch. xi.

CHAPTER I.

SOLOMON ANOINTED KING.

During the lifetime of David, Solomon is named as his successor, and anointed king. Occasion was given for this proceeding by Adonijah, an elder son of David, who, taking advantage of the weakness and impotence of his aged father, attempts to usurp the throne, vv. 1—10. His treasonable plan, however, is discovered through the vigilance of the prophet Nathan, and frustrated by the efforts of Nathan and Bathsheba, as David being made acquainted with it by them, immediately orders the anointing of Solomon, and causes it to be effected, vv. 11—40. When Adonijah learns this, he flees to the altar, and, on condition of peaceable behaviour, obtains forgiveness from Solomon, vv. 41—53.

Vv. 1—4. When David became so old and weak that he could not keep himself warm, his servants advise him to recruit his vital powers by means of a young virgin lying beside him. The fair Abishag of Shunem is therefore chosen to be his companion. The narrating of this apparently trifling circumstance belongs to the pragmatism of the history. Older expositors have rightly remarked that the history of the fair Abishag is here introduced, not on her own account, but on that of Adonijah, as he afterwards forfeited his life by asking her to wife. V. 1. וְהַמֶּלֶךְ. By the *cop.* ו the following narrative is not merely connected in general with the prior history, as Maurer remarks with reference to Jos. i. 1; for there we have וַיְהִי, which certainly *narrationem annectit quasi superiorum temporum historiis, quarum imago scriptoris menti obversabatur*, and is employed in later writings as the standing formula of the historic style in the beginning of a book even without definite reference to a foregoing narrative, for example, Ezek. i. 1; Esth. i. 1; 1 Maccab. i. 1; *καὶ ἐγένετο.* The simple ו *and* in the beginning of a writing, however, since even the Hebrews do not begin their books with *and*, (Ewald, Krit. Gramm., p. 546, Not. 7), is a sure sign that it was originally connected with another, as Ezr. i. 1, comp. my apol. Vers. üb. d. Chron., p. 91 f. As our Books of Kings, however, neither form nor ever have formed one book with those of Samuel, this ו in the beginning can only be explained in this way, that our author received and retained it verbally from his source, in which it was attached to the preceding, in order to distinguish his work from the very first as a continuation of the Books of Samuel. בָּא בַּיָּמִים, always connected with זָקֵן, corresponds to our "stricken in years," denoting the advanced period of life, Gen. xviii. 11, xxiv. 1, Jos. xiii. 1, xxiii. 1. As David became king in his 30th year, and reigned forty years, (2 Sam. v. 4, 5), he must now have been in his 70th year. בְּגָדִים, not garments, but *stragula*, Num. iv. 6—13, bed-clothes, 1 Sam. xix. 13. וְלֹא יְחֻם לוֹ *impers.* there was not heat to him. יְחֻם for יֵחַם from חָמַם, see Ewald Krit. Gr. p. 466. (*Winero* יְחֻם *est fut. K. a* יחם, *sed praestat* יְחֻם *ad eandem radicem referri, cujus est* חם *vs.* 2, *cf.* חם *et* יְחֻם *in eodem contextu. Maur.*) V. 2. The means

suggested to David by his servants is one recommended by the testimony of physicians.[1] Coverings and garments can only preserve and accumulate the heat actually existing in the body, but not supply that which is gone. This can, as *Procopius Gaz.* has remarked, only take place by the communication of the living warmth of another body, when by immediate contact the living power is transferred from the strong to the weak body.[2] נַעֲרָה בְתוּלָה *puella virgo, i.e. illibata*, comp. Deut. xxii. 23—28, Judg. xix. 24, xxi. 12.—בתולה is the *term. techn.* to denote the *virgo illibata*, as *a virorum consortio separata*, not only in Hebrew, but also in Arabic and Aramaic, comp. *Genesii thes.* i. 250. עמד לפני denotes the standing of the servant before his master, to receive his commands and directions, and therefore to serve, attend, see v. 4, Deut. i. 28, comp. with Ex. xxiv. 13; 1 Ki. x. 8, &c.—סֹכֶנֶת nurse, properly *utilitatem procurans, familiaris commoditatum administra (Schulz.)* The significations מחממת *calefaciens* (Jarchi), קְרִיבָא *propinqua* (Chald.), *θάλπουσα* (LXX.), *foveat* (Vulg.) are only conjectured from the connection. Neither does the word signify *amica (Wineri Lex.)*, for סֹכֵן Is. xxii. 15, is not like רַע הַמֶּלֶךְ 1 Ki. iv. 5; 1 Chro. xxvii. 33, as Gesen. on Is. xxii. 15 affirms, but denotes the officer who manages the king's household, comp. Hitzig on the place. The sing. suff. in לאדני is explained by the circumstance, that only one of the עבדים spoke.—V. 3 הַשּׁוּנַמִּית from the town of Shunem belonging to the tribe of Issachar (Jos. xix.

[1] *Nullum salubrius consilium excogitari potuit, quam quod servi ejus ceperunt, quærentes virgunculam formosam, quæ in sinu ejus dormiret videbanturque legisse* Galenum *libr. 7 methodi, ubi imbecillitatem frigidi cum siccitate ventris curans, inquit:* Ex iis vero, quæ extrinsecus applicantur, boni habitus puellus una sit accubans, ut semper abdomen ejus contingat. *Multo itaque melius illi consuluerunt, quam si eum magna vestium mole onerassent, aut multo igne lectum concalefecissent, aut involvissent senem totum linteis igne concalefactis, aut oleis calidis inunxissent,—quia nullus calor naturali nostro magis conformis aut esse aut excogitari potest, quam qui fervet in puerili aut adolescentulæ corpore: nimirum humanus ille est et ob ætatem vigens. Fr. Valesius de Sacr. Philos. c.* xxix., *p.* 187 *ed.* vii.

[2] The Emperor Frederic Barbarossa was advised by his physician to let a young and strong boy lie against his stomach, comp. Reinhard, Bibelkrankh. des A. T. (1767) p. 171.

18; 1 Sam. xviii. 4; 2 Ki. iv. 8.) Shunem (שׁוּנֵם) lay on the table land of Esdraelon, according to Eusebius and Jerome, who write the name Σουλήμ, five Roman miles south of Tabor, see v. Raumer, Palest. 2 ed. p. 137, at present a small dirty village of the name of Solam, c. Robinson, Pal. iii. p. 402 f.—V. 4. The controversy of the older theologians, whether the fair Abishag was the consort *(uxor)* of David or not (s. *Pfeiffer dub. vex. p.* 406. *seqq.*) rests upon a misconception of the relations of that time. Abishag was certainly regarded as David's concubine, although the impotent king neither knew her, nor indeed took her to himself from carnal lust. And as polygamy was not forbidden, but permitted, if not even favoured by the law of Moses (see Michaelis Mos. Recht ii. § 94—96), neither did the addition of such a maiden give offence, nor did David sin, as some have asserted, in taking her for medical reasons.

Vv. 5—7. Adonijah the son of Haggith took advantage of the weakness of his aged father to raise himself to the throne. הִתְנַשֵּׂא to exalt oneself, Prov. xxx. 32. In his sinful vanity he probably believed, that the throne belonged to him of right. He was the fourth son of David (2 Sam. iii. 4; 1 Chro. iii. 2), and now indeed the oldest of those still living, as Amnon was long since murdered by Absalom (2 Sam. xiii. 29), Absalom likewise was slain in his rebellion (2 Sam. xviii. 14), and Chileab (2 Sam. iii. 2, or Daniel, 1 Chr. iii. 1) was probably also dead, because no more mention is made of him, so that according to the right of primogeniture prevalent among all nations[1] he laid claim to the succession. But in Israel the Lord, the invisible King of the theocracy, had reserved to himself the choice, as soon as the people should desire a king (Deut. xvii. 14 ff.), and exercised this right not only in the cases of Saul and David, but also in that of Solomon. He had not only imparted to David the promise of the perpetual sovereignty of his seed (2 Sam. vii. 12—16) but also designated the man of peace (Solomon) as the one, who after his death should build the temple (1 Chr. xxii. 9, 10,

[1] *Herodotus* vii. 2: *ὅτι νομιζόμενα εἴη πρὸς πάντων ἀνθρώπων, τὸν πρεσβύτατον τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχειν. Justinus l.* ii. 10. *Artamenes maximus natu, ætatis privilegio regnum sibi vindicabat; quod jus et ordo nascendi et natura ipsa gentibus dedit.* Comp. also Paulsen, die Regierung der Morgenl. i. p. 43 ff.

xxviii. 5 f.), and showed Himself gracious to Solomon from his birth, wherefore Nathan gave him the name Jedidiah (Jehovah's favourite) "because of the Lord" (2 Sam. xii. 24 f.) In this favour to Solomon David had the Divine assurance, that his conduct with Bathsheba, after it was punished by the death of the first child, was entirely forgiven. Certain of the Divine will, he could therefore with all right give to Bathsheba assurance on oath (vv. 13, 30), that her son Solomon should be his successor on the throne; an assurance which was also well known to Nathan the prophet, for which reason he, as guardian of the rights of God,—but not as "the wise leader of a court cabal," as Köster die Proph. d. A. u. N. T., p. 65, fancies,—declared himself against Adonijah's usurpation and defeated it (v. 11 ff.). Even to Adonijah, according to v. 12 (comp. ii. 15), the designation of Solomon as successor was not unknown.[1] But he trod in the very footsteps of his elder brother Absalom, like him (2 Sam. xv. 1) he provided for himself a court establishment, chariots, horsemen, and fifty footmen, in order to commend himself to the people as the successor to the throne, and David, in weak indulgence, allowed him to have his way, because he did not wish to vex or displease him (עצב).—מִיָּמָיו is explained by the Rabbins, Jarchi, Levi, Kimchi, J. D. Michaelis, and others; *per totam vitam ejus, i.e., unquam.* This is against the context, which requires מימיו to be understood of the time of commencing his ambitious movements, as Seb. Schmidt and J. H. Michaelis have rightly observed. The words: "and he also was a very goodly man," point likewise to the great similarity of Adonijah to Absalom, see 2 Sam. xiv. 25. The beauty of each served to attract the people to him. For the Hebrews looked to the personal beauty of their kings (1 Sam. ix. 2; Ezek. xxviii. 12) no less than other nations of antiquity, who made

[1] Mich. in Mos. R. i. § 60 incorrectly derives from this passage the conclusion, that "The Israelitish kingdom was certainly hereditary, not however according to the right of primogeniture, but so that the father could designate whomsoever of his sons he thought most worthy as his successor." For the succession depended not on the free will or discretion of the father, as even Winer bibl. R.W. i. p. 787 still thinks, but on the will of the Lord, who either immediately revealed it or tacitly indicated it by the fact of primogeniture.

beauty of form so much a leading requisite of the sovereign, that Xenophon *(Conviv.)* says: μαίνεσθαι δὲ μὴ τοὺς καλοὺς στρατηγοὺς αἱρουμένους, because, as *Max. Tyr. diss.* 9 says, they thought: ὁτ' ἔστι σωμάτων ὥρα οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ μελλούσης ἀρετῆς ἄνθος, καὶ οἱονεὶ προοίμιον κάλλους ὡραιοτέρου, see *J. Dougtæi anal. ss.* (1693) i. 131, where still more passages of the ancients are to be found, which commend the beauty of the ruler.—"And she bare him after Absalom," the son of Maachah, 1 Chr. iii. 2. That Adonijah was next to Absalom, the oldest son of David, appeared to give him a claim on the throne. To יִלְדָה is wanting the subject, his mother Haggith, v. 5, because it can easily be supplied from the sense, comp. Ew. Heb. Gr. § 551 (third ed.).—V. 7. וַיִּדַּבֵּר דְּבָרִיו וגו׳ *consilia sua secum communicabant*, see *Gesen. thes.* i. 316.—Joab, who as commander-in-chief formerly did so great service to David, attached himself to the pretender Adonijah, because he had long since quarrelled with David, comp. ii. 5, 6. But how the high priest Abiathar, who before proved so true to David, was now beguiled into treachery we know not. The assertion of Jarchi on this passage, that Abiathar was at this time removed from the high priesthood, because the Urim and Thummim gave no answer to David, is proved by 2 Sam. xv. 35 to be a Rabbinic conceit. עֶזֶר אַחַר in a pregnant sense, to help one so that men immediately follow him.

V. 8. Zadok of the race of Eleazar, who is designated as הַכֹּהֵן several times with Abiathar, and of equal rank with him, 2 Sam. viii. 17, xv. 24. 29, 35; 1 Chr. xviii. 16, was not, as the older theologians supposed, second priest כֹּהֵן מִשְׁנֶה, 2 Ki. xxv. 18; who, as representative in cases of hindrance, undertook the functions belonging exclusively to the first or high priest כֹּהֵן הָרֹאשׁ, comp. *Selden de succ. in pontiff*, i. 4; but high priest in the tabernacle of testimony at Gibeon, 1 Chr. xvi. 39, xxi. 29; whereas Abiathar officiated as high priest at the ark of the covenant since Eli's death removed from the tabernacle of testimony to Zion, comp. Hävernick, Einl. ins. A. T. i. 2, p. 566, 573 f. Benaiah, the son of Jehoiada, the fifth among David's mighty men (2 Sam. xxiii. 20—23), of priestly descent, and head of the family of Aaron (1 Chr. xxvii. 5), was under David first captain

of the body guard (2 Sam. viii. 18, xx. 23; 1 Chr. xviii. 17), then commander of 24,000 militia, who served in the third month of the year, a man therefore of the greatest influence, who afterwards, on the execution of Joab, held the supreme command of the whole army (ii. 35.) Concerning other men of this name, comp. *Ges. thes. s. v.*—Shimei, probably the Son of Elah, who, ch. iv. 18, is reckoned among Solomon's heroes. He is probably different from the Shimei of Ramah, who was set over David's vineyards, 1 Chr. xxvii. 27. Another still is the Benjamite Shimei, the Son of Gera (ii. 8.)—Rei (רֵעִי) is neither mentioned among David's heroes, 2 Sam. xxiii. 8 ff.; 1 Chr. xii. 10 ff., nor anywhere else.

V. 9. Like Absalom (2 Sam. xv. 12) Adonijah began his usurpation with a solemn sacrificial feast, to which, with the exception of Solomon and those who were known to be his faithful followers, he invited all his brothers—who, 2 Sam. iii. 4, 5, v. 14—16; 1 Chr. xiv. 4—7, are called the sons of David—and all the servants of the king. The well Rogel (spy-well), which lay, according to Jos. xv. 17, xviii. 16, on the border of the tribes of Judah and Benjamin, is to be sought, according to 2 Sam. xvii. 17, on the east side of Jerusalem, not, however, with Michaelis, beyond the Mount of Olives, nor, as v. Raumer, Pal. p. 302 not. 76 still assumes, identical with the well of Mary, or the dragon well, but as Robins., Pal. ii. p. 138 ff., has shown, with the so-called well of Nehemiah, which the natives call *Bir Eyûb*, Job's well,[1] and which lies[2] below the junction of the valley of Hinnom with that of Jehoshaphat in a long plain covered with an olive grove and the traces of the former garden, the fairest and most fertile spot about Jerusalem, see Rob. i. p. q. —אֶבֶן הַזֹּחֶלֶת, λίθος τοῦ Ζωελέθ (LXX.), *lapis Zoheleth*, the Chald. renders אֶבֶן סָכוּתָא, *lapis speculæ*, the Syr. and

[1] The Arab. translation of the book of Joshua gives Rogel xv. 7 by عين ايوب, in chap. xviii. 16, on the contrary, عين روغال, lastly in this passage with the Chald. and Syr. fuller's-well عين القصار.

[2] Josephus is therefore quite correct in saying, that the feast took place without the city at the well in the king's garden (*Antig.* vii. 14, 4.)

Arab. "great stone." The signification of the word is quite uncertain, see the various conjectures of the *Tanchum Hierosol.* thereupon in Rödiger, *de orig. et ind. arab. ll. V. T. hist. interpr. p.* 9, *not.* 7.

Vv. 11—14. Adonijah's revolt is thwarted by the watchfulness of the prophet Nathan. That the prophet was not guided by personal motives is plain of itself, see remarks on v. 5. Even Theodoret designates the assertion, that Nathan occasioned and effected the elevation of Solomon to the throne from mortified ambition, because Adonijah did not invite him to the banquet, *ἀνοητῶς.*—כִּי מָלַךְ, *quod regnum sibi arripuerit, Seb. Schmidt.*—V. 12. "And save thy life, &c." Had Adonijah actually succeeded in his usurpation, he would no doubt, after the death of David, have put to death Solomon and his mother as politically suspected persons, according to the barbarous custom of the east (comp. Tavernier Reis i. p. 253.)—On v. 13 comp. v. 5. The time when David gave Bathsheba the assurance on oath, that her son Solomon should be king, is unknown, but it was obviously after he had received the promise, 2 Sam. vii. Ephraim Syrus proposes various conjectures on this point.—V. 14. As David had, from too great weakness, easily yielded to Adonijah, and might confirm him in the kingdom, Nathan wishes, as prophet, to remind him of the Divine determination, and thereby confirm the words of Bathsheba. מְלֵאתִי אֶת־דְּבָרֶיךָ, I shall make full thy words, that is, not, fully express, complete what is deficient (Vatbl., Grot., Gesen., Winer, *lex.*), but as the Chald. renders אַקְיֵם, confirm. *Videtur ad persuasionem referendum, q.d. si tu forte non poteris persuadere plane, ego mox venturus id implebo, te adjuvans.* Seb. Schmidt. This meaning alone can be maintained; for מִלֵּא דָּבָר is elsewhere only used of the fulfilment of the Divine sentences or words, ch. ii. 27, viii. 15, 24, as *πληροῦν, implere*, in the classics, comp. Tholuck, Ausleg. d. Bergpr. p. 135 (1st ed.), and means, to make the word true by the issue, to establish by the reality. Analogous to this here, to establish by a similar statement.

Vv. 15—21. Bathsheba follows Nathan's counsel. V. 15. She went in unto the king, הַחֲדֶרָה, "into the inner chamber," because he could no longer leave his apartment from the weak-

ness of age. Concerning מְשָׁרֶתֶת = מְשָׁרֶתֶת see Gesen. Lehrgeb. p. 133; Ew. Gr. § 389.—V. 16. The words וַיִּקֹּד וַיִּשְׁתַּחוּ are often connected, Gen. xxiv. 26; Ex. xii. 27, xxxiv. 8; Num. xxii. 31, &c. The latter signifies the low obeisance, even to the earth, with which the Israelites approached eminent persons, especially kings. Among them this obeisance was a purely civil homage, whereas, among other eastern nations, for example the old Persians, who revered their king as the incarnation of Ormuzd, it consisted in formal adoration. On v. 17 comp. v. 13. In v. 18 the second וְעַתָּה, rather than וְאַתָּה, which is received by Schulz with the old versions, several *Codd.* and *Editt.* is to be retained as the more difficult reading, and with Maurer to be translated, "and now, my lord king, thou knowest it not.—V. 19. "But Solomon hath he not invited." Bathsheba adds this, not as if she felt herself aggrieved thereby, but because it showed clearly, that Adonijah already treated Solomon, who was known to him as the legitimate successor, as an enemy, and as soon as he seized the throne would no doubt remove him out of the way.—V. 20. "The eyes of all Israel are directed towards thee." *Decisio hujus causæ, in manu tua est, nam populus nondum adhæret Adoniæ, sed te spectat, quid hic facturus sis, et judicium tuum sequetur, modo tu festinaveris facere Salomonem regem.* Seb. Schmidt. In v. 21 Bathsheba enforces her argument by alluding to the fate awaiting her and her son beloved by David after the king's death. They will be חַטָּאִים, that is, guilty of a capital crime—*pœnas dabimus quasi læsæ majestatis rei essemus. Cler.*

V. 22—27. While Bathsheba still speaks, Nathan is announced to the king. As soon as he enters, Bathsheba retires (v. 28), not perhaps to avoid the appearance of mutual concert (Cler. Schultz, Deres.) but on the ground of propriety, because the wife should not be present at the audiences, which the king gave to his advisers. For similar reasons Nathan also withdraws (v. 31), when David calls Bathsheba back to him. Nathan's speech agrees as to the main fact (v. 24—27) with that of Bathsheba. V. 24. אַתָּה אָמַרְתָּ hast thou said? The question is merely indicated by the tone, comp. Ew. Gr. §. 577.—V. 25. "Let the king live," with this acclamation were the Israelitish monarchs

proclaimed by the people to be kings, v. 34, 39; 1 Sam. x. 24; 2 Sam. xvi. 16; 2 Chr. xxiii. 31.—V. 26. Those not invited to the feast were known to Adonijah as opponents of his revolt (v. 19.)—V. 27. Nathan closes his address with the doubt, whether Adonijah's undertaking could have proceeded from the king. אִם is an indirect question; whether this has really taken place (Maur.) The *plur.* עֲבָדֶיךָ is to be preferred to the Keri עַבְדְּךָ; Nathan means not only himself, but all the true servants of the king named in v. 26.

V. 28—31. In consequence of this disclosure David summons Bathsheba again before him, repeats to her the assurance on oath already given (v. 13), that Solomon should be king, and promises to proceed with his coronation on the same day; whereupon Bathsheba retires with deeper obeisance and a prayer for his perpetual happiness. The form of blessing, "let the king live for ever," was used by the Hebrews only on especially important occasions; the old Persians constantly so addressed their kings, Dan. iii. 9, v. 10, vi. 22; Neh. ii. 3. Comp. *Brissonius de reg. Pers. princ.* p. 16, and Hävern. Com. on Daniel ii. 4.

V. 32—35. Immediately on this David ordered the coronation of Solomon. V. 33. "The servants of your Lord," that is, the royal body-guard (v. 38.) The *plur.* אֲדֹנֵיכֶם refers not to David and Solomon, but to David, as Cler., referring to 2 Sam. xx. 6, has rightly remarked. The plural form, which occurs often in this word, especially when connected with suffixes (comp. *Ges. thes.* i. 328), is no *plur. excell.* in the sense of the Rabbins as *consuetudo honoris*, nor even a designation of abstract lordship, as Ew. Krit. Gr. p. 641 asserts, but is used "for the individual, when the idea comes to view in it as completely as in a plurality of appearances, so that this plurality is present in substance. For the ruled the idea of lordship concentrates itself in that of the ruler." Hengstenb. Beitr. z. Einl. ins. A. T. ii., p. 237. עַל הַפִּרְדָּה אֲשֶׁר לִי "upon mine own mule." As no one might mount the king's mule, so if the king allowed any one to ride thereon, it was thereby indicated that he was the successor to the throne. Among the old Persians not only the same custom prevailed, but riding on the king's horse was at the

same time a public mark of honour, which the king showed to highly meritorious persons before the people, comp. Esth. vi. 8, 9, and Cler. on the passage.—פִּרְדָּה the she-mule, which is even now in Cairo preferred to the he-mule for riding, "because she is more docile and can better endure fatigue." Comp. Sonnini in Rosenmüller's bibl. Althk. iv. 2, p. 56.—"And bring him down to Gihon." Gihon[1] (גִּיחוֹן) is, according to 2 Chr. xxxii. 33, xxxiii. 14, a well on the west side of Mount Zion, which formed two basins or pools, the upper water-course of Gihon (2 Chr. xxxii. 30), which is obviously identical with the upper pool (2 Ki. xviii. 17; Is. vii. 3, xxxvi. 2) and the lower pool (Is. xxii. 9.) The upper Gihon, in all probability the so-called dragon well, Neh. ii. 13 (comp. Robinson Pal. ii. p. 117, 166), still exists as a great reservoir lined with hewn stones, but somewhat dilapidated, called by the monks Gihon, by the natives *Birket-el-Mamilla*, about 700 yards W.N.W. of the Jaffa gate, in the beginning of the valley that skirts the west and south side of Zion, and in the south is called the valley of Hinnom. The lower pool, probably called also the lower Gihon, although this name does not occur in the Old Testament, lies in the south-west corner of Zion in the valley, and is called by the Arabs *Birket-es-Sultan*; comp. the description of this pool in Robins. Pal. ii. p. 129—33.—The valley lying between the two basins, which in tradition still bears the name of Gihon, and was measured in all directions and described by Robins. in. p. q. p. 39 f., is to be regarded as the place, where the anointing of Solomon was performed. For that this, as according to

[1] Great confusion has been introduced into the investigation concerning Gihon by the identity of Gihon and Siloa being assumed by most of the Rabbins and Christian theologians down to Rosenm., Gesen. and Winer, after the example of the Chaldee version, which explains גחון in vv. 33 and 38 by שִׁילוֹחָא, which was first partly explained by Tholuck in a valuable treatise on Siloa in his "Beiträgen zur Spracherkl. d. N.T." 1832 p. 123—33, and afterwards more fully by Robinson by a personal investigation on the spot. Tholuck rightly declared himself in favour of the diversity of Gihon and Siloa, and fixed the position of Gihon correctly in the West, but erroneously assumed that of Siloa in the southwest corner of Zion, and identified it with the lower pool, whereas the well Siloa is found on the south east slope of Zion at the mouth of the *Tyropœon*, comp. Robins. ii. 142 ff.

Josephus Ant. vii. 14, 5, Robinson p. 164 still thinks, took place at the well Gihon, is not in the text. The word וְהוֹרִדְתֶּם, bring him *down*, is also explained from this locality. "For if we go from Zion to Gihon westward, we first descend a slope and then ascend a gradual elevation; and this slope was probably in former times more considerable." Rob. i. p. q. p. 166 Not.—V. 34. "And blow ye with the horn." The horn שׁוֹפָר a great long, probably bent, according to the Rabbins also straight, horn, that gave a far-sounding note, and was specially employed for giving signals and on other solemn occasions, for example, the solemn proclamation of a king, for which purpose trumpets also were used, 2 Ki. xi. 14, see Hofmann, Hebr. Alterth. p. 597 ff., and Winer bibl. R.W. ii. p. 147.—V. 35. After the anointing is completed, David wishes to resign his throne to Solomon and to appoint him to be ruler (נָגִיד) over Israel and Judah. Both were necessary; the first, because the old king still lived; the second, because by the proceeding of Adonijah the succession was disputed. The end was also served by the anointing, which only took place when a new dynasty mounted the throne, or the succession was disputed, as in the case of Joash, 2 Ki. xi. 12, who was instituted king after the fall of Athaliah, who had usurped the sovereignty, and in that of Jehoahaz, whom the people elevated to the throne, 2 Ki. xxiii. 30 —as the Rabbins unanimously assert, comp. *Carpzov. appar. hist. crit. antiq. p.* 57 *sq.*—The distinction of Judah and Israel does not presuppose the separation of the kingdoms, but is quite suitable in the mouth of David, before whose mind, after the bitter experience he had had of the long-standing jealousy of Ephraim against Judah (see Gesen. Comm. on Is. xi. 13, and my apol. Vers. p. 61) it must have been again vividly presented, that the attempted revolt of Adonijah, like the conspiracy of Absalom (2 Sam. xix. 40 ff.) might add new fuel to the old jealousy. In such circumstances it was of considerable importance to declare Solomon King over Israel and Judah, as Ephraim with the tribes dependent on him had long assumed the name Israel in opposition to Judah, comp. 2 Sam. ii. 9, 10, 17, 28, iii. 17—21.

Vv. 36, 37. Benaiah answers the declaration of the royal will with the confirmatory, "Amen, so may Jehovah say;" that is,

may the word of the King be a word of the Lord, who fulfils what he says (Ps. xxxiii. 9), and adds the pious wish, that the Lord, as he had been with David, so would also be with Solomon, and make his throne greater than that of David. On this Theodoret strikingly remarks: *ἤδεσεν ὡς οὐδεὶς ἔχων πατρικὴν φιλοστοργίαν ἐζηλοτύπησε παῖδας· καὶ ὡς ἴδιον πατέρων τὸ βούλεσθαι τοὺς παῖδας καὶ ἑαυτῶν λαμπροτέρους ὁρᾷν.*

Vv. 38—40. In accordance with the expression of the royal will the anointing of Solomon is immediately performed by the high priest Zadok in the presence of the prophet Nathan, the commander in chief Benaiah, the royal body guard, and a great multitude of shouting and rejoicing people. V. 38. הַכְּרֵתִי וְהַפְּלֵתִי *σωματοφύλακες (Josephi Antiq.* vii. 5, 4), the corps of the royal body guard, 2 Sam. viii. 18, xv. 18, xx. 7—23; 1 Chr. xviii. 17. Concerning these Cherethi and Pelethi from the oldest times various opinions prevail, see *Pfeifferi dub. vex p.* 392 *sq*, *Ikenii dissert. phil. theol.* No. 9, and Winer bibl. R. W. 1. p. 272 f. As to the grammatical form of the words, some still regard them (Winer, i. p. q. and Stier Lehrg. d. hebr. Spr. i. p. 215) though no longer with the same confidence as the older writers (s. Gesen. Lehrgeb. p. 525) as apocopated plurals, while Ewald now also acknowledges (Heb. Gr. p. 230, 3 ed.) the existence of the plur. in י, which he once altogether denied (S. Krit. Gr. p. 296 f.) and Gesen. has retracted much of the view propounded in the Lehrgeb. (S. Hebr. Gr. p. 150, 13 ed.), so that both at present, and certainly with justice, have agreed to regard the two words as adjective forms in י. Concerning their derivation and interpretation also scarcely a doubt can remain. For the opinion[1] put forward by the older writers (Pfeiffer. *l.c.*

[1] By Ewald (Krit. Gr. p. 297 and Gesch. d. V. Isr. i., p. 292, 295), Hofmann in his treatise, Under what dynasty the Israelites left Egypt? (in Ullmann and Umbreit's theol. Stud. u. Krit. 1839, P. 2, p. 415), Movers, d. Phöniz. i., p. 19, Bertheau in the Gesch. der Isr. 2 Abhdl. p. 197, Vatke, Br. Bauer, &c. This view rests chiefly on this, that the Philistines, 1 Sam. xxx. 14, Zeph. ii. 5, Ezek. xxv. 16, are called הַכְּרֵתִי and כְּרֵתִים; but in the two latter instances this name is designedly used by Ezek. with obvious allusion to הִכָּרֵתִי, as the *Vulg.* intimates by its rendering: *interficiam interfectores.* Zephaniah also has selected the name with reference to its fundamental meaning *exci-*

Lakemacher *observ. phil.* ii. 11 *sq.*) and again strongly maintained in recent times, that כרתי as well as פרתי signifies the

dere. Propriam hanc vim e memoria non excessisse, probat Zeph. hanc ipsam ob causam Philistæos Cretim vocans, ut sit nomen et omen is the correct remark of Fr. A. Strauss, *vatic. Zeph. p.* 49. Thus only 1 Sam. xxx. 14 remains, where הַכְּרֵתִי certainly denotes either a Philistine tribe or the Philistines in general (comp. v. 16); but to conclude from this, that the Cherethi, the royal guard, were generally Philistines, is, to say the least, very rash. For even if David, according to 2 Sam. xv. 18, had Gathites in his army, it by no means follows that his body-guard was composed of Philistines, those hereditary foes of the Israelites. Against this derivation of הַכְּרֵתִי speak decidedly, *(a)* the term פְּלֵתִי always connected with it, which according to Ewald must be contracted from פְּלִשְׁתִּי merely from similarity of sound, to which Gesenius has made the well-founded objection, *quis hujusmodi contractionem in linguis Semiticis ferat?* and *(b)* the exchange of the form כרי with כרתי. Mov., Berth., and Ew. certainly wish to stamp הַכָּרִי as a *nom. gent.* and understand it of the Κᾶρες, who, according to Herodotus i. 171–73, Thucyd. i. 8, Strabo xiv. 2, formed a part of the population of Crete, and as valiant soldiers served on pay even in Homer's time; but decidedly against this is the connexion of the כָּרִי with the רָצִים runners, 2 Ki. xi. 4, 19. The כרי, also, can be as little Carians, as the כרתי Cretans, and both together cannot for this reason be Philistines, because the hypothesis, that the Philistines were immigrants from Crete, notwithstanding what Bertheau in p. q. p. 186—200 has said for it, is still destitute of probability, as the only historical testimonies that can be adduced in its favour, the declaration of Tacitus, *hist.* v. 2; *Judæos, Creta insula profugos, novissima Lybiæ insedisse memorant, qua tempestate Saturnus, vi Jovis pulsus, cesserit regnis,* and the statement of *Steph. Byzant. s. v.* Γάζα, that this city was properly called Minoa from Minos King of Crete, according to the just opinion of Strauss, *l. c. p.* 47, *fabularum indolem tam aperte præ se ferunt, vix ut in censum veniant.* Meanwhile were this hypothesis much better grounded, yet neither כרי nor כרתי as a name of the Philistines could be derived from Crete and its population, because according to the Old Testament, (Deut. ii. 23; Am. ix. 7), the Philistines immigrated from Caphtor, and thus, according to their original land, might be called *Caphtorim*, but not *Crethim* and *Carim*, not to mention that according to Bertheau's own confession, (*i. p. q. p.* 195), "there are chronological difficulties in reckoning the Philistines among the Carian tribes, who were first compelled to leave the islands by Minos and the growing maritime power of the Greeks," because Minos, according to Höck, Kreta i. p. 300, is to be placed about 1300, while the Philistines already dwelt in Palestine in Abraham's time about 2000 B.C., and that the arguments for the identity of Caphtor and Crete are not such as to outweigh the authority of the LXX., the

Philistines, is not only inadmissible, because David would scarcely have trusted himself to a body guard composed of foreigners (Win. R. W. i. p. 273; *Ges. thes.* ii. 719), but is especially objectionable, because, 1, the conjunction of two synonymous names for one and the same people was rather extraordinary, for, as Gesen. *l.c. p.* 1107 very properly remarks, *quis credat duas appellationes synonymas hoc modo cumulatas esse? quasi dicas:* Englishman and Briton, Italian and Welsche; 2, because afterwards this designation of the royal body guard was exchanged with the like-signifying הַכֹּרִי וְהָרָצִים (2 Ki. xi. 4—19), and in 2 Sam. xx. 23 הַכֹּרִי stands beside הפלתי, where the Masorites would alter it without necessity into הכרתי. Both words are much rather proper appellatives; כרתי from כרת means *confossor*, *carnifex*, because among the Israelites, as generally in the East, the royal guardsmen executed the sentence of death on criminals;[1] פלתי from the Arab. فَلَتَ *fugit*, فَلَّتَ *celer*, cognate with פָּלַט, means runner and = רָץ courier, because a part of the king's guardsmen like the ἄγγαροι of the Persians were obliged to bear the king's mandates to distant places, 2 Chr. xxx. 6, as is usual even to the present day in the Persian and Turkish courts, comp. Win. i. p. q.—V. 39. "The horn of oil out of the tabernacle" קֶרֶן הַשֶּׁמֶן an oil-flask of horn, 1 Sam. xvi. 1.—The oil, with which the kings, the anointed of the Lord, were anointed, was the priestly consecrated oil, the preparation of which was prescribed Ex. xxx. 22, although some Rabbins will not admit this, see Carpzov., *app. crit.* p. 56, γ.—הָאֹהֶל is scarcely the tabernacle of witness at Gibeon, but the holy tent which David erected for the ark of the covenant on Zion, 2 Sam. vi. 17, 1 Chr. xv. 1, xvi. 1.—V. 40. וַיַּעֲלוּ וגו׳, "and all the people came up after him," that is, accompanied him to the citadel of Zion, with flute

Chald. and Syr. versions, which explain *Caphtor* by Cappadocia, together with the other arguments in favour of this view, (comp. Bochart. *Phal.* iv. 32.

[1] The same thing is signified by כָּרִי from כּוּר *fodit perfodit*, comp. *Ges. thes.* ii. 671. For the interpretation attempted by Ew. Krit. Gr. p. 297, "the purchased slave," from כרד in the supposed meaning, to buy, is founded merely on two misunderstood passages of the Old Testament, comp. Hengstenb. Christol. iii. p. 28 f. The relation of כרי to כרתי explains the retention of the unusual form, כרי for כריתם,

music[1] and loud acclamations of joy, so that the earth rang, (ותבקע וגו׳ is a hyperbolical expression.)

Ver. 41—48. The loud public joy reached the ears of Adonijah and his guests at the close of their entertainment. The music, together with the joyful cry of the people, must have sounded from Zion to the Well Rogel. When Joab perceives the note of the far-sounding horn he enquires—knowing the weighty occasion of this signal, and perhaps already suspecting the worst—in amazement, wherefore this noise of the city being in an uproar? At the same moment comes Jonathan, the son of Abiathar, with the intelligence, that Solomon was anointed King, and had ascended the throne. Quite characteristic is the confidence with which Adonijah expects good news, (v. 42); it is no doubt only assumed, pretended, as the will of his father concerning Solomon's succession, and the great and influential friends of the latter were not unknown to him, (v. 5, 19, 26.)—V. 43. אָבֵל *immo*, "*vellem quidem libenter bona tibi et grata nuntiare, sed nihil boni habeo.*" Seb. Schm.—The words of Jonathan, (v. 47), refer to the speech of Benaiah, vv. 36, 37. The prayer and thanksgiving to God for the grace that he had been allowed to look with his own eyes upon his successor on the throne (v. 47 f.), David uttered after the return of the anointed Solomon into the royal palace. The place for mentioning it was thus after v. 40; but the narrator here first inserts it, because he did not wish to interrupt the actual connexion between v. 40 and 41.—The aged David praying on his bed reminds us of the patriarch Jacob, who also, when Joseph promised him on oath the fulfilment of his last will, praying on his bed thanked his God for this grace, Gen. xlvii. 31.

beside רְצִים, on which Ew. i. p. q. incorrectly founds the assertion, that כרי must be a singular form.

[1] The flute, an instrument much loved by the ancients, was played both in joy and sorrow, Is. v. 12; Matt. ix. 23.

Temporibus veterum tibicinis usus avorum
Magnus, et in magno semper honore fuit,
Cantabat fanis, cantabat tibia ludis,
Cantabat mœstis tibia funeribus.
Ovid. fast. vi. 660 *seq.*

Many other proofs see in *Dougtaei anal.* ss. p. 12 sq., and on the nature of the flute, comp. Winer. bibl. R.W. ii. p. 146.

Vv. 49, 50. The intelligence of Solomon's accession to the throne spreads alarm among Adonijah's guests; they disperse—every man his own way. Adonijah himself sought refuge at the altar from the penalty of the rebel. Here it may be asked, which altar is meant, whether that in the tabernacle of testimony at Gibeon (Jarchi, Cler., Deres., &c.) or the altar of burnt-offering in the tabernacle on Zion, or that built by David on the threshing-floor of Ornan (2 Sam. xxiv. 25; 1 Chr. xxi. 26 ff.) (J. H. Michaelis)? The last opinion is the least probable; for even if David was wont to offer at this altar, where God heard his prayer in the pestilence and graciously accepted his offering, it may still be very much questioned, whether the right of asylum granted in the law (Ex. xxi. 14) to the altar of the sanctuary had also extended to this altar. Rather might we think of the altar at Gibeon, but even in this case we should expect an intimation that Adonijah had fled to Gibeon. The narrative is certainly very brief, but still vv. 50—53 make the impression, that Adonijah had not left Jerusalem. Besides, at the tabernacle of witness, priests of the family of Zadok hostile to Adonijah, officiated, in whose neighbourhood he could not consider himself as secure as in the sanctuary at Zion, where Abiathar, who was attached to him, presided as high-priest (ver. 8.) We must therefore decide for the second opinion. The altar of burnt-offering in the sanctuary on Zion certainly is nowhere expressly mentioned, but its existence is not only fully established by such passages as 2 Sam. vi. 17; 1 Chr. xvi. 1; 1 Ki. iii. 15, but also its resemblance to the Mosaic altar is to be presumed as certain. The horns on the four corners of the altar, for the construction of which compare Bähr's Symb. i. p. 420 f., served as "symbols of blessing and salvation" (s. in p. q. p. 473) on which to sprinkle the blood of the offering in token that the sin was expiated and salvation given to the sinner. They were therefore a place of refuge for the unintentional homicide (Ex. xxi. 14.) "The perpetrator placed himself thereby under the protection of the saving, helping grace of God, which blots out sin and thereby abrogates the right of punishment; to remove and punish him who laid hold of these horns, would have been a violation of the divine might and help." (Bähr in p. q. p. 474.) It follows at once from the passage, that the right of refuge

granted in the law only to accidental homicide was in the course of time extended farther, so that other transgressors sought refuge at the altar. But the wilful murderer was not protected, and therefore not the traitor, comp. Ex. xxi. 14; Num. xxxv. 12; and *Mishna Macc.* ii. 6. Solomon, however, looks upon Adonijah's fleeing to the altar as a sign of repentance, and forgives his transgression with the threat of death as soon as he should be guilty of any new crime, vv. 51—53, which occurred only too soon, comp. ii. 13 ff.—V. 51. To the words of Adonijah: "let the king swear unto me to-day, that he will not slay his servant with the sword," we may not with Cler. supply: *hinc non discedam, nisi.* This would be an expression of defiance, which does not accord with the statement: "he feared before king Solomon." The words are much rather to be regarded as an entreaty; let Solomon promise on oath not to put me to death. Solomon does not give a promise on oath, but only his royal word, and more Adonijah could not expect. בֶּן־חַיִל *vir probus*, as אֵשֶׁת חַיִל Ruth iii. 11; Prov. xii. 4, xxxi. 10.—לֹא יִפֹּל וגו׳, "there shall not an hair of him fall to the earth," is a proverbial expression, like our own "nobody shall hurt a hair of his head," by which any one is secured from all violence and punishment, 1 Sam. xiv. 45; 2 Sam. xiv. 11. In the New Testament these words denote the most special Divine protection, care, and preservation from all harm, and misfortune, Luke xxi. 18; Acts xxvii. 34.—וְאִם רָעָה וגו׳, "but if wickedness be found in him, he shall die." Already by the attempted usurpation of the throne Adonijah had forfeited his life. Thus this threat is not too severe, after Solomon had forgiven him. The phrase וַיּוֹרִדֻהוּ "and they brought him down" appears to indicate that Adonijah stood above the altar, that is, on the ledge surrounding the altar, especially if we compare the אֵצֶל הַמִּזְבֵּחַ of ii. 29.—וַיִּשְׁתַּחוּ denotes submission to Solomon and recognition of him as king by doing homage, and not formal worship as Cler. thinks, comp. vv. 16, 23, 31.—With the words לְךָ לְבֵיתֶךָ Solomon sets him at liberty.

CHAPTER II.

LAST CHARGES OF DAVID AND HIS DEATH, v. 1—11. CONFIRMATION OF THE SOVEREIGNTY OF SOLOMON, vv. 12—46.

After Solomon was anointed king, the old king David summons the grandees of his kingdom, all the princes of the tribes, commanders of the army, stewards of the royal domains, court-officers, and mighty men to a royal diet at Jerusalem, presents to them Solomon the successor chosen of God, exhorts them to the observance of God's commandments, charges Solomon with the building of the temple, while he at the same time earnestly commends this matter to all assembled, hands over to him the model of the temple with all the material he had collected for it, prompts the grandees of the kingdom to a contribution to this important work, the execution of which God had not granted to him, but had committed to his son, and concludes this last assembly of the kingdom under his reign with a great sacrificial festival, in which the assembled estates of the kingdom did homage to Solomon and anointed him king the second time, and Zadok high priest, 1 Chr. xxiii. 1, and xxviii. 1—xxix. 24. Such a solemn homage of the representatives of the people and repeated anointing of the new king in the presence and at the desire of the estates of the kingdom took place also with Saul (1 Sam. xi.) and David (2 Sam. v. 1—3; 1 Chr. xi. 1—3); and appears to have been necessary to the general acknowledgment of the king on the part of the nation. Respecting this right of the people David, in order to obviate any rebellion against Solomon after his death, prepares in his life time, probably immediately after the anointing of Solomon mentioned in chap. i., which was accelerated by the attempt of Adonijah, this royal diet, in order that the representatives of the people might render the requisite homage to the divinely appointed successor. To this assembly of the kingdom mentioned only in Chronicles, the credibility of which, however, admits of no doubt, see Dahler, *de libr. Paralip. auct. p.* 74, is subjoined the last exhortation communicated in vv. 1—9 of this chapter, which the dying David addressed to his

son and successor Solomon, together with some special charges immediately before his death.

Vv. 1—4. "I go the way of all the earth," is a periphrasis of death, Jos. xxiii. 14. "In life," says Calmet, "each one has his particular route. One applies to one thing, another to another. But in the way to death they are all reunited. They go to the tomb by the one path."

Omnium idem exitus est, sed et idem domicilium.—PETRON. SATYR.

V. 3. The most important thing, with which the dying servant of God has to charge his son, is the obeying of the commands of God, by which alone he can secure to his reign stability and perpetuity, happiness, and blessing. מִשְׁמֶרֶת יי is neither *id quod Jehovah solet custodire* (Kimchi), nor obeying the law of a king Deut. xvii. 16 (Calm.); but שָׁמַר מִשְׁמֶרֶת יי "to keep the charge of God," means in general to take care of God, his person his will, his rights. מִשְׁמֶרֶת is a pure abstract, with the signification, consideration, regard, observation, and the phrase שָׁמַר מִשְׁמֶרֶת יי, which occurs very often in the Pentateuch, and is then adopted from it and still more frequently used by later writers, means to regard, observe[1] a person or thing, comp. Hengstenb. Christol. iii. p. 423 f.—The first and most general definition of מִשְׁמֶרֶת יי is "walking in the ways of God," that is, the conformity of the whole life to the Divine will, which excludes the *opus operatum* of the observance of the law. This is more strictly defined by the details in the following clause, as in Gen. xxvi. 5, Deut. xi. 1. The four words חֻקֹּת, מִצְוֹת, מִשְׁפָּטִים and עֵדוֹת, of which the first three are found connected in Deut. v. 28, viii. 11; Ps. cxix. 5 ff., denote collectively the whole of the law according to its various aspects and relations to men. To regard the several words with Cler. as altogether synonymous is as incorrect as the distinction which is made by the *Crit. Sacr.* חֻקֹּת statutes, are the prescriptions of the law, so far as its obedience is connected with definite rules and usages; מִצְוֹת, commandments, as the expression of the

[1] Seb. Schmidt rightly: *Hebraismus est, qui hoc vult: custodies custodiam, quam debeo Jehovæ præstare, quæ custodia est hæc, ut serves mandata Jehovæ et in iis ambules.*

Divine will, which is to be fulfilled; מִשְׁפָּטִים, as the objective sentences and ordinances, the violation of which draws punishment after it; עֵדוֹת, testimonies, as solemn declarations of the will of God against sin (comp. on עדות, Hengstenb. Beitr. iii. p. 640 f.) All these statutes, commandments, judgments, and testimonies are found in the law of Moses, to obey which David binds his son.[1] לְמַעַן תַּשְׂכִּיל "that thou mayest deal wisely in all that thou doest, and whithersoever thou turnest thyself."[2] The true wisdom of the servant of God, however, consists in obedience to the Divine commands, in walking in communion with God, Deut. iv. 6, xxix. 8. The whole exhortation contains evidently a reminiscence of Jos. i. 7, where the Lord himself, almost in the same words, confers on Joshua the office of captain of the host.—Princes, who deal wisely are prosperous, and spread safety and blessing among their people, Jer. iii. 15. Thus dealt David, and all Israel loved him (1 Sam. xviii. 14—16), and the Lord was with him, slew all his enemies and bestowed on him the promise of the perpetual dominion of his posterity, 2 Sam. vii. 8, 11—16. This promise will Jehovah confirm to Solomon, if he keep the way of the Lord and walk in it in truth with all his heart and all his soul. The לְמַעַן of v. 4 is subordinate to the לְמַעַן of ver. 3; the confirmation of the Divine promise depends on the wise dealing as its fruit and blessing. V. 4. David here states in a negative form the positive promise made to him, 2 Sam. vii. 11—16, "there shall not be cut off from thee a man on the throne of Israel," that is, thy posterity shall perpetually occupy the throne. This promise (ix. 5), confirmed by the Lord himself to Solomon on his prayer at the consecration of the temple (viii. 25), which was repeated at the time of the greatest humiliation of the royal house of David notwithstanding the destruction of Jerusalem and the temple by

[1] That the mention of the Mosaic law has not been transferred by later authors to the time of David, as De Wette i. p. 159 ff. asserts, J. M. Hertz (Are any traces of the Pent. and the Mos. law to be found in the books of Kings? 1822. p. 6 ff.) and Hävern. Einl. i. 2, p. 579 f., have convincingly proved.

[2] Unproved is the meaning, *successum habuit*, assigned to הִשְׂכִּיל in this and other passages by Gesen. Comp. Hengstenb. Christol. iii. p. 519.

the prophet Jeremiah (xxxiii. 17) for the strengthening and consolation of the faithful, found its full realization in Christ the great descendant of David, whose dominion will endure as long as the sun and moon stand (Ps. lxxii.) This complete fulfilment, which Jeremiah has alone in view, retires behind the proximate incomplete realization in the immediate bodily descendants of David, who occupied the throne till the overthrow of the kingdom. לֹא יִכָּרֵת וגו׳ is, moreover, not to be so understood as if no king of the house of David should be driven from the throne, but יִכָּרֵת signifies only the complete extirpation of his race, so that no scion should remain to occupy the throne. אִישׁ מֵעַל כִּסֵּא is explained by אִישׁ יֹשֵׁב עַל כִּסֵּא in the parallel passages viii. 25 and Jer. xxxiii. 17. As soon as David's descendants failed to comply with the condition of the promise, they might be driven from the throne by way of chastisement without any infringement of the promise, because only altogether and for ever God would not withdraw his mercy from them, 2 Sam. vii. 15.

From v. 5 follow several special commissions. Vv. 5, 6. The commission to punish Joab for his crime. The clauses: "what Joab did to me, what he did to the two captains of the host," are connected, but not so closely as Mich. thinks, what Joab did to me in my two field officers. For although Joab had most deeply offended David by the twofold act of assassination perpetrated on Abner and Amasa, yet he had not grieved him by this alone, but also by his former conduct, when he put to death the rebellious Absalom in defiance of the express command of David before the whole host, and, moreover, scornfully upbraided the king, because he mourned for the death of his son, who, though disobedient, was ever dear to a father's heart (2 Sam. xviii. 5—15, xix. 1—6), and, finally, by the conspiracy with Adonijah, heinously transgressed against his lord and king, so that duty enjoined the king to warn his son and successor against a man who was dangerous on account of the great consideration he enjoyed with the army. Even this last circumstance, on which Theodoret lays stress,[1] would be sufficient to justify the commis-

[1] *Μαθὼν συγκατασκευάζοντα αὐτὸν τῷ Ὀρνίᾳ (?Ἀδωνίᾳ) τὴν τυραννίδα, ἔδεισε μὴ τῇ συνήθει κακοηθείᾳ χρησάμενος, καταφρονήσῃ τῆς τοῦ Σολομῶντος*

sion of David in a political point of view. But the commands of David did not rest, at least not alone, on political and personal considerations; for he mentions neither this last transgression nor the first wrong inflicted through the death of Absalom, but only thinks of the double assassination, by which Joab had twice forfeited his life. He had murdered Abner as well as Amasa from jealousy in a treacherous and malicious way. By the murder of Abner (2 Sam. iii.) he had, besides, placed David in so unfavourable a light with the eleven tribes who were on the point of acknowledging him as their king, that the suspicion, that he was the instigator of this foul deed, might easily have fallen upon him,—a suspicion which David only avoided by the most unfeigned sorrow and the public expression of his abhorrence of this crime, comp. Hess, Gesch. Dav. i., p. 292 ff. But should Joab excuse this deed on the ground that he took blood-revenge on Abner, because the latter had slain his brother Asahel in battle (2 Sam. ii. 23, iii. 27)—although this would have been a vain pretence, as blood-revenge did not extend to enemies slain in battle—yet this weak pretence failed entirely in the murder of Amasa, since Joab had slain him from pure thirst of power, 2 Sam. xx. 6—10, because David had promised him the post of commander-in-chief instead of Joab, 2 Sam. xix. 13. Even after the murder of Abner, David prayed for the Divine vengeance on Joab, but was himself unable to punish the crime, because the sons of Zeruiah (Joab and Abishai) were too mighty for him, 2 Sam. iii. 28 f., 39. But that he had only deferred the punishment and intended to remove Joab on the first opportunity from the office of commander-in-chief, is evident from the promise he gave to Amasa, the fulfilment of which Joab had frustrated by his murder. Now as the king felt himself unable to punish this crime, he commits its punishment to his successor. This commission, therefore, for which frivolous scoffers, such as Bayle, Tindal, not merely abused David, but attacked the Bible itself (see Lilienthal. d. gute Sache der Offenb. Part vi. § 303 f.), and others, as Vatke, die Rel. d. A. T. i. p. 308, have called in

νεότητος, καὶ δυοῖν θάτερον δράσῃ· ἢ εὐνοίας προσωπείῳ χρησάμενος ἀνέλῃ λαθὼν, ὥσπερ δὴ τὸν Ἀβεννὴρ καὶ τὸν Ἀβεσσᾶ κατέκτεινεν· ἢ προφανῶς ἀντιπαρατάξηται, καὶ διέλῃ τὸν Ἰσραήλ.

question the truth of the narrative, is completely justified at the bar of the strictest morals.[1]

V. 5. וַיָּשֶׂם דְּמֵי וגו׳ "and shed the blood of war in peace," that is, he shed in peace blood, which should only flow in war, namely, in the murder of Abner and Amasa—"and put the blood of war upon his girdle about his loins, and in his shoes on his feet." Concerning the sense of this phrase the opinions of expositors are very various. Lyra, C. a Lap., Vatabl., Cler., and others, understand the words quite literally, referring them to this, that Abner and Amasa were so pierced by Joab that they fell into his arms, and their blood flowed down on his girdle even to his shoes. J. D. Mich. conceives it figuratively, understanding it to be derived from this, that the girdle was perhaps dipt in the blood of the slain foes, thereby to promise them revenge. But even if such a custom could be proved, the words themselves have not the slightest reference to it.[2] The simplest way would be to supply בְּשָׁלוֹם from the preceding sentence, and, with Deres., to understand the phrase thus: in peace he stained himself or his raiment—his girdle and shoes—with the blood of war.—V. 6. "Do according to thy wisdom," *justam ejus puniendi occasionem observes*, Seb. Schmidt. The punishment of the mighty captain demanded wisdom, in order to occasion no mutiny in the army that was attached to him.—"Let not his gray hairs go down to the grave in peace," that is, let him, although he has gray hairs which ought to be honoured (Lev. xix. 32), not die a peaceful, natural death, that is, let him not go unpunished.

[1] J. D. Michaelis mentions that David, as near relative of Abner and Amasa, according to the right of the avenger of blood, might have avenged their death on Joab; but blood-revenge could not here be admitted, because Joab, as the son of Zeruiah, the daughter of Jesse (1 Chr. ii. 16), was David's nephew; not to mention that the king could not possibly take blood-revenge, an institute arising from the lawless state of nature, after it had been greatly restricted by Moses, and could only not be entirely abolished on account of the σκληροκαρδία of his people.

[2] Far-fetched also is that which Rosenm. (A. u. N. Morgenl. iii. p. 162) adduces to prove that the words must mean, that the blood shed by Joab was intentionally shed more from cruelty than courage. The old versions also give no satisfactory explanation on the point.

V. 7. If the obligation of justice demanded the punishment of Joab, that of gratitude was no less sacred with the dying king. How the octogenarian Barzillai of Gilead provided King David and his followers with the means of life in their flight from Absalom to Mahanaim, and afterwards declined the king's invitation on his return to come with him to Jerusalem, and only permitted his son Chimham to go with him, is recorded in 2 Sam. xvii. 27 ff. and xix. 31 ff. On his death-bed the grateful king recommends his son to make all the children of this his perhaps already deceased benefactor companions at his board. וְיִהְיוּ בְאֹכְלֵי וגו׳ "and let them be of those that eat at my table." It is a question whether they were to eat at his table, that is, to enjoy the privilege of eating daily at the royal table, as Chardin and Harmer in Rosenm. A. u. N. Morgenl. ii. p. 163 assume, or only to receive their food from the royal table, as, for example, Daniel and his companions, and among the Babylonians and Persians all the court-servants, (comp. Hengstenb. Beitr. i. p. 335, and Hävern. Comm. on Dan. i. 5), for which Calmet and others decide. We prefer the first opinion not only because אֹכְלֵי שֻׁלְחָן most naturally signifies those who eat at the table of any one, but also because the receiving of board and maintenance from the royal table was no special distinction, but only an equivalent for the want of pay to which every person in the King's service was entitled; comp. also 1 Ki. xxv. 29.—"For so they came to me," that is, they did me the kindness of entertaining me. Only Barzillai indeed is mentioned, 2 Sam. xvii. 27, but probably his children also took an active part in the matter.

Vv. 8, 9. The kind deed of Barzillai reminds David of the contrary conduct of the Benjamite Shimei, who not only assailed him with bitter injurious words in his flight from Absalom, but even attacked him with stones, 2 Sam. xvi. 5—8. קְלָלָה נִמְרֶצֶת, grievous violent curse, Mic. ii. 10. מָרַץ is cognate with פָּרַץ, to break, פָּרִיץ, violent. Shimei abused David as a bloodhound and a miscreant, 2 Sam. xvi. 7. At that time David bore these slanders patiently, and not only forbade Abishai to slay him, but forgave Shimei when he met him with penitent entreaty after Absalom's fall on his return over the Jordan, and guaranteed his

life with an oath, 2 Sam. xvi. 9—13, 18—24. It is therefore th
more surprising, that the King, after forgiving the slanderer a
the time when the slander wounded him so deeply, should on hi
death-bed years after think of this deed, and charge his son wit
its punishment. J. D. Michael., Deres., and others, plead i
excuse that David ordered the punishment out of paternal co
cern for the security of his son's reign. Seb. Schm. and othe
endeavour to defend it on the presumption that Shimei ha
altered his demeanour and showed himself unworthy of the favou
conferred on him. The words אַל־תְּנַקֵּהוּ "hold him not guil
less," certainly appear to be opposed to the assumption that Davi
had discovered "rebellious dispositions" in him, and to intima
that David, although he had forgiven him the personal wron
and had guaranteed his life on oath merely because he did n
wish to disturb the joy on his recovery of the throne by a pe
sentence, 2 Sam. xix. 23, yet as king and representative of t
Divine right in the theocracy had not forgiven the crime of hi
treason, of which Shimei had become guilty, by reviling
Lord's anointed, and according to theocratic right could not f
give it, because the Lord himself was insulted in his anoint
But the following words, "for thou art a wise man," as well
Solomon's treatment of Shimei, (v. 36 ff.), indicate very empl
tically that David and Solomon had no confidence in the disp
tion of Shimei. Accordingly in this charge David is to
acquitted not only of personal vindictiveness but of every inj
tice.[1] The punishment of Shimei was the duty of the theocra
ruler, for "Shimei was a blasphemer against the chosen of G
and his repentance was not genuine." Fr. v. Meyer.—V.
עִמָּךְ, in thy neighbourhood. Shimei at this time probably
resided in Jerusalem, comp. v. 36.—בְּדָמָיו is the opposite o
בְּשָׁלוֹם, v. 6.

[1] "Shimei is and remains a proof rather of David's magnanimity thai
of his vindictiveness. To endure the miscreant all his life in hi
neighbourhood (there was nothing even said of banishment) was n
small thing. To suffer him to close his days unmolested under anothe
reign also (which was never promised him) would have been a boo
which would have given a very injurious example of unpunished trans
gression." Such is the judgment of J. J. Hess, Gesch. Dav. ii. p
210.

V. 10. The death and burial of David. The city of David is the stronghold of Zion, where David's sepulchre was extant even in the days of Christ, Acts ii. 29.[1]—On v. 11, comp. 2 Sam. v. 5. At Hebron David reigned properly seven and a half years, and at Jerusalem thirty-three.—Here and in 1 Chr. xxix. 27, the full number merely is given.

V. 12 forms the introduction to the history of Solomon's reign. In the following verses is recorded the manner in which Solomon established his authority by the punishment of the parties suspected of sedition.

Vv. 13—18. Adonijah comes to Bathsheba, and prefers the request that she would apply for him to her son King Solomon, that he might give him Abishag the Shunammite to wife. V. 13. הֲשָׁלוֹם בּוֹאֶךָ, is thy coming peace? that is, comest thou with peaceable good intent? (1 Sam. xvi. 4.) After the recent events (i. 5 ff.) Bathsheba might easily imagine evil designs. The speech of Adonijah (v. 15) is not so "extremely offensive" (as Mich. thinks), that Bathsheba ought not to have listened to it. In the words: "thou knowest that the kingdom was mine," he merely appeals to his greater age, by reason of which he thought he might lay claim to the throne (comp. v. 22, and the remarks on i. 4.) Many eyes also among the people might have been directed to him, though the assertion, that all Israel set their faces on him, was beyond the bounds of truth, as all true theocrats knew that the Lord had chosen Solomon as successor. The captious part of his speech, however, was concealed by the addition, that Jehovah had transferred the kingdom to his brother, so that Bathsheba, thinking his words to be sincere, did not mark the evil intent. וַתִּסֹּב וגו׳ "the kingdom is turned," that is, from me and to my brother. V. 16. "Turn not away my face," that is, deny me not my request. The re-

[1] According to a Rabbinic statement in Lightfoot, *hor. Hebr. et Talm. ad Act.* ii. 29, David must have died at Pentecost. No more attention is due to this statement than to the account of Josephus (*Antiq.* vii. 15, 3, xiii. 8, 4, xvi. 7, 1, *de bell. Jud.* i. 2, 5) of the great treasures which Solomon deposited in his tomb, and Hyrcanus and Herod plundered, of which a refutation, no longer necessary in our times, is to be found in Calmet and Clericus *ad h. l.*, and in *Buddei hist. eccl. V. T.* ii. p. 172. *ed.* 3.

quest is very artful (comp. on v. 22), and Bathsheba does not mark the cunning of Adonijah, but with womanish simplicity takes his demand for an innocent desire, and promises to make application for him to the king.

Vv. 19—22. She betakes herself therefore to Solomon, and is received by him with all the respect due to a mother. וַיָּקָם לִקְרָאתָהּ, "and he rose up to meet her"—a pregnant sense for, rose up and went to meet her—and caused her to take her place on a seat at his right hand. The seat at the right hand was the place of honour among the Israelites, comp. Ps. cx. 1, and Joseph. *Antiq.* vi. 11, 9, as among the Greeks and Romans, for which Aristotle assigns the reason, *διὰ τὸ ἰσχυρότερον εἶναι τὴν φύσιν τῶν δεξιῶν*, see *Dougt. annal. ss.* i. 169 *sq.*[1]—V. 20 f. Regarding her request as so small, that the king will not refuse her, Bathsheba prefers it quite freely. (On the constr. of the pass. יִתֵּן with אֶת, comp. Ew. Gr. § 494.) But Solomon, penetrating Adonijah's designs at a glance, indignantly exclaims: "Why dost thou ask Abishag the Shunammite for him, ask for him the kingdom also; for he is mine elder brother; even for him, and for Abiathar the priest, and for Joab." V. 22. וְלוֹ depends still on שְׁאַלְתִּי. By the advice of these two wily friends, probably, Adonijah had asked the concubine of David for himself to wife, in order to make good thereby his claim to the throne. If Solomon had given him Abishag, he would thereby have acknowledged his claims in the eyes of the people. For the Israelites regarded the wives and concubines of the deceased king as the property of his successor, comp. 2 Sam. xii. 8, iii. 7, 8; Mich. Mos. R. ii. § 54, 7, and the decisions of the Rabbins in *Seldeni uxor Hebr. l.* i. *c.* 10. To put himself in possession of the royal harem was held among them, as among the ancient Persians (Herod. iii. 68), to be a public confirmation of his claim to the throne. This explains Solomon's indignant answer. But was Bathsheba ignorant of this general opinion? After what

[1] The representative of the king (الرِّدَافَة) sat at the right of the old Arabic kings, see Eichhorn, *monum. antiq. hist. Arab.* p. 220, whereas among the old Persians the left side was the more honourable according to Xenophon, Cyrop. viii. 4, 3.

Absalom had done by the counsel of Ahithophel, 2 Sam. xvi. 21, it could not be unknown to her. But perhaps she did not think of this, because Adonijah's wily speech had taken her by surprise, and David also had not known Abishag (i. 4), so that she was not in the proper sense of the term one of his concubines. If the case had been otherwise the request would have been in itself contrary to the law of Moses, Lev. xviii. 8.

Vv. 23—25. Hereupon Solomon vowed that Adonijah should *die*, and ordered *Benaiah to put him to death*. The form: "God do so to me and more also," that is, so do God to me continually, is a usual form of swearing, Ruth i. 17; 1 Sam. xiv. 44, xx. 13; Jer. xxii. 5, which in 1 Sam. iii. 17, xxv. 22; 2 Sam. xix. 14; 2 Kr. vi. 31 is followed by אִם, which often stands elliptically in swearing, God punish me, if I do this = truly I will not do this, see Gesen., Lehrgeb. p. 844. Now since כִּי follows here as in Ruth i. 17; 1 Sam. xiv. 44, we might be disposed to render כִּי by if, especially as it actually precedes the form of adjuration in this sense in 1 Sam. xx. 13; but this sense does not suit either in this passage or the others; the negation must remain as it is; it must thus be taken here for ὅτι as introducing the oath, which is clearly proved by 2 Sam. iii. 35, where כִּי is prefixed to the אִם. Thus כִּי stands after the form of adjuration חַי יי v. 24; 1 Sam. xx. 3, xxv. 34, &c.—בְּנַפְשׁוֹ "against his life," to the danger of his life, to his destruction has Adonijah spoken this (בְּ *est pretii ut in eodem contextu*, 2 Sam. xxiii. 17; Prov. vii. 23; Thren. v. 9. Maurer.)—V. 24,[1] "who hath made me an house," that is, hath given me a family, a posterity, as he promised, 2 Sam. vii. 11. עָשָׂה בַּיִת = the more usual בנה בית *sobolem, prolem dedit, cf. Ges. thes.* i. p. 193. According to xi. 42, compared with xiv. 21, and 2 Chr. xii. 13, Solomon had already a son, Rehoboam, a year old.—V. 25. As

[1] The penultimate Jod in וַיּוֹשִׁיבֵנִי may either be introduced by mistake, as Hitzig, Begr. d. Krit. p. 138, supposes, or as Maurer thinks, intentionally inserted to indicate the pronunciation *eni*, although the Masoretes pronounce *ani*, and the difference of vowel between the suffix of the pret. and that of the fut. is not uniformly observed, comp. Gesen. Lehrgeb. p. 206, Ew. Krit. Gr. p. 383, hebr. Gr. p. 184.

soon as the sentence is pronounced,[1] it is forthwith executed by Benaiah, the captain of the guard. Among the Israelites (vv. 34, 46; 2 Ki. xi. 15, 16) as among the old Egyptians (Gen. xl. 17, and Hengstenb. die BB. Mos. u. Aeg. p. 23) and Babylonians (Dan. ii. 14, and Lengerke on the passage), the punishment of death was immediately inflicted without any formality by the captain of the guard, as it is at present in the East among the Turks and Persians, see the numerous proofs in Paulsen, Regier. d. Morgenl. i. p. 355, Mich. Mos. R. v. § 232, and Rosenm. A. u. R. Morgenl. i. p. 181.

V. 26. How free Solomon was from personal revenge and excessive severity in the punishment of the rebel is shown in his conduct towards Abiathar, the high priest, which puts those to shame who, as Gramberg, Krit. Gesch. d. Religionsid. d. A. T. i. p. 390, call him fainthearted and cruel. As accomplice in the conspiracy of Adonijah, he had in strict justice deserved death; but Solomon spares his life partly on account of his priestly dignity—because he had borne the ark of the Lord before David, as well in the solemn removal of it to Jerusalem, 1 Chr. xv. 11, 12, as in David's flight from Absalom, 2 Sam. xv. 24—29—partly on account of the sufferings, hardships, and dangers, in which he had participated with David in his protracted flight from Saul; removes him merely from the priesthood which he had forfeited by resisting the anointed of the Lord, and banishes him to his country-seat at Anathoth. אִישׁ מָוֶת אַתָּה "thou art worthy of death," thou hast certainly deserved death, but I will not at this time put thee to

[1] This sentence also has found censors. Even Cleric. and Hess in p. q. p. 239 f. find it certainly agreeable to the spirit of Eastern statesmanship on the presumption that Adonijah had had in his petition treasonable designs on the throne; but they are not willing to approve or commend it. But it cannot be a question of praise or blame where the Divine law demands its right. All attack or censure depends on unbiblical views of law and right, and on a complete misunderstanding of the theocratic point of view, according to which alone the question can be decided. By the attempt to usurp the throne Adonijah had already rebelled against Jehovah, who had appointed Solomon as the successor of David. Now if, after Solomon had forgiven his transgression, he comes out with a new attempt at rebellion, duty to God and the theocracy demanded of Solomon not to have respect to consanguinity, but to act according to the rigour of the law.

death. בַּיּוֹם הַזֶּה limits the absolution from the sentence of death, as Solomon did not foreknow whether Abiathar would demean himself peaceably for the future.

In v. 27 the theocratic author of these books remarks that by the removal of Abiathar from the priesthood the announcement of the Lord concerning the house of Eli, 1 Sam. ii. 30—33, was fulfilled. With this is connected also the double high-priesthood, which existed from Eli's times for the two separated sanctuaries, since the ark of the covenant after its capture by the Philistines (1 Sam. iv.) was never brought back to the tabernacle of witness, see Movers, Krit. Untersuch. p. 291 ff.—How Eli the descendant of Ithamar, 1 Chr. xxiv. 3, attained to the high-priesthood, though this office was promised in perpetuity to the family of Eleazar (Num. xxv. 13) the history does not state, comp. *Cler. ad* 1 *Sam.* ii. 30. It is possible that in the earlier occasional removals of the ark of the covenant from the tabernacle of witness, if it was taken in war, in such seasons of the division of the sanctuary a special high-priest of the line of Ithamar was chosen for the service in the tabernacle of witness, and that after the death of the high-priest of Eleazar's family, Eli alone retained this office. To him succeeded, as his two sons fell in the battle with the Philistines (1 Sam. iv. 14), before his own death, his grandson Ahitub, the son of Phinehas; to him his son Ahiah, 1 Sam. xiv. 3; to him his brother Ahimelech, who was murdered with the rest of the priests at Nob by Saul, 1 Sam. xxii., and to him finally the Abiathar who was saved from the massacre (1 Sam. xxii. 20, comp. *Relandi Antiq. ss. P.* ii. *c.* 2 § 2), by whose removal now recorded the line of Eleazar in Zadok again attained to the exclusive possession of the high priesthood.[1]

[1] The pedigree of Zadok in Selden, *de success. in pontif. l. i. c.* 4, does not quite agree either with 1 Chr. vi. 4 ff., nor with the statements of Josephus, Antiq. viii. 1, 3. Whether his nearest progenitors, Meraioth and Ahitub (1 Chr. ix. 11; Neh. xi. 11), perhaps during the wars with the Philistines under Samuel and Saul, when the ark must have been a long time at Gilgal, as Mov. in. p. q. p. 291 f. has shown, although Hitzig (Heidelb. Jahrb. 1835. Febr. p. 134) without reason assigned denies this—had already officiated there as priests, cannot be determined from want of records. We only learn from 1 Sam. vii. 1 that the ark, when sent back by the Philistines, was de-

Vv. 28—34. As soon as the report of the execution of Adonijah and the deposition of Abiathar reaches Joab, he seeks refuge at the altar, (not of the tabernacle of witness, but of the ark of the covenant, comp. on i. 50), because he was involved in the insurrection of Adonijah.[1] As it could not be unknown to him, that the altar did not protect the rebel and the murderer, it may be inquired why he sought safety there and did not even leave the altar at the summons of Benaiah. C. a Lap. gives the true answer: *sperabat quod loci sanctitas eum tutaretur, nec Salomonis religio permitteret eum ibidem occidi.* On the same ground Benaiah refers the decision to the king, v. 30 f.—Although Joab answers Benaiah, "here will I die," yet he hopes in his heart for mercy; but Solomon lets the law take its course, and orders to slay him at the altar in order to free himself and his family from the guilt which lay on them, as long as Joab had not received punishment for the twofold act of assassination, comp. Numb. xxxv. 30 f.; Deut. xix. 13.—The words of Solomon, v. 33, refer to the curse, which David pronounced on Joab and his posterity after the murder of Abner, 2 Sam. iii. 28 f.—V. 34. In consequence of the king's command to bury the slain (v. 31), which is founded upon the law, Deut. xxi. 22 f., Joab was buried with his family (בְּבֵיתוֹ) in the wilderness of Judah.—On v. 35 comp. i. 8 and ii. 27.

V. 36—40. After the punishment of the rebel Solomon also summons Shimei before him, who was probably still residing at Bahurim, and whose disposition was likewise suspicious, and commands him to build himself a house in Jerusalem, and not to leave it on pain of death, as soon as he leaves the city to go any whither, and crosses the brook Kidron which flowed on the east side of Jerusalem between the city and the Mount of Olives,

posited in the house of Abinadab, on the hill at Kirjathjearim, and his son consecrated to minister to it: and under David both high priests, Zadok and Abiathar, are already met with in the first year of his sovereignty over all the tribes, 1 Chr. xv. 11.

[1] Perhaps Joab had given Adonijah the counsel to ask Abishag for himself to wife, as Ahithophel before gave similar advice to Absalom, 2 Sam. xvi. 21. At least Solomon appears to have presumed this, although we cannot with certainty infer it from the flight of Joab, and Solomon also punishes Joab solely on account of his transgression in the case of Abner and Amasa, v. 32.

n order to escape, it might be, to his birthplace Bahurim, tuated in the wilderness of Jericho[1] (2 Sam. xv. 23, xvi. 5.)— Concerning the form אָנָה וָאָנָה whither and whither = any hither *quocunque*, with negative preceding, no whither (v. 36), omp. Hupfeld in d. Zeitschr. f. d. Kunde des Morgenl. ii. 3, p. 61.—V. 37. The phrase: "thy blood shall be on thine own ead" (בְּרֹאשֶׁךָ, or, come upon thy head (עַל) is a *term. techn.*, orrowed from the law to denote the punishment of death. On he ground of the command given to Noah: "whoso sheddeth an's blood by man shall his blood be shed," Gen. ix. 6, it was nployed by the lawgiver according to the fundamental prin- ple, life for life (Ex. xxi. 23), at first indeed only in the unishment of murder and premeditated death, but afterwards : was transferred also to other crimes worthy of death, for xample, Lev. xvii. 4, to sacrificing not at the tabernacle of itness, "blood (blood-guilt) shall be imputed unto that man, e hath shed blood." In this sense Moses often uses the brief rm, his blood be on him or upon him (בּוֹ or עָלָיו), Lev. xx. 11, 12, 13, 16, &c., for various offences.—V. 38. Shimei imself acknowledges the equity of this sentence, promises obedi- nce to the king with an oath (v. 42), and for a considerable ime (יָמִים רַבִּים) remains true to his oath. But when two of is slaves, three years after, ran away from him and escaped to Achish, king of the Philistines, to Gath, he set out and brought hem back thence, v. 39, 40.—Achish, the son of Maachah, is bviously the same with Achish, son of Maoch, with whom David twice found protection from Saul (1 Sam. xxi. 10 ff., xvii. 2); for a reign of fifty years does not belong to the domain f the inconceivable.

Vv. 41—46. As soon as the transgression of his command eached the ears of Solomon, he calls for Shimei, upbraids him ith the breach of his sworn promise, pronounces upon him the

[1] Bahurim lay not on the site of *Abu Dis*, as v. Schubert, Reise in Morgenl. iii. p. 70 f. thinks, but farther north, as Robins. Pal. ii. p. 12 has rightly remarked, and indeed in or at the valley stretching rom the middle of the Mount of Olives in an easterly direction, comp. Thenius in the "biblischen Studien von Geistlichen d. Königr. Sach- en," published by Käuffer, annual series 2 (1843), p. 154 f., and the ap accompanying the volume.

sentence of death, and causes it to be executed by Benaiah. Thi proceeding appears very harsh to the subjective modern view o history. Shimei has surely, it is thought, committed no grea offence, if he has brought back his slaves, which he probabl bought and paid for with hard cash, and thus helped himself t his own lawful property (Engl. Cyclop. of the Bible); perhap he thought, also, that his journey to Gath was no transgressio of the royal command, because he did not require to cross th Kidron (Cleric.) On such grounds expositors have endeavoure to excuse Shimei, and at the same time to prove Solomon' rigour. But Shimei cannot be exculpated. The subtle evasi devised by Cler. is refuted by the plain words of the text, whi forbid him to go any whither out of Jerusalem (vv. 36, 42); an the reference to the cash which his slaves may have cost him i no less empty an argument. If Shimei wished to remain tru to his oath, he should have informed the king of the flight of h slaves, petitioned him for leave to bring them back, and awaite his directions, but he ought not to have lightly broken his oat In his perjury lay his guilt, and he had no excuse, as Solomo showed him (vv. 42, 43), to which was added his high treaso committed against David, v. 44, comp. the remarks on v. 8. I the punishment of this crime, Solomon thus only vindicated th Divine right, and might therefore regard it as a retribution sus pended by Jehovah over Shimei for his transgression, for whic God will bless him by the fulfilment of the promise made t David of the perpetual duration of his throne, v. 45.

The last words of v. 46 : "And the kingdom was establishe in the hand of Solomon," serve to close the subjects thus fa handled. Comp. on this peculiar closing formula of the Shemit historiography Ewald, Compos. d. Genes. p. 138, 164 ff.—בְּיַד means not *studio* (Dathe), but either simply by, or in the hand that is, in possession of.

CHAPTER III.

LOMON'S MARRIAGE AND WORSHIP OF GOD, VV. 1—3; HIS OLEMN PRAYER AND OFFERING AT GIBEON, VV. 4—15; AND IS WISE DECISION OF A CASE IN LAW, VV. 16—28.

fter the establishment of the sovereignty of Solomon has been ed, ch. ii., the description of his reign begins with the state- of his domestic and religious life. Both were defective in eginning of his reign. The daughter of Pharaoh, whom he ied, he was not able to receive into his palace, v. 1, and he not able to worship the Lord in the place chosen by himself is name, vv. 2, 3. Both these defects were first remedied he buildings he erected, comp. ix. 24 f.

V. 1. Solomon made alliance with Pharaoh, king of Egypt, by ing his daughter to wife. If Solomon formed this connexion er ascending the throne, for which the placing of the fact here ms to speak, he had already married at least an Ammonitess, aamah, and by her had one son Rehoboam, comp. on ch. ii. 24. ith regard to the daughter of Pharaoh, the old expositors have ny discussions on the question whether this marriage was a nsgression of the Divine law or not. The Rabbins, Lyra, Münr, C. a Lap., give a negative answer, as the Rabbins expressly ch that the daughter of Pharaoh was a proselyte; whereas Calm., o. Schm., &c., think that Solomon sinned because Pharaoh's ughter was not a proselyte; and Theod. and Procop. even assert, t he thereby transgressed the law, which forbade intermarriage h strangers. In order to decide this point we must separate two stions, (*a*), the question whether marriage with the daughter of Egyptian king was forbidden? Here the answer must be in negative, because the law only expressly forbids marriage h the Canaanites, Ex. xxxiv. 16; Deut. vii. 3, and even pers to marry strange wives and maidens taken captive in war r allowing them a time for mourning, Deut. xx. 10—14. t even if the law did not forbid every marriage with foreigners, it must not be at once concluded that it approved of such rriages. They only accorded with the spirit of the law, when

the foreign woman professed faith in Jehovah; (*b*), the questi whether the daughter of Pharaoh was a proselyte, or to expr it more correctly, whether she renounced idolatry and profes her faith in the God of Israel? This, if discussed at all, m be inferred partly from the circumstance that she is neither, xi., named among the wives of Solomon who practised idol and betrayed the old king into it, nor is a single trace of Eg tian idolatry to be found in Judah during the whole of this re and partly from the character of Solomon. As he in the be ning of his reign loved Jehovah and walked in his ways, (v he surely would not have indulged his Egyptian consort in practice of idolatry. A different conclusion certainly migh assumed from the fact that he did not allow her to dwell in stronghold of Zion, where the ark of the covenant was, brought her into the city of David, that is, Jerusalem, until finishing his buildings he could assign her a residence built her in his new palace, (vii. 8, ix. 24; 2 Chr. viii. 11); but t proceeding rather indicates the contrary. If Solomon, in conf mity with the law, paid so much regard to the sanctity of the a that he did not allow Pharaoh's daughter as a foreigner to dw in the same building with it, he will have paid still more rega to the prohibition of idolatry. His keeping her at a distan from Zion, the fort consecrated by the presence of the ark has ground not in the idolatry of his Egyptian consort but in reverencing the law, which Deut. xxiii. 7, 8, commands not abhor an Egyptian, but to admit only his descendants into t congregation of the Lord.—בִּירָתוֹ is correct, and the conjectu proposed by Cler. בִּיתָהּ is not needed.

Vv. 2, 3. General judgment concerning the state of relig in the beginning of Solomon's reign. People and king worsh ped Jehovah, only they offered sacrifice to him on the high pla because the temple, the sole place of sacrifice, was not yet bu —רַק means neither *ceterum* nor *attamen*, but here also sim "only," and is invariably *particula extenuandi et excipie* comp. *Wineri lex. s.v.* The use of this particle in phrases re ing to worship in high places is so constant in these books t it is inserted even here where it does not appear suita Usually the formula, "only the high places were not remo

the people offered and burned incense still in the high places," ppended to the remark, that this or that king walked in the of the Lord, comp. xxii. 44; 2 Ki. xii. 4, xiv. 4, xv. 4, 35. statement is here also to be completed in thought. The or wishes to relate how Solomon worshipped the Lord before building of the temple, and should thus have placed the state- concerning the worship of the people after v. 3. But in not to interrupt the connexion between v. 3 and 4 ff., he ises this formula, to which the רק appears unsuitable. The were altars erected on rising grounds and hills—probably se men believed the Deity to be nearer there, whence heights ills were favourite places of sacrifice among all nations, Gesenius, Preface to Gramb.'s Religionsid. i. p. xiv. ff., esaur. i., 188, and Rosenm. A. u. N. Morgenl. ii. p. 221 f. , consecrated to the worship of Jehovah, are thus to be distinguished from the altars of idols. Yet they were forbidden in the law, because, as Häv. Einl. i. 2 p. 592 justly remarks, "they threatened great danger to strict monotheism (as they were prejudicial to the idea of the living God, who manifests himself in concrete unity), and especially on account of the similar custom of neighbouring heathen nations, easily descended into idolatry." To prevent this as much as possible God had appointed the national sanctuary to be the exclusive place of his worship, Lev. xvii. 3 ff.; but so long as this sanctuary was only a wandering tabernacle, and Jehovah had not yet chosen any fixed place for his worship (Deut. xii. 13 f.), this law could not be carried into complete effect. The offering, therefore, on the high places is here excused on this ground, that the temple was not yet built; for after the building of the temple the worship in high places was an altogether forbidden service, the extinction of which, however, the most pious kings could not entirely accomplish. In order to set forth still more distinctly, that the offering on the high places was at that time permitted, the author adds: "Solomon loved the Lord, walking in the statutes of David his father."

V. 4. To the general statement concerning the state of religion at that time is annexed the narrative of the solemn offering which Solomon made at Gibeon after his establishment in the

sovereignty.[1] This offering was of national import. It wa
expression on the one side of thanks for the establishment o
new reign, on the other of prayer for its farther prospe
Hence also the representatives of the people took part in
Chr. i. 2), and burnt-offerings were presented in such numb

Vv. 5—9. What was wanting to the place of offerin
Gibeon, the presence of Jehovah connected with the ark
the Lord supplied in this offering by the immediate appea
which he made to Solomon in a dream on the night afte
sacrifice (v. 15; 2 Chr. i. 7.) The prayer of Solomon utter
a dream is not according to the well-known proverb, d
are vain, a mere fancy picture, but a real expression of the
that animated the soul of the young king in his offering.
prayer of Solomon begins with the praise of the great f
that the Lord, in conformity with the promise he made to
2 Sam. vii., had now exalted him on the throne of David, the
ceeds to the confession of his weakness and inability to discharge
aright the high office entrusted to him, to rule well the numerous
people of God, and to distinguish righteously in judgment the
good from the bad, and closes with a petition for the requisite
wisdom and discernment. *Διὰ δὲ τούτων καὶ τῆς φύσεως ἔδειξε τὴν ἀσθένειαν καὶ τῆς ἡλικίας τὸ ἀτελὲς καὶ τῆς δοθείσης ἐξουσίας τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὸ τῆς κρίσεως ἐπικίνδυνον καὶ τῆς φρονήσεως τὸ ἀναγκαῖον καὶ τὸ σύνετὸν τῆς αἰτήσεως.* Theod.—נַעַר קָטֹן, that is, a weak boy. How old Solomon was at that time we do not know, scarcely more than twenty years. The idea of the נער is quite relative. Here it denotes the youth still deficient in the experience of life, as appears from the addition: לֹא אֵדַע צֵאת

[1] By connecting the sacrifice at Gibeon with the remark concerning the offerings on the high places, the place of offering at Gibeon is put in the category of בָּמוֹת, which were excused during the provisional state of the national sanctuary. Yet by the addition: "for that was the great high place," it is still distinguished from the common high places. For here was the old tabernacle of witness with the Mosaic altar of burnt-offering, 2 Chr. i. 3, comp. my apol. Vers. p. 390 ff. But the tabernacle of testimony itself, since the ark was separated from it, had dwindled into a mere shadow of the true sanctuary, and become quite similar to the other במות.

וָבֹא, a proverbial expression for inexperience in the practical wisdom requisite for a pious upright walk. Rightly paraphrased by Vatabl. *nescio quomodo me gerere debeam in administratione tanti regni.* The description of the greatness of the chosen people (v. 8) rests upon the promise made to Abraham, Gen. xiii. 16, xv. 5, xxii. 17, to which also Jacob refers in his prayer, Gen. xxxii. 13, and so, indeed, that the לֹא יִמָּנֶה is taken from Gen. xiii. 16, and לֹא יִסָּפֵר מֵרֹב, from xxxii. 13, not from xvi. 10, where a very numerous posterity is promised to Hagar in the same terms. On the distinction of מָנָה, to determine, and סָפַר, to count, comp. Hengstenb. d. Gesch. Bileams p. 91 ff.—V. 9. לֵב שֹׁמֵעַ, a heart hearkening to the voice of God, that is, obedient, docile.—"To judge thy people." For the decision of difficult cases, which in those days came immediately before the king, great discrimination and experience were requisite in order to distinguish at once right from wrong, and pass a just sentence.

Vv. 10—14. The prayer of Solomon related entirely to his office, to his position as king and administrator of law among the people of God; for himself personally he had asked nothing, neither long life, nor riches, nor the fall of his enemies (נֶפֶשׁ אֹיְבֶיךָ) —clear goods, which are often sought in this world as the greatest treasure. His prayer therefore pleased the Lord, and was heard in richer measure than he had asked. God grants him not only a wise and understanding heart, so that no king either before or after him surpassed him in wisdom; but also, in accordance with the promise that to him that seeks first the kingdom of God and His righteousness, all other things are added (Matth. vi. 33), gives him all earthly blessings in great abundance; riches and honour, and on the condition of obedience to his commands, promises him long life also.—V. 11. לִשְׁמֹעַ מִשְׁפָּט "to hear judgment." מִשְׁפָּט denotes the objective, the Divine judgment—to understand this, and practice it in the administration of justice.—The words: "that there was none like thee before thee," should not be limited with Cler. and others to the *reges Israelis*, which is arbitrary, but must be understood quite generally of all men, comp. iv. 29—32. בַּמְּלָכִים v. 13 is

also to be taken generally of all antecedent kings, all of whom he surpassed in riches and glory.—The promise of long life is only conditionally given (v. 14), and was not fulfilled, because Solomon failed in the condition, comp. xi. 42.

V. 15. On awaking, Solomon remarked that it was a dream, that is, a Divine vision in a dream, as Theodor. rightly explains. After his return to Jerusalem therefore he thanks the Lord for this promise by presenting burnt-offerings and thank-offerings before the ark of the covenant, and celebrates a sacrificial feast with his servants, that is, with his whole court.

Vv. 16—28. In proof that God had heard the prayer of Solomon by the bestowment of wisdom in judgment, a judicial decision in a difficult case is here related which demonstrates Solomon's extraordinary sagacity in judging. *Ἐπιδεῖξαι τὴν τοῦ βασίλεως ἐβουλήθη σοφίαν. σοφωτάτης γὰρ τῷ ὄντι διανοίας, τὸ τὰ λανθάνοντα δεῖξαι καὶ τὰ κεκρυμμένα δηλῶσαι, καὶ προσενεγκεῖν τῇ φύσει τὴν βάσανον καὶ αὐτῇ τῆς δίκης ἐπιτρέψαι τὴν ψῆφον.* Theodor.—Of two harlots inhabiting one house in common, each had a child, and the one overlaid her child during the night in sleep, laid her dead child in the bosom of the other, and took to herself the living one. Now when the other, on the next morning, attentively considered the child found dead in her bosom, she discovered that it was not her own, but that of the former, whereas this one asserted the contrary. Whereupon, having got into a controversy, they bring the matter before Solomon for decision, who takes the most effectual means in this case of bringing out the truth by commanding to divide the living child with the sword, and give a half to each, and thereby appealing to the love of the maternal heart which immediately discovers itself in this, that the real mother is more willing to yield up her child to the other than allow it to be divided in two.[1] כִּי נִכְמְרוּ רַחֲמֶיהָ Luther renders strikingly as to the sense; "for her motherly heart burned for her son." רַחֲמִים bowels, among the Hebrews, the seat of feeling, here *meton.* the tender mother love.—V. 28. This sentence made the impression on the

[1] A similar decision is recorded of the emperor Claudius. *Feminam non agnoscentem filium suum, dubia utrimque argumentorum fide, ad confessionem compulit indicto matrimonio juvenis. Sueton. vit. Claud* c. 15.

whole people, that Solomon was endowed with Divine wisdom for the administration of justice.[1]

CHAPTER IV.

LIST OF SOLOMON'S MOST DISTINGUISHED OFFICERS OF COURT AND STATE.

Older expositors have already observed, that this list belongs not to the beginning but to the later period of Solomon's reign. This appears certain from the fact that two of the twelve officers were married to daughters of Solomon, vv. 11—15. Besides it is scarcely probable, that all the ministers of state here enumerated should have held their office during a whole reign of forty years. The list appears accordingly to contain a collection of the most distinguished officers of the kingdom during the whole of Solomon's reign, which is inserted here for substantial reasons to give an idea of the power and glory of the kingdom of Israel under Solomon. To this both the commencement and close of the chapter point.

V. 1 contains a form of transition. "Solomon was king over all Israel." This implies no opposition to David, who reigned seven years over Judah alone (Münster); in that case, according to 2 Sam. v. 5, the whole would certainly have been expressed by Israel and Judah. There might rather be in the expression a reference to the division of the kingdom which took place after Solomon's death, though this also is rendered uncertain by chap. xii. 20, "they made Jeroboam king over all

[1] While the older theologians acknowledge the wisdom of this sentence, and even Niemeyer (Charakteristik d. Bib. iv. p. 536) finds in it an evidence of "quick decision, presence of mind, and correct knowledge of human nature," G. L. Bauer on the other hand (Gesch. d. hebr. Nat. ii. p. 289) sees therein "merely the conduct of an Oriental despot, a freak which would not very much exalt a European prince." Such a judgment only proves the inability of all rationalism, measuring according to its own ephemeral wisdom, to form an estimate of history.

Israel, only the tribe of Judah alone adhered to the house of David.

Vv. 2—6. The highest officers of the kingdom. שָׂרִים, princes, that is, supreme officers. Azariah the son of Zadok was הַכֹּהֵן. The Vulg., Luth., C. a Lap., Calm., J. D. Mich., and others consider הכהן the *genit. in app.* with צדוק, *filius Zadok* sacerdotis, for which only the want of the ו in the beginning of v. 4 can be pleaded. But against it is *(a)* the distinctive accent on צדוק, *(b)* the comparison with בֶּן־אֲחִילוּד הַמַּזְכִּיר v. 3, where the accent is the same and המזכיר is predicate, comp. Pfaff, *not. crit. ad h. c.* הכהן therefore must also be taken as predicate. Many regard Azariah as the son of Ahimaaz and grandson of Zadok, 1 Chr. v. 34, 35, which is very unlikely, comp. on ii. 27. In no case is he identical with the Azariah of 1 Chr. v. 36 (Seb. Schm.), as the latter lived under Uzziah, comp. my apalog. Vers. p. 180. But what does הַכֹּהֵן mean hear? Does it denote the high priest? Certainly not. For Zadok and Abiathar are named (v. 4) as the chief high priests, and Zadok officiates in the anointing of Solomon as high priest, i. 39. כֹּהֵן can here denote no priest, however strongly many critics from prejudice against Chronicles in 1 Chr. xviii. 15 will claim this meaning for the word everywhere, comp. my apol. Vers. p. 346 ff. and Movers, Krit. Unters. p. 301 ff.; but signifies the regent or representative of the king to the people—a meaning which is sufficiently established by ver. 5 and by the Arab. الكاهن which Tiruzabadi explains: *qui assurgit in negotio alicujus et operam dat in causa ejus*, see Ges. *thes.* ii. 661.[1]—V. 3.

[1] This passage refutes also the explanation of Stähelin in Tholuck's litt. Anz. 1838, No. 67, that כהנים, 2 Sam. viii. 18, denotes higher officers, to whom certain priestly functions of a lower kind were assigned, or as Gesen. *l. c. p.* 661, expresses it: *sacerdotes, fortasse sacra privata administrantes*; for such a priest could not have been distinguished by the definite article. Besides, Movers, in p. q. has already rejected the meaning obtruded on that passage of "house or palace priests," "court chaplains and spiritual advisers," as a new-fashioned application of our relations to the ancient world, whereas the remark, that Movers was *ejus quæ sacerdotum in aula Persarum et Aegyptiorum erat conditionis immemor (Gesen. l. c.)* is quite inapposite,

בְּנֵי שִׁישָׁא, Shisha is without doubt the same with שַׁוְשָׁא, 1 Chr. xviii. 16, who discharged the office of a Sopher under David, and 2 Sam. viii. 17 is called שְׂרָיָה.[1] סֹפְרִים, scribes, secretaries to the king,[2] comp. 2 Sam. viii. 17, xx. 25; 2 Ki. xii. 11, xix. 2, xxii. 3 ff.—Jehoshaphat the son of Ahilud was מַזְכִּיר, annalist under David (2 Sam. viii. 16)—a higher officer, who is found in all oriental kingdoms, among the ancient and modern Persians (*Waka Nuwish*), with the Eastern Roman emperors, even among the Chinese, comp. Ges. *thes.* i. 415.—V. 4. Concerning Benaiah, Zadok, and Abiathar, comp. i. 18, and ii. 27. It is remarkable

because in heathen states the priests stood in quite a different relation to the kings, who were often taken from the priestly caste, or were at the same time *summi pontifices*, from that in the theocracy, in which the direct contrary of the *intima inter munus regium et sacerdotale necessitudo* asserted by Gesen. took place, so that sons of the king could not be admitted into the priesthood, which was exclusively assigned to the tribe of Levi.

[1] The statement of Movers, Krit. Unters. p. 38, concerning these names is quite erroneous. The whole 18th chap. of 1 Chr. is parallel to 2 Sam. viii., so that the last part of 1 Chr. xviii. 16, cannot be formed from 2 Sam. xx. 25. With this agrees at the same time the conjecture, that שַׁוְשָׁא has arisen by change of letters from שִׂיא 2 Sam. xx. 25, which in all probability is itself only a corruption of שְׂרָיָה, 2 Sam. viii. 17.

[2] Preceded by J. D. Mich. (Mos. R. iii. § 176) Studer. Comm. on Judges v. 14, asserts that "סָפַר denotes such military officers as preside over the levying and mustering of troops." This is incapable of proof, at least for the times of David and Solomon; for not only is the enumeration of the people, undertaken by David for military purposes (2 Sam. xxiv; 1 Chr. xxi.), effected by the captains of the host, and the commander-in-chief Joab, but the *term. techn.* for the mustering of the people is not סָפַר, but פָּקַד, comp. 1 Sam. xxiv. 2, 4, 9; 1 Chr. xxi. 5, 6; 2 Chr. xxvi. 11. There is also no indication in any of these places that סָפַר denotes a military officer. On the contrary the numbering of the people under Uzziah (2 Chr. xxvi. 11) was effected by Jeiel the Sopher and Maaseiah the Shoter, under the direction of Hananiah. But even here it is still uncertain, whether the Sopher was a military officer, as a Shoter is joined with him, to whom the keeping of the family register of the people belonged, comp. my apol. Vers. p. 196 ff.—First under Zedekiah is the סָפַר expressly called שַׂר הַצָּבָא, who mustered the people of the land for military service, 2 Ki. xxv. 19; Jer. xxv. 52, comp. with xxxvii. 15.—From the poetical passages, Judg. v. 14, Is. xxxiii. 18, nothing can be ascertained concerning the office of Sopher.

that the high-priest Abiathar, who was deposed in the very beginning of Solomon's reign (ii. 35) is still mentioned here among the officers of the kingdom. To assume, with Cler., that Solomon afterwards forgave him, is devoid of all probability. The best explanation might be the assumption of Theodoret: *τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀφείλετο, οὐ τῆς ἱερωσύνης ἐγύμνωσεν· τὴν γὰρ τῆς ἱερωσύνης ἀξίαν οὐκ ἐκ χειροτονίας, ἀλλ' ἐκ γονικῆς εἶχον διαδοχῆς*, to which not only *Proc. Gaz.*, as usual, but also *Calm.* assents, whereas the conjectures of *Vatabl.* and *Grot.*, that he was the suffragan of the high priest, and of *Mich. Deres.* and others, that he continued second priest in rank, are quite unsupported. V. 5. חָנִּצָּבִים, are the prefects enumerated from v. 7.—כֹּהֵן before רֵעַ הַמֶּלֶךְ cannot be in apposition with נָתָן, because it has no article, but is predicate and is explained by רע המלך: Zabud the son of Nathan was *Kohen*, regent, that is, "friend of the king," probably privy-counsellor of the king.—V. 6. Ahishar was עַל־הַבַּיִת governor of the palace, minister of the royal court, xvi. 9; 2 Ki. xviii. 18; Is. xxii. 15.—Adoniram here and v. 8 is identical with Adoram, 2 Sam. xx. 24; 1 Ki. xii. 18, or Hadoram, 2 Chr. x. 18, and was overseer of the socagers (הַמַּס). Concerning the derivation and fundamental meaning of the word מַס opinions are much divided. It is scarcely necessary to mention the derivation from مَشَّر, *mulsit*, proposed by Mich. (*Suppl. ad lex. hebr. s.v.*), which is not in the remotest degree connected with the usual meaning of מַס. Equally untenable is the derivation maintained after Kimchi (*lib. rad.*) by Buxtorf, Winer, and lastly by Studer on Judg. i. 28 from מָסַס *liquefactus, dissolutus est*; for מס means neither *viribus attritus* nor *liquefactio (animi)* even in the passage cited by Win. and Rosenm. Is. xxxi. 8, comp. Hitzig and Ew. on it. Still less can מָסָה, measure, Deut. xvi. 10 be explained from this etymology. Even the derivation attempted by Ges. in the *thes.* ii. 703 by contraction of מֶכֶס from כסס, according to which the primary meaning of מס would be *vectigal*, is justly objected to by *Jul. Fürst*: *Errant magnopere, qui hoc nomen ex n.* מֶכֶס (*a. r.* כסס *vi numerandi computandive*) *correptum esse putant. Concord. V. T. p.* 690. Still even the

derivation proposed by *Fürst* himself from a root "מס *cui æquale est* מַד *inde emollitum, vi metiendi, unde* מס *res, quæ metiendo definitur*," and the combining of this root with *μισθὸς*, *μοῖτος*, Goth. *mizdo*, Isl. *muta*, Germ. *Mauth*, O. H. G. *matu*, have at least the Hebrew usage against them. For in Hebrew מַס nowhere signifies *vectigal*, tribute or socage, as is still asserted in the latest lexicons, but without exception in all places only serf or socager. The use of the term exclusively of persons was observed by Cocceius in his lexicon; *ita dicuntur, qui—ad opus servile faciendum conscribuntur*. In most passages it is so obvious that citation is unnecessary, and cannot be mistaken even in Lam. i. 1 and Prov. xii. 24, where it has not been observed by Marcy. In the former passage Jerusalem is personified: "the mistress among the nations, the princess among the cities becomes a bond maid." In the latter Ew. has already observed the personification, "But slothfulness must serve." But Esth. x. 1 is not to be quoted to the contrary, because here the Chaldee usage prevails, and in Chaldee and Rabbinic מס unquestionably means *vectigal*, according to derivative not original usage. On the socager comp. v. 27.

Vv. 7—19. Here the twelve prefects are named, who were appointed over all Israel to provide the royal household with victuals. These are not with Mich. to be taken for exchequer officers, who managed the crown lands, for such are mentioned under David, 1 Chr. xxvii. 25 ff., and otherwise designated, but, as Rosenm. expresses it, general collectors of income, who levied the royal revenues, which, according to Chardin, in the East consist mostly of raw material, that is, fruits and products of the land, not as in the West of cash payments, and delivered them into the royal kitchen (A. u. N. Morgenl. iii. p. 166.) כִּלְכֵּל *alimenta suppeditavit*, see the Lexx.—חֹדֶשׁ בַּשָּׁנָה וגו׳, that is, it lay upon each to provide for the supply of one month in the year.—The districts under the several prefects correspond only partly with the territories of the tribes, as the land was probably divided among them according to its greater or less fertility.

V. 8. "The son of Hur"[1] was set over Mount Ephraim. This

[1] Of the names of these prefects it is striking, that five have no proper names, but are designated only as "Son of Hur, Son of Dekar,"

oft-mentioned mountain of middle Palestine, (Jos. xvii. 15, ff. xix. 50, xx. 7; Judg. ii. 9, iii. 17, iv. 5, &c.), extended from the plain of Esdraelon down towards Jerusalem, where the mountains of Judah began, and belonged to the most cultivated parts of Palestine, rich in fruitful valleys and slopes intersected and watered by brooks, with well-wooded ridges and grassy plains, (Jer. l. 19.)[1] In this passage the country of Benjamin is excluded, as Shimei the son of Elah was placed over it, v. 18.

V. 9. Among the places here named, Makaz, only mentioned in this passage, is entirely unknown, comp. *Relandi Pal. illustr. p.* 170 and 882, but is certainly to be sought for in the tribe of Dan, to which the remaining places belong. Shaalbim (שַׁעַלְבִים, identical with שַׁעַלַבִּים, Jos. xix. 42; Judg. i. 35), also no farther known, is in the tribe of Dan, comp. *Rel. l. c. p.* 988.—Bethshemesh, a city of priests on the borders of Dan and Judah and the Philistines, (Jos. xv. 11, xxi. 6; 1 Sam. vi. 12—15; 1 Chr. vi. 59), according to Eusebius, ten Roman miles distant from Eleutheropolis in the direction of Nicopolis, is, notwithstanding Reland's contradiction, (*l. c. p.* 656), identical with Irshemesh, which, Jos. xix. 41, was assigned to the Danites, but, as it lay on

&c., vv. 8—11, 13, whereas to the others special proper names are given besides this patronymic designation. Not without ground, therefore, Cler. and Mich. supposed that the names of the former had fallen out of the text. *Nec solent nomina parentum, omisso proprio, proferri nisi singulari de causa, ut quando iratus est qui loquitur, nec præ indignatione nomen invisi hominibus proferre vult, sic David ab irato Saulo aliquoties* Jisais filius *dicitur*, 1 Sam. xx. 27, 30, xxii. 7, 8, 9, 13. Cler. Comp. therewith the son of Remaliah Is. vii. 4, and Ges. Com. thereon. There is a temptation, certainly, to regard the words themselves as *nomina propria compos.*—Benhur, Bendekar, &c., after the analogy of Benhanan, 1 Chr. iv. 2, &c. But against this is not merely the circumstance, that the LXX. and Josephus regarded the words as *patronym.*—*viὸς Ὡρ, viὸς Δακάρ*, &c. (LXX.), and *Οὐρης, Δακῆρος*, &c. (Jos.)—but still more decidedly the phrase Ben-Abinadab, v. 11, which cannot possibly be a *nom. prop. compos.* No other expedient, therefore, remains but to assume the *nom. propr.* has fallen out of the text, though this assumption in so many names is doubtful.

[1] Comp. v. Raumer, Palest. p. 43, Winer bibl. R.W. i. p. 392. The chief ridge of the southern part of the mountain chain forms the western boundary of Ephraim and Benjamin, and the border between it and the mountains of Judah in the south constitutes the great wady Beit Hanina, comp. Robins. Pal. ii. p. 587 and Thenius in Käuffer's bibl. stud. ii. p. 142.

the borders, was seized by the tribe of Judah and given to the Levites. For Irshemesh and Harheres, which is identical with it, (see Studer on Judg. i. 35), are mentioned together with Ajalon and Shaalbim, Jos. xix. 41 f., and Judg. i. 35, as Beth-shemesh and Ajalon in Josh. xix. 42, 43. Robinson has discovered it again in the ruins of Ain-Shems, (Pal. iii. p. 224 ff.). Elon (אֵילוֹן different from אַיָּלוֹן, Jos. xix. 42 f.), is rendered more definite by the epithet Bethhanan, but it is to us quite unknown. Many take Bethhanan for a separate place, supplying וְ, whereas *Chald.* and *Syr.* repeat both names as referring to the one place, while the LXX. (ἕως Βηθανάν) is of too free a character to prove anything.

V. 10. Aruboth, which occurs nowhere else, must have been situated in Judah from its connexion with Sochoh. שֹׂכֹה. Two Sochohs lay in the tribe of Judah, both of which still exist under the name of Shuweikeh, Rob. Pal. ii. p. 370; the one on the mountains of Judah, (Jos. xv. 48), south of Hebron in the wady of Khulil, for which compare Rob. i. p. q. 421 ff.; the other in the plain of Judah on the border of the Philistines, nine Roman miles from Eleutheropolis towards Jerusalem, Jos. xv. 35; 1 Sam. xvii. 1—3, comp. Rob. ii. p. 598 f. and 606 f., and Thenius i. p. q. p. 151. The latter is in all probability the one here mentioned. The land of Hepher, the territory of a king conquered by Joshua, is certainly to be sought also in the plain of Judah; for, Jos. xii. 17, the King of Hepher is mentioned between the King of Tappuah[1] and that of Aphek, which is probably identical with the Philistine Aphek, (perhaps Ahbek اَحْبَك, Rob. ii. p. 589), in the neighbourhood of Ebenezer, (1 Sam. iv. 1), comp. Winer R. W. i. p. 79.—The land of Hepher is therefore quite

[1] Tappuah, in the plain of Judah, to all appearance in the neighbourhood of Zanoah, Jarmuth, Sochoh, &c. Jos. xv. 34 is different from Beth-tappuah, Jos. xv. 53, on the mountains of Judah, not far west of Hebron, now Teffuh, see Rob. ii. p. 700. But if the Tappuah, conquered by Joshua, (Jos. xii. 17), were to be sought on the mountains of Judah, and therefore were identical with Beth-tappuah, the conjecture above offered concerning the situation of the land of Hepher would not thereby be proved erroneous, as it by no means follows from Jos. xii. 17, that the land of Hepher was exactly in the neighbourhood of Tappuah.

different from גַּתְחֵפֶר, Jos. xix. 13, in Zebulon, which according to Talmudic statements in Reland, (*l. c. p.* 718 *sq.*), is to be sought not far from Sippori.

V. 11. כָּל־נָפַת דּאֹר, the whole hill country of Dor lay on the Mediterranean under the promontory of Carmel. The town of Dor, situated according to *Hieron. in nono milliario Cæsarea pergentibus Ptolemaidem* was the seat of a Canaanitish king, after the conquest of whom it was assigned to Manasseh (Jos. xii. 23, xvii. 11, &c.), in later times a bishop's see, at present a town of the name of *Tartura* or *Tortura*, perhaps طور دور *mons Doræ*, comp. *Ges. Thes.* i. 331, Rosenm., bibl. Altthk. ii. 2, p. 323 ff., and v. Raumer, Pal. p. 152.

V. 12. *Taanach* and *Megiddo*, which are almost always named together, were Canaanitish royal cities, that were assigned by Joshua to the Manassites within the territory of Issachar (Jos. xii. 21, xvii. 11; Judg. i. 27, v. 19; 1 Chr. vii. 29), but were long unconquered, lay both on the Kishon, in the plain of Esdraelon, and are celebrated for several battles, Judg. v. 19; 2 Ki. ix. 27, xxiii. 29; 2 Chr. xxxv. 22, comp. v. Raumer, Pal. p. 130 f. Taanach is preserved in the small place Taannuk تعنك, southeast of Megiddo, as v. Schubert, Travels in the East, iii. p. 164, and Rob., Pal. iii. p. 387, have observed, both of whom saw the place from a distance.—Megiddo is, according to Rob. i. p. q. p. 412 ff., identical with the old *Legio* of *Euseb.* and *Hieron.*, a name which still exists in the modern village *el Lejjun* in the great caravan road between Egypt and Damascus. From the importance of this situation, by which Megiddo formed the key to northern Palestine from the western lowlands, we see the reason why Solomon had it fortified, ix. 15.—כָּל־בֵּית שְׁאָן, "the whole district of Bethshean." The town Bethshean, likewise assigned to the Manassites in the territory of Issachar, in the southeast extremity of the plain Esdraelon, but long unconquered, so that even under Saul it belonged to the Philistines, Jos. xvii. 11 f.; 1 Sam. xxxi. 10, afterwards called Scythopolis,[1]

[1] Concerning the origin of the name Scythopolis, several conjectures have been offered. Following Reland *(l. c.)* Gesenius in the notes on Burkhardt's travels ii. p. 1058, from the neighbouring (?) Succoth;

comp. Reland *l. c. p.* 992 *sq.*, v. Raumer, Pal. p. 147 f., at present a village of seventy or eighty houses in the lower end of the valley of Jezreel, where it joins the valley of Jordan, under the name of Beisan, see Rob. iii. p. 407 ff. The district of Bethshean extends "by Zartanah beneath Jezreel from (the town) Bethshean to Abel-meholah," which lay in the valley of Jordan ten Roman miles south of Scythopolis, comp. Rosenm. bibl. Alterthsk. ii. 2 p. 131 f. The words "beneath Jezreel" are explained by the high situation of Jezreel, at present called Zerin, of which Rob. iii. p. 394 says, Zerin itself lies comparatively high, and commands a wide and glorious prospect, which extends

Succothpolis corrupted into *Skythopolis*. Quite improbable, as Succoth lies on the farther side of Jordan (see on vii. 46), and there is no conceivable reason why a town lying on this side of Jordan should have been denominated from the remote Succoth on the other side. More may be said for the opinion propounded by *Euseb. Chron.* i. 40, *Plinius, hist. nat.* v. 16, *Gregor. Sync.* p. 214, that the place received this name from the irruption of the Scythians into Palestine narrated by Herodotus, *l.* i. 103—105, for which recently Hitzig. Kl. proph. p. 234, and Bertheau, in the Gesch. d. Isr. p. 362, have warmly declared themselves. But very weighty grounds are against it. Rosenm. (bibl. Altthk. ii. 2, p. 107) justly contended, that, as several centuries elapsed between this irruption of the Scythians into Palestine, and the time when the Greek language became usual in that country, it is in the highest degree improbable that the Greeks should have named this town after a people who had so long before dwelt there only for a short time. The rise of this name, however, occurs first in the time after the Maccabees, as the addition in the LXX. to Judg. i. 27: Βαιθσὰν ἥ ἐστι Σκυθῶν πόλις, has been rightly recognized by Reland *l. c.* as a later gloss, comp. Hävern. Comm. on Ezek. p. 599.—Still more decisive is the fact, that the Scythians—as is perfectly consistent with the account of Herodotus, comp. Strauss, *vat. Zeph. p.* xviii. *sqq.*—can in no case have penetrated or ruled over Palestine on this side of the Jordan in the years 629—588 B.C., because Jeremiah knows no other enemy occupying this land than Nebuchadnezzar and the Chaldeans, comp. Kueper, *Jerem. libr. ss. interpr.* p. 13, and Straus *l. c.* Consequently they cannot have taken and occupied Bethshean. Hävern. in p. q. is the first to discover the true derivation of the name. It owes its origin to the interpretation of Gog (Ezek. xxxviii. and xxxix.), as the Scythians, whose overthrow, according to an interpretation of Ezek. xxxix. 11, already found in the *Chald.*, took place in the valley of the fords of the Jordan, east of the sea of Gennesareth. On the ground of this interpretation, the Hellenistic Jews applied the name Scythopolis to Bethshean, a town situated in the neighbourhood of this valley, as, according to Ezek xxxix. 16, a name of a town in this neighbourhood was to be a memorial of that catastrophe.

down the broad valley underneath eastward to Beisan and the mountains of Bashan on the other side of the Jordan, comp. farther p. 399.—The words מֵעֵבֶר לְיָקְמְעָם beyond Jokmeam can scarcely be regarded as a more precise description of Abel-Meholah, but must certainly describe the south-western border of the district assigned to Baanah. Jokmeam, a Levitical town in Ephraim (1 Chr. vi. 53), which is also called Kibzaim (Jos. xxi. 22), is so unknown, that neither Rosenm. and v. Raumer, in their biblical geographies, nor Winer in his Cyclop., and Gesen. in his *thes.*, mention the name, and even Reland *l. c. p.* 864 only remarks on it: *hanc in Ephraim vulgo locant.*

V. 13. Ramoth Gilead, called also רָאמוֹת בַּגִּלְעָד, Jos. xx. 8, רָמַת הַמִּצְפֶּה and מִצְפֵּה גִלְעָד Judg. xi. 29, a Levitical and free town in the north border of Gad (Deut. iv. 43; Jos. xxi. 38) in which Jepthah dwelt, must have been situated, according to Gesenius' conjecture in Burkhardt's trav. ii., p. 1061 and v. Raumer's Pal. 257, on the site of the present Salt (الصلت in Abulfeda *Tab. Syr.* p. 92) in the province of Belka, concerning which comp. Rosenm. in p. q. p. 33. To the circuit of the Son of Geber belonged also the residence (חַוֹּת) of Zair in Gilead, "the region of Argob in Bashan, three score great cities with walls and brazen bars."[1] The more specific determination of this circuit depends on this, whether the region of Argob is different from Havoth Jair, or identical with it, only another designation for it. The diversity, for which v. Raumer lastly in the learned treatise on Judea east of the Jordan in Tholuck's litt. Anz. 1834 No. 1, 2, also in his Palest., p. 225, and Hävern., Einl. i. 2, p. 516 f. have declared themselves, might be favoured by the appended description, found only in this place, namely, Havoth Jair in Gilead, and Argob in Bashan. But against this exposition is the want of the וְ copulative before חֶבֶל, which

[1] The description of these towns borrowed from Deut. iii. 4, 5, "with walls and brazen bars," finds a sufficient explanation in the state of that country. Even now travellers meet with innumerable walled towns in the district of the Old Bashan, and the prevailing basalt formation of the country, so that C. Ritter made the conjecture, that by the brazen bars basalt gates might be understood, comp. v. Raumer in Tholuck's litt. Anz. 1834, p. 6 f.

must be regarded as a proof of identity, since different places are throughout this section connected with one another by ו *and*, see vv. 8, 12, 16. This appears still more evidently from the comparison of this verse with the passage on which it is based, Deut. iii. 4, according to which the region of Argob, with its sixty strong towns, constituted the kingdom of Og in Bashan, especially with vv. 13, 14, "And the rest of Gilead and all Bashan, being the kingdom of Og, gave I unto the half tribe of Manasseh; all the region of Argob with all Bashan.—Jair, the son of Manasseh, took all the country of Argob unto the coasts of Geshuri and Maachathi; and called them, namely, Bashan, after his own name Havoth-Jair unto this day." If we farther compare with this the description of the district of Manasseh, Jos. xiii. 30, 31,—"all Bashan, all the kingdom of Og king of Bashan, and all Havoth Jair, which are in Bashan, threescore cities; and half Gilead and Ashtaroth and Edrei, the cities of the kingdom of Og in Bashan, (gave he) to the children of Machir, the son of Manasseh; no doubt can remain, that the Havoth Jair are identical with the region of Argob as well as with the country of Bahan and the sixty strong towns were in Bashan, as Hengstenb. (Beitr. iii. p. 227 ff.) in harmony with Welte (Nachmosaisches im Pent. p. 172 ff.) has proved.[1] If this is established, the region of Argob cannot, as v. Raumer and Hävern. in p. q. think, be confined to the western half of old Bashan,

[1] The identity of the Havoth Jair with the sixty towns of the region of Argob in Bashan, which flows so naturally from these passages and was therefore recognised even by Rosenm. bibl. Althk. ii. 1 p. 279 ff., would not have been so much apprehended, had not only twenty-three Havoth Jair been mentioned in 1 Chr. ii. 22, and afterwards Judg. x. 3, thirty sons of a later Jair as possessor of thirty Havoth Jair in Gilead; whence v. Raumer and Hävern. i. p. q. conclude, that the twenty-three Havoth Jair, that were afterwards increased by seven, are different from the sixty towns in Bashan, that are also called Havoth Jair in the Pentateuch and Joshua. But that these twenty-three Havoth Jair (1 Chr. ii. 23), that were wrested from the descendants of Jair by the Geshurites and Aramæans, but conquered again by the sons of Jair the Judge and increased by seven, by which in the period of the judges the name Havoth Jair revived and received a new significance, belong to the sixty strong towns in Bashan and form a part of them, Hengstenb. i. p. q. has so cogently demonstrated, that Welte i. p. q. simply contents himself with appropriating the result of this investigation.

that is, Gaulanitis (Jaulan), but must comprise at the same time the eastern half of it, Auranitis and Trachonitis, or Hauran together with a part of Lejah. For Bashan extended eastward "unto Salchah," northward "unto Mount Hermon and the border of Geshuri (Jeidur) and Maachathi" (at the sources of the Jordan), Deut. iii. 10; Jos. xii. 4, 5; comp. v. Raumer, Pal. p. 224 f.[1] From the identity of the Havoth Jair and the region Argob it farther follows, *(a)* that the name Gilead is here used in the wider sense of the whole east-jordanic territory of the Israelites, and thus includes Bashan,[2] as in Num. xxxii. 39; Deut. xxxiv. 1; Jos. xxii. 9, 13; Judg. v. 17, x. 4, xx. 1; 2 Ki. x. 33; 1 Chr. ii. 23, &c.; comp. *Relandi Pal. ill. p.* 194, v. Raumer Pal. p. 209 f.—*(b)* that חַוֹּת cannot with Cler. on Num. xxxii. 41, Rosenm. bibl. Altthk. ii. 1 p. 279, and Faber, Archæol. i. p. 158 be derived from the Arab. حِوَاءٌ *tabernaculum ex lana vel pilis caprinis, quale Arabum campestrium esse solet.* For strong towns with walls and brazen gates and bars cannot possibly have received their name from Nomade tents. Rightly therefore has Gesenius *(thes.* i. 451) returned to the derivation already given by Serrarius and others from חָוָה *vivere alicubi*, which is confirmed by its identity with חַוָּה 2 Sam. xxiii. 13, which was recognised by Kimchi *(Lex)*, rejected indeed by Gesen. *l. c. p.* 470, but again brought forward with good reason by Hengstenb. i. p. q. p. 232. חַוָּה and חַוָּה, however, signify neither village, town, encampment, much less tent-circuit,

[1] Studer on Judges p. 268 concludes indeed from this text and from Deut. iii. 13, Jos. xiii. 30, that the region Argob was situated in Bashan and composed therefore only a part of it. But the expression, the kingdom of Og in Bashan (Deut.) or the kingdom of Og king in Bashan (Jos.) is explained by the circumstance, that the kingdom of Og, who was properly king of Bashan, extended beyond Bashan over a part of Gilead. According to these more distinct statements, the less definite expression of these passages "region of Argob in Bashan" is to be explained.

[2] The words, "region of Argob in Bashan," therefore, are to be regarded as the more definite counterpart of the "Havoth Jair in Gilead." The לוֹ before חֶבֶל corresponds to the לוֹ before חַוֹּת and cannot with Kanne bibl. Unters. und Ausleg. ii., p. 122, be referred to Jair; "Ben-geber had the Havoth of Jair, to whom belonged the region of Argob," but to בֶּן גֶּבֶר.

camp,—as Böttcher, Prob. Alttest. Schrifterkl. p. 84 asserts from etymological absurdities—but abodes, properly Jair's life.[1]—חֶבֶל אַרְגֹּב, the word חבל to denote a region is borrowed from the Pentateuch and elsewhere occurs only in poetry, Zeph. ii. 5, 6. ארגב the *Targ.* explain טְרָכוֹנָא Trachonitis, which corresponds to the etymology from רגב stone-heap as well as the nature of the country, if we assume, that the name is derived from the north-east part of Hauran, which has received its Greek name *Τραχωνῖτις*, as well as its Arabic one اللجاة Lejah from its stony soil which is covered with heaps of rocky fragments (s. Burkh. Trav. 1, p. 196 and p. 16), comp. Studer i. p. q. p. 268.[2]

V. 14. Mahanaim (double camp according to Gen. xxxii. 2) beyond Jordan, north of the Jabbok on the borders of Gad and Manasseh, originally assigned to Gad, but given to the Levites, Jos. xxi. 38; 1 Chr. vi. 80; comp. Rosenm. bibl. Althk. ii. 1, p. 275, and v. Raumer, Pal. p. 243.[3]

[1] Seb. Schmidt *ad l. Jud. p.* 978 explains חַוּוֹת as an Aramaic word. It is in favour of this, not only that even in the Mosaic times the forms חוה and הוה were almost entirely displaced by חיה and היה (see Hengstenb. Beitr. iii., p. 232), but also that according to Num. xxxii. 41 these towns were called חַוּוֹת before they were taken possession of by the Israelites.

[2] This derivation should merit the preference over that proposed by Reland (*Pal. ill. p.* 201, 959) from the *κώμη Αργόβ*, which according to *Euseb. Onom.* lay fifteen Roman miles west (to the N.W. indeed) of Gerasa, and must have been called in his time *Ἐργά* (probably *Ἐργαβά* according to Rel.), and by Josephus (Antiq. xiii. 15, 5) named *Ῥαγαβᾶ*, which Burkhardt (Trav. i., p. 438) conjectures to be in the ruins of el Husn, on the east side of the Sea of Galilee, about an hour distant from it. Should this conjecture gain probability, we must assume in Eusebius an exchange of Gerasa with Gadara, other traces of which also occur in him, comp. v. Raumer Pal. p. 240, as Gerasa lies quite too far from el Husn in the south.

[3] According to this passage, as well as 2 Sam. ii. 8, 12, 19, Mahanaim must have been an important place. Perhaps the Jordan valley belonging to king Sihon from Jabbok to the Sea of Galilee (Jos. xii. 3) was attached to the circuit of Ahinadab.—Josephus (*Antiq.* viii. 2, 3) assigns to him all Galilee as far as Sidon instead of Mahanaim. This is quite arbitrary, as Galilee consisted of the territories of Naphtali, Asher, Zebulon, and Issacher, of which each had its own prefect (vv. 15—17), except Zebulon, which was probably divided among the three mentioned in the text.

V. 16. וּבְעָלוֹת. The LXX., *Syr.* and *Arab.* give *Baaloth.* A place of this name lay in the tribe of Judah, Jos. xv. 24, which, however, cannot here be intended. And the בְּ is probably a prefix and the name Aloth, which, however, is completely unknown.

V. 19. "The country of Gilead, the country of Sihon king of the Amorites and of Og king of Bashan," denotes the whole tract east of Jordan, from Arnon to the neighbourhood of the Mandhur, which discharges itself into the Jordan near the Sea of Galilee. Gilead, strictly taken, was divided by the Jabbok into two parts, of which the southern, the present Belka, belonged to king Sihon, the northern, the present Ajlun, to the kingdom of Og of Bashan, Deut. iii. 13; Jos. xii. 2—5. But the whole tract of Gilead was not under Geber, the son of Uri. In the northern part of it the son of Geber (v. 13) was appointed over Ramoth, and Abinadab (v. 14) over Mahanaim. Geber's prefecture extended therefore over the territory of Reuben, Gad, and a small part of the half-tribe of Manasseh (Jos. xiii. 15 ff.)

V. 20. A remark made to extol the glory of Solomon's reign on the prosperity which the whole people enjoyed under it. The words, "Judah and Israel were many, as the sand which is by the sea," show that the promise made to Abraham, Gen. xxii. 17, comp. with xxxii. 13, was fulfilled. Comp. Rem. on iii. 8.—How the other part also of that promise, "and thy seed shall possess the gate of their enemies," was fulfilled, is shown chap. v. 1. "They ate and drank and made merry," denotes the great prosperity of the people. Comp. 1 Sam. xxx. 16.

CHAPTER V.

SOLOMON'S MIGHT, GLORY, AND WISDOM, V. 1—14. HIS LEAGUE WITH HIRAM, V. 15—32.

The first fourteen verses are connected with the previous chapter, to which also they are referred by the LXX., Vulgate, Luther, and others. V. 1 especially, as has been already inti-

mated, connects itself in the closest manner with iv. 20. With v. 15 a new section begins.

V. 1. "Solomon was ruler over all kingdoms from the river (Euphrates) over the land of the Philistines, and unto the border of Egypt." Before אֶרֶץ most expositors supply עַד from 2 Chr. ix. 26: "unto the land of the Philistines and unto the border of Egypt," in which case וְעַד גְּבוּל וגו must be regarded as explicative. But the chronicler may also have explained the passage by the insertion of וְעַד, and בְּ with de Wette and Maurer may be repeated in thought from the foregoing.—The first member of the verse, moreover, stands in obvious connection with the promise, Gen. xv. 18, while the second points to the fulfilment of Gen. xxii. 17.—מַגִּשִׁים depends on מַמְלָכוֹת by means of a *constructio ad sensum*. מִנְחָה present is a mild expression for tribute, Judg. iii. 15—17; 2 Sam. viii. 2; 2 Ki. xvii. 3, 4; 2 Chr. xvii. 11, xxvi. 8; Ps. xlv. 13, lxviii. 30, lxxii. 10. Comp. Harmar, Beob. ü. d. Orient. iii. p 164.

Vv. 2—8. Expenditure of the royal household; *(a)* for the royal kitchen, vv. 2, 3; *(b)* for the mews, vv. 6—8.—לֶחֶם provisions, victuals. The supply here stated was not destined for the royal table alone, but for the whole court, for the many royal consorts, his numerous attendants, body-guards, and all who, according to Oriental custom, received their maintenance from the royal court (כָּל־הַקָּרֵב וגו v. 7).—"30 cors of bolted wheaten meal, and 60 cors of meal." סֹלֶת is here distinguished from קֶמַח, whereas, Gen. xviii. 6, both words are connected, and קֶמַח is more exactly defined by סֹלֶת. סלת means the finest bolted wheaten meal, סֹלֶת חִטִּים Ex. xxix. 2. The etymology of the word is uncertain, comp. Ges. *thes.* ii. 959, and *Fürstii Concord. p.* 768.—כֹּר Cor,[1] a measure of dry and liquid things,

[1] As the cor, besides the present passage and v. 25, occurs only again in 2 Chr. ii. 9, xxvii. 5; Ezek. xlv. 14, it belongs to the later speech-usage. And therefore the Hebrews appear to have adopted it from the Arameans, since the *Chald.* and *Syr.* in Lev. xxvii. 16, Is. v. 10, render חֹמֶר by כּוּרָא, ܟܘܪܐ. In Arabic also is found كُرٌّ and it has passed from the Shemites to the Hellenists,

v. 25, containing ten baths or ephahs, Ezek. xlv. 15, and therefore for dry goods equal to the homer (Ezek. xlv. 11), which according to Josephus (*Antiq.* xv. 9, 2) was equivalent to 10 Attic *μέδιμνοι*, according to Böckh's metrol. Untersuch. containing 19,857.7 Par. cub. inches ,or 7,398,000 Par. grains of water, comp. Bertheau, on the hist. of Isr. p. 73.—V. 3 The number of cattle slain daily—10 fattened oxen, 20 from the pastures, that is, such as were taken immediately from grazing, and 100 sheep—is not too great in comparison with that which is used in other oriental courts. According to Athenæus (*Deipnos. l.* iv. *c.* 10), 1000 oxen daily were slaughtered for the kings of Persia, and Tavernier relates that as many as 500 sheep and lambs were daily consumed for the court of the Sultan, see Rosenm. A. u. N. Morgenl. iii. p. 169 f. In the case of Solomon, however, several kinds of game are added. יַחְמוּר, *ἔλαφος πλατύκερως* or *εὐρύκερως* (Opp. Cyneget. ii. 293), the hart, which is still found by modern travellers on Tabor and Carmel, comp. Rosenm. bibl. Althk. iv. 2, p. 177 ff. בַּרְבְּרִים אֲבוּסִים—, fattened poultry. Concerning אבוס, comp. Ges. *thes.* i. 17. The *Chald.*, *Syr.*, *Arab.* and *Vulg.* render ברברים by fowl or poultry, Kimchi, *capones*; Ges. (*thes.* i. 246) conjectures geese, but quite uncertainly. Moreover the word must at all events have denoted a particular kind of poultry as the Hebrews use צְפָרִים for poultry in general, Neh. v. 18.[1]

Vv. 4, 5. כִּי, for. Solomon might expend so much on his court, for he was lord, &c., and (v. 5) the whole people of Israel enjoyed the blessings of peace during his whole reign. כָּל־עֵבֶר הַנָּהָר, the whole region on that side the river (Euphrates) denotes here, not, as might be expected, the country east of the Euphrates, but that lying west of this river, because the author

κορός, Lev. xxvii. 16; Num. xi. 32, &c. (LXX.); Ex. viii. 14 in *Aquil* and *Symm.* comp. *Schleussneri Lex. in LXX. interp. s. v.* and, and in the New Testament, Luk. xvi. 7.

[1] Bochart in *hieroz.* II. *l.* i. *c.* 19, treats very largely of this word. But his explanation, *altilia lectissima*, is, irrespective of other grounds, grammatically inadmissible, because it makes אבוסים a substantive, and ברבריים an adjective, whereby the substantive, contrary to the speech-usage (see Ew. Gr. § 537) would stand after the adjective.

takes his position from the Chaldee empire, and from the centre of this empire defines the boundaries of Solomon's kingdom ;[1] for the dominion of Solomon extended only to the Euphrates. The north-eastern boundary was formed by תִּפְסַח, *(trajectus)* Thapsacus, a great and wealthy town on the west bank of the Euphrates, at which the armies of the younger Cyrus and Alexander crossed the Euphrates, (*Xenoph. Anab.* i. 4, *Arrian exp. Al.* iii. 7), in Pliny's time called *Amphipolis* (hist. nat. v. 21—24), comp. Rosenm. bibl. Althk. i. p. 461.—The south-west boundary was formed by Gaza, a city of the Philistines, an hour distant from the Mediterranean, comp. Rob. Pal. ii. p. 636 ff.—V. 5. The phrase, " to sit under his own vine and his own figtree," denotes the *summa et laetissima tranquillitas in amœna omnium copia*, 2 Ki. xviii. 31, and is therefore employed by the prophets to depict the Messianic prosperity and peace, Mic. iv. 4 ; Zech. iii. 10.—" From Dan. to Beersheba" is the standing designation of the whole country from north to south since the period of the

[1] The same usage of speech we find in Ezr. iv. 16, vi. 6, 7, 21, 25, viii. 36 ; Neh. ii. 7, whence we are not to conclude, that the author of the Books of Kings lived in the exile beyond the Euphrates, but only that he lived in the time of the great Chaldee empire. The well-known observation, that in the Pentateuch and the Book of Joshua especially, מֵעֵבֶר, עֵבֶר, are used of Palestine as well on this side as on the other side of Jordan, which the Nealogian critics employed to prove the spuriousness of the Pentateuch, and the composition of the Book of Joshua during the exile, has occasioned two fundamental investigations concerning the usage of these words, by M. Drechsler, unwissenschaftlichkeit im Geb. d. Alttest. Kritik, p. 148—166, and by Hengstenberg, Beitr. iii. p. 313—324, which, however, do not fully solve the problem when taken separately, but must be united together. For the distinction assumed by Hengstenberg between the subjective and the objective historical speech-usage is not sufficient, as B. Welte, Nachmos. im Pent. p. 178 f. has proved, especially to explain the usage of עֵבֶר, for the country on this and on that side in one and the same place, for instance, Num. xxxii. 19. Though it does not follow from this, that עֵבֶר signifies side or bank, but beside the objective geographical use of the word an ideal usage is also found, by virtue of which a writer independent of the place, where he really is, assumes in idea a stand-point, from which the two opposite sides may be designated as *on that side*, as Drechsler has satisfactorily proved, although all passages cannot be explained from this ideal stand-point, but in several the standing geographical usage undeniably prevails.

Judges, see Judg. xx. 1; 1 Sam. iii. 20; 2 Sam. iii. 10, xvii. 11 xxiv. 2, 15; 1 Chr. xxii. 2; 2 Chr. xxx. 5. Concerning Dan, comp. on xii. 29, and concerning Beersheba on xix. 2.

V. 6. "Solomon had 40,000 stalls for his chariot horses." אֲרֻוֹת or אֲרִיוֹת, signifies *(a)* mangers, comp. אֵבוּס, and אֲבוּסָה, *praesepe*, from the root אָרָה, *carpere*; *(b) loculi in stabulis distincti*, (2 Chr. xxxii. 28), as Bochart (*hieroz. i. p.* 155), has proved.[1] Mangers for horses or horse-stands, that is, horses with separate stands or mangers, since, according to the testimony of *Vegetius* in Bochart, the present separation of mangers and stands for single horses was usual in ancient times.—The numeral ארבעים forty rests on an old error in transcription for ארבעה four (2 Chron. x. 25), as the older expositors have observed, comp. my apol. Vers. p. 338.—12,000 פָּרָשִׁים riding horses, comp. Ges.

[1] The meaning ascribed by Gesen. (*thes.* i. 146), to the word in the present passage, *jugum*, pair, team, is warranted neither by the etymology, nor the speech usage. The incorrectness of this meaning follows even from the number of אֲרֻוֹת. For to 1400 chariots, which Solomon, according to chap. ix. 46 and 2 Chr. i. 14 had, 4000 horses suit very well, but not 4000 teams, as every war chariot, if they were similar to those of the Homeric heroes, as we may conclude from *Xenoph. Cyrop.* vi. 1—27, was drawn by two horses, beside which a third ran, in order to be yoked in, if one fell, comp. Jahn bibl. Archæol. ii. 2, p. 440, and Winer bibl., R.W., ii. p. 776 f. 1400 war-chariots with 4000 horses (as ought to be read instead of 40,000), also stand in due proportion to 12,000 riders, as well as to other biblical accounts of war-chariots. In Egypt, where the breeding of horses flourished from the earliest times, see on x. 28, Pharaoh in the times of Moses brought 600 (Ex. xiv. 7), and Shishak 1200 chariots into the field (2 Chr. xii. 3.) Zerah the Cushite has only 300 (2 Chr. xiv. 6), Sisera 900 (Judg. iv. 3 ff.), the Syrians of Mesopotamia 700 (2 Sam. x. 8), and Hadarezer 1000 chariots (1 Chr. xviii. 4.) All these accounts stand in due proportions and thereby prove themselves authentic, whereas the accounts of 30,000 chariots of the Philistines (1 Sam. xiii. 5), and 7000 in Chr. xix. 18, where in the parallel passage 2 Sam. x. 18 only 700 are named, are obviously corrupted. Some indeed, for ex. Winer in p. q., have found these numbers too great, and have cited against them the fact, that even the great army of Cyrus, with 120,000 cavalry, had only 2000 chariots *(Xenoph. exp. Cyr.* i. 7.) But it has been overlooked, that Cyrus introduced a new kind of chariot of great size, which carried twenty men, whereas the others could only carry one man besides the charioteer, comp. Jahn in p. q. p. 441 f.

thes. s.v. These chariot and saddle horses Solomon kept partly in Jerusalem, partly in several towns (x. 26; 2 Chr. i. 14, ix. 25), which he pitched upon for this purpose (ix. 19.)

V. 7. Comp. iv. 7.—V. 8. "Barley and straw for the horses and runners." On רָכֶשׁ runner comp. Ges. *thes.* iii. 1289.—Barley which was very largely cultivated in Palestine (Lev. xxvii. 16; Deut. viii. 8; 2 Chr. ii. 10, &c.) was and is still in the East, where oats is not grown, a usual fodder for cattle, to which chopped straw mixed with barley, beans, and pounded date-kernels, is given, comp. Winer bibl., R.W., i. p. 481. Barley was baked only for the poorer classes, Jud. vii. 13; 2 Ki. iv. 12. *Panem ex hordeo antiquis usitatum vita damnavit quadrupedumque fere cibus est. Plin. h. n.* xviii. 7 *(Vol.* iii. *p.* 217 *ed. Sill.)* אֲשֶׁר יִהְיֶה שָׁם LXX. *οὗ ἂν ᾖ ὁ βασιλεύς*, as also the Vulgate and several others. רָכֶשׁ is more correctly assumed, as the subject and the words are referred with Bochart and others to this, that the horses were distributed in different cities, x. 26.

V. 9—14. Solomon's wisdom. V. 9. רֹחַב לֵב *amplitudo animi de amplitudine ingenii et sapientiæ (Wineri lex.)*, enlarged capacities. Under heart (לֵב) the Hebrews often comprise the capacities of the soul, comp. x. 24; Job ix. 4, xii. 3, xxxiv. 10; Prov. viii. 5, &c.—"As the sand on the sea shore,"—a proverbial description of extraordinary multitude and fulness,[1] comp. iv. 20; Gen. xli. 49; Jos. xi. 4; Judg. vii. 12; 1 Sam. xiii. 5; 2 Sam. xvii. 11; Hab. i. 9.—V. 10. The בְּנֵי קֶדֶם, whose wisdom Solomon excelled, are the Arabian tribes dwelling east of the Israelites, comp. Judg. vi. 3—33, vii. 12, viii. 10; Job i. 3; Is. xi. 14; Jer. xlix. 28; Ezek. xxv. 4 *(cf. Rosenm. Schol. ad h. l.)*, where throughout בני קדם denote Arabian tribes, that spread themselves as far as the Euphrates. The wilderness of Arabia as far as the Euphrates is accordingly

[1] Too far sought is the explanation of our verse by Tholuck Uebers. u. Ausl. der Psalm p. xxiii., that Solomon embraced the boundaries of all that was worth knowing, as the ocean embraces the shores of all the earth. According to *A. Schultens, Prov. Sal. p.* 435, רחב לב denotes among the Arabs *tum scientiam vastissimam, tam vaste diffusam quam vastum mare aliquod, tum animos ad ardua quædam varatissimos iisque exantlandis capaces, etc.*

called אֶרֶץ קֶדֶם, Gen. xxv. 6. On the contrary אֶרֶץ בְּנֵי קֶדֶם, Gen. xxix. 1, denotes the country of those beyond the Euphrates (see Tuch on the passage) and הָרְרֵי קֶדֶם, Num. xxiii. 7, the mountains of Mesopotamia (see Hengstenb. d. Gesh. Bib. p. 81.) In the present passage, however, by the sons of the East cannot with Clericus be understood the Chaldeans, neither themselves alone, nor with the Arabs, but only the latter alone. For although the wisdom of the Chaldeans, especially their astronomy and astrology, was celebrated in antiquity (comp. *Th. Stanlei. histor. philos. orient. ed. Clericus lib.* i., Winer, bibl., R.W., i., p. 259, and the expositors on Dan. ii. 2), yet it is not known, that proverbial wisdom, in which Solomon distinguished himself, flourished among them. The fatherland of proverbial wisdom is Arabia, see on chap. x. The wisdom, however, in which Solomon excelled the Egyptians, refers probably to his knowledge of plants and animals (v. 13.) For although the much praised, almost proverbial wisdom of the Egyptians (comp. Is. xix. 11, xxxi. 2; Acts vii. 22; Herodot. ii. 160; Joseph. Antiquit. viii. 2—5), extended also to several other branches of knowledge, as geometry, arithmetic, astronomy, and astrology, &c., comp. Diod. Sic. i. 73—81; Marsham, *Can. Chron. p.* 142 *sq.*; and G. Seyffarth, Beitr. zur Kentniss Æg., part 2 *introd.* § 1, yet natural philosophy obtains a very important place in Egyptian wisdom, as may be inferred from the facts, that they were not only very skilful in the preparation of salves from vegetable and animal substance, but also had cultivated medical science so extensively, that according to Herod. ii. 84 the country was full of physicians, and there was a distinct physician for every separate disease, comp. Hengstenb. d. BB. Mos. u. Aeg. p. 146 and 68.

V. 11. "Solomon excelled all men (of his time) in wisdom, even the celebrated singers Ethan, Heman, Chalcol, and Darda." Ethan the Ezrahite, of the Levitical family of Merari (1 Chr. vi. 29 ff.), composer of Ps. lxxxix., was president of the music in the tabernacle under David, 1 Chr. xv. 17—19. Heman, also an Ezrahite and composer of Ps. lxxxviii., according to 1 Chr. xv. 17, a son of Joel, was among the most celebrated singers of David in the tabernacle, and at the same time חֹזֵה of the king, 1 Chr. xv. 19, xvi. 41, xxv. 1—4. Chalcol and Darda, the sons of

Machol, are mentioned nowhere else.[1] בְּנֵי מָחוֹל some consider an appellative; as Luther, "the poets," but incorrectly; etymologically more correct *Hiller* in the *Onom.* gives *sacras choreas ducendi periti*, sons of the dance, as "daughters of song" in Eccl. xii. 4. But מחול is here obviously a *nom. propr.* וַיְדֻתוּן שְׁמוֹ וגו׳, that is, he was celebrated among all the heathen nations around, comp. x. 1, 23 f., and is still to this day in the East.[2]

V. 12. "And he spake 3000 proverbs." מָשָׁל, according to its etymology, comparison, likeness, see Hengstenb. d. Gesch. Bib. p. 78, denotes sentences, gnomes or short witty sayings, in which a truth is represented in a lively manner by the pregnant comparison of two objects, Prov. i. 1—6, x. 1 &c. Thence flows the derived meaning, proverb, 1 Sam. x. 12, &c.[3] Of these proverbs of Solomon we still possess a considerable portion in the Book of Proverbs. For even if the whole collection found in the

[1] After Grotius and Clericus, the four Levites here named have been identified by Movers, Krit. Unters. p. 237, with Ethan, Heman, Calcol, and Dara, descendants of Zerah, son of Judah, mentioned 1 Chr. ii. 6. Quite arbitrarily, as nothing is more frequent than like names in different tribes and families, comp. my apolog. Versuch. üb. d. Chron. p. 164 f.

[2] Josephus has considerably embellished the biblical accounts of the wisdom of Solomon. He mentions conjuring books which Solomon composed, and by means of which, in his time, demons were cast out (*Antiq.* viii. 2, 5.) Comp. *Origines ad Matth.* xxvi. 63. Nicet. *Chron. annal.* 4, 7. Other writings also of Solomon are adduced by *Suidas s.v.* Ἐξεκίας, by *Mich. Glyk. Annal.* 2, *p.* 183, and Eusebius *præp. evang.* ix. 31, and others. See *Fabricii cod. pseudepigr.* i. 914 *sqq.*, 1014 *sq.* According to the Koran Solomon understood the languages not only of men and demons, but also of birds and ants, with all of whom he held intercourse (Sur. 27, v. 17 ff.) The Turkish literature is able to show a book of Solomon, Suleimanname, consisting of seventy volumes, from which v. Hammer (Rosenöl i. p. 147 ff.) has made extracts.

[3] "The wisdom" (of the Hebrews), says Umbreit, Intr. to his Comment. on the Prob. of Sol. p. lii. f., "teaches in short proverbs, now with figurative illustration, now with impressive brevity, by enigmatical sayings also leading the understanding to the quick observation of moral truth, quite in the usual manner of the East," &c. In a much more definite, vigorous, and comprehensive manner, Ewald in p. q. characterises the matter and form of the proverbial wisdom of the Hebrews founded by Solomon.

canon does not belong to Solomon, yet according to Ewald's profound investigation in the introduction to his translation of the Proverbs of Solomon, p. 26 ff., there lies at the ground of the oldest part of it a collection composed by Solomon himself, which, however, embracing 3000 proverbs, was much larger than the book handed down to us in the canon, that contains only 915 verses and still fewer proverbs, as the first chapters contain an introduction to the proper proverbs, and from chapter xxv. follows a later collection with two appendices.—"And his songs were 1005." Of these we possess only Ps. lxxii. and cxxvii., to the composition of which by Solomon no fundamental objection can be made, and certainly also Ps. cxxxii. Perhaps, also, the Song of Songs is to be reckoned under this head.

V. 13. "And he spake of trees, from the cedar tree that is in Lebanon even unto the hyssop that springeth out of the wall," that is, of all plants from the greatest to the least. The cedars of Lebanon are known as the finest and greatest of trees, comp. Winer, bibl. R.W. i. 250 ff., and Rosenm. bibl. Althk. iv. 1, p. 238 ff.—אֵזוֹב, hyssop, is not the plant known in Germany under this name, but the organy or wild marjoram, in Greek ὀρίγανον, by the Arabs called صعتر, or زعطر, an aromatic plant that loves a very stony soil, so that it often grows out of rubbish heaps and old walls; comp. Faber in Keil's and Tzschirner's Analekt. i. p. 3 ff., and Rosenm. in p. q. p. 108 ff.—"And he spake of four-footed beasts, and of fowl, and of creeping things, and of fishes." Under these four designations are included the whole animal kingdom, comp. Gen. vi. 20, vii. 8. וַיְדַבֵּר seems to presume scientific investigations. But whether Solomon composed treatises on botany and zoology, as some commentators suppose, cannot be shown at least from this verse. Neither is anything said of the written composition of his proverbs and songs, although this is probable.[1]

V. 14. The great fame of Solomon's wisdom, the more rare

[1] Josephus in his traditionary description (*Antiq.* viii. 2, 5) makes him compose 1005 βιβλία περὶ ᾠδῶν καὶ μελῶν and 3000 βίβλους παραβολῶν καὶ εἰκόνων, but of plants and animals only παραβολὴν εἰπεῖν.

such a thing was in those times, led so much the greater number of strangers to Jerusalem from all kingdoms to which his fame had spread; among others a queen of Sheba, whose arrival in Jerusalem is related in ch. x. This chapter is therefore to be regarded as the continuation of this section; all that intervenes relates to the great buildings, especially the temple, by which Solomon rendered his name most illustrious.

VV. 15—32. PREPARATIONS FOR THE BUILDING OF THE TEMPLE.

V. 15 ff. Solomon negotiates with Hiram King of Tyre for the building materials and workmen required for the temple. 2 Chr. ii. furnishes a parallel passage completing this section. Comp. concerning the mutual relation of the two accounts my apol. Vers. p. 216—221.

V. 15. Hiram (חִירָם or חִירוֹם, v. 24, and חוּרָם, 1 Chr. xv. ; 2 Chr. ii. 2, 11, &c.) King of Tyre and Sidon (v. 20) congratulates Solomon through an embassy on his accession to the hrone, and thereby renews the friendship which he had always herished towards David with his son and successor.[1]—V. 16—20.

[1] Josephus reports (*Antiq.* viii. 3, 1, and *c. Ap.* i. 18) from Menander of Ephesus, that the building of Solomon's temple commenced in he 12th year of Hiram's reign, and Hiram died, after a reign of 34 ears, in the 53d year of his life. It accords with this, that, according to 1 Ki. ix. 10—14; 2 Chr. viii. 1, Hiram was still reigning after he completion of Solomon's buildings, which continued 20 years (vi. 38, ii. 1); for Hiram had become king perhaps eight years before Solomon, or in the 33d year of the reign of David. But the same Hiram, Sam. v. 11; 1 Chr. xiv. 1, sent David cedars for the building of his alace. Now, if it is also probable that the brief notice concerning his building (2 Sam. v. and 1 Chr. xiv.) is not related in strictly hronological order, but according to a certain natural order is appended nmediately to the narrative of the conquest of the fortress of Zion, hich David selected for a residence,—as also the section 2 Sam. vii. annexed only according to a natural, not a chronological connection, the account of the bringing up of the ark to Zion, since David first onceived the plan of the building of the temple after God had given im rest from all his foes round about,—and if also it can by no means e certainly concluded with the older expositors from 2 Sam. xi. 2,

After Hiram had thus commenced friendship with Solomon, the latter treats with him by an embassy about cedars and cypresses (v. 22) from Lebanon, and also about workmen to hew them, in which his people would assist the Tyrians.—V. 17. Solomon presumes that Hiram is aware of David's plan to build a temple: David must thus have been long employed about this object, and have already negotiated with Hiram about it, of which there is nothing in 2 Sam., whereas, according to 1 Chr. xxii. 4, the Sidonians and Tyrians had already brought David cedars in abundance for the intended building of the temple. Only the building itself David was not allowed to execute "מִפְּנֵי הַמִּלְחָמָה וגו׳ *propter bellum, quo eum circumdederant sc. hostes (J. H. Mich.)*, until Jehovah put them (the foes) under the soles of his feet." These words are not to be so understood as if David, only on account of his continual wars, had not time or leisure for the building of the temple; for, according to 2 Sam. vii. 1, this hindrance was already removed, when he formed the design of building it; but have the meaning: "because David was involved in too many wars, had shed too much blood" (comp. on this hindrance *Cleric. ad* 1 Chron. xxii. 8), as he himself de-

that David's palace of cedars was at that time already built, yet it remains quite improbable that David had undertaken the building of this palace only in the last seven years of his reign, that is, in the 63d year of his life. To obviate this difficulty, Clericus, on 2 Sam. v. 11, and Buddeus, suppose two successive Hirams, father and son, as kings of Tyre, of whom the former was connected with David, the latter with Solomon,—against the testimony of Menander of Ephesus, that Hiram's predecessor was Abibal—but des Vignoles in the *Chronol. de l'hist. S.* ii. *p.* 59 *sqq.*, having this testimony in view, endeavours with great expenditure of sagacity and learning to establish the assumption, that the Hiram, who was the friend of David, was the grandfather of the confederate of Solomon and son of Abibal. But both hypotheses want a secure basis, and are proved untenable at once by the words: "for Hiram was a lover of David all his days" (כָּל־הַיָּמִים), 2 Sam. v. 11, but still more by that, which Solomon, 2 Chr. ii. 2, writes to Hiram: "as thou didst deal with David my father, and didst send him cedars to build him an house to dwell in." There remains only the alternative, either to place the building of David's palace in the end of his reign, or, as this is very improbable, to assume an error in the account transmitted by Josephus of the year of Hiram's reign, for which I have decided in my treatise, der Tempel Salomo's p. 24. Not.

clared as well in the last assembly of estates, 1 Chr. xxviii. 3, as also previously to his son Solomon on delivering the materials collected for the building of the temple (1 Chr. xxii. 8.)[1]

V. 18. Comp. 2 Sam. vii. 1. The peace from all enemies, which David only attained towards the end of his reign, Solomon enjoyed from the beginning of his sovereignty. פֶּגַע רַע an evil occurrence, several of which befel David, for instance, the rebellion of his son, the plague on account of numbering the people and the like. V. 19. אָמַר with infinitive following, to purpose to do something, Ex. ii. 12; 2 Sam. xxi. 16; comp. *Ges. thes.* i. 120. His purpose to build the temple Solomon founds upon the word of promise, 2 Sam. vii. 12 f. David also understands this promise made to himself in the same manner, 1 Chr. xxii. 9 f., xxviii. 6, without recognizing the deeper Messianic sense relating to a more distant future. The phrase, "to build an house unto the name of the Lord," is founded upon Deut. xii. 5, "the place which the Lord shall choose out of all your tribes to put his name there," which in v. 11 is thus paraphrased, "to cause his name to dwell there." The name of God is "the manifestation and presence of God in his church," comp. Nitzsch System, p. 126, ed. 4, and Hengstenb. Beitr. ii. p. 270 ff.—According to v. 20, Solomon entreats only for cedars, but from the answer of Hiram, v. 22, it appears that he requested also cypresses, 2 Chr. ii. 7. We have the transaction only in an incomplete extract. This appears from comparison with the parallel 2 Chr. ii. according to which Solomon first applies for a skilful artisan, of which the narrative is here silent, and afterwards (vii. 13 f.), only mentions, by the way, that Hiram sent him.—Concerning the cedars of Lebanon, comp. beside the authorities already cited at v. 13, Rosenm. A. u. N. Morgenl. iii. p. 167 ff., *Gesen. thes.* i. 148, but especially v. Raumer, Pal. p. 31 f., and Robins. Pal. iii. The cedar forest, celebrated from ancient times, lies at least two days' journey north of Beirut, near the northernmost and highest peak of the mountain, from six to eight hours north of Jebel Sunnin, (Rob. iii. p. 723), not far east of the con-

[1] Thus rightly understoood, this verse confirms the statements of Chronicles that are rejected as unworthy of credit by a superficial criticism.

vent Kanobin, the seat of the Patriarch of the Maronites, by the village of Bsherreh. Moreover, Seetzen in 1805 discovered two other groves of greater extent, and the American missionaries in their travels through the mountain have met with cedars in other quarters still. Besides, Prof. Ehrenberg has found cedars in great abundance in the part of the mountain lying north of the way between Baalbek and Tripolis, (Rob. iii. p. 724.) Lebanon is described by Winer, bibl. R. W. ii. p. 27 f. and v. Raumer, Pal. p. 29 ff. He derives its name, "the white mountain," not, as is often asserted, from the eternal snow, with which its highest summits are covered; for this is not in sufficient quantity to lend a constantly marked appearance to the mountain; but from the white limestone, which gives to the rocky surface, as it reflects the light, a white appearance in all directions, (Rob. iii. p. 724.) —"For no one among us understands how to hew timber as the Sidonians," who therefore were under the sceptre of Hiram. For even if, according to the correct remark of Gesenius, the Sidonians stand here for the Phenicians in general, yet Solomon could not express himself in this manner to Hiram, unless the Sidonians belonged to his dominions. The inhabitants of Sidon, for the site and history of which read Robins. iii. p. 696 ff., were celebrated from ancient times as skilful builders, and very expert in mechanical arts. Sidon had glass works, linen and other manufactures, that furnished very ingenious and far-sought commodities. Strabo ascribes to them great knowledge in philosophy, astronomy, geometry, arithmetic, navigation, and all the fine arts, comp. Pal. iii. p. 700, not. and Winer, bibl. R. W. ii. p. 534.

V. 21. Hiram praises Jehovah, the God of Israel. It cannot be inferred from this alone that he acknowledged and revered the only true God. According to polytheistic ideas, he might concede to the God of Israel the same reality as to his own gods. A greater recognition of Jehovah he expresses, 2 Chr. ii. 11, where he characterises him as the Creator of heaven and earth. Still even this by no means involves the full and true recognition of the Lord, but may be explained from an assent of Hiram to the religious views of the Israelites, that could not remain unknown to him in his long friendship with David.

V. 22 ff. Hereupon Hiram sends to Solomon, and promises

him by letter (2 Chr. ii. 10) the fulfilment of all his wishes. בַּעֲצֵי אֲרָזִים, in timber of cedars, that is, in respect to the same. בְּרוֹשׁ denotes not the fir, but the cypress, and indeed according to Faber's (Archæol. i. p. 370 ff.) probable conjecture as well the evergreen. (*cupr. sempervirens*), as the dwarf cypress, (*cup. thyoides*), and the savin tree (*juniperus Sabina*), comp. *Ges. thes.* i. 246.—V. 23. אֲשִׂימֵם וגו׳, literally, I will make them into floats on the sea, that is, bind the trees in floats and cause them to float on the sea to the place which thou appointest to me. שָׁלַח *c. acc. r. et* אֶל *pers.*, to commit anything to any one. This meaning developes itself from the phrase, to send words to any one, Ch. xx. 9, xxi. 11, and with double *Accus. rei* and אֶל *pers.*, to send one with words to any one, that is, to charge him therewith, Jer. xlii. 5, 21, xliii. 1. In none of these passages does שלח mean simply *indicare*, as Gesen. in his *lex. man. s.v.* states. —וְנִפַּצְתִּים, and will there take them (the floats) asunder, and thou wilt send for (them thence.) לֶחֶם בֵּיתִי, provisions for my house (court.) According to v. 25, Solomon gave Hiram yearly 20,000 cors of wheat and 20 cors of the finest oil. The land of Israel was rich in corn and oil, Phœnicia, on the contrary, poor. Besides, he gave the Phœnician labourers on Lebanon a large quantity of wheat, barley, wine, and oil, for their sustenance, 2 Chr. ii. 9, 14, comp. my apol. Vers. p. 219. On מַכְלֶת for מַאֲכֶלֶת, Isa. ix. 4, 18, see Ew. Gram. § 93.—שֶׁמֶן כָּתִית, beaten, that is, finest oil, that was obtained from olives not fully ripe, and pounded in mortars, had a whiter colour, as well as a better flavour, and yielded a purer and clearer light than the ordinary olive oil obtained through the press, comp. *Celsii hierob.* ii. p. 349 f. and Bähr, Symbol. Mos. Cult. i. p. 419.[1]

[1] That the common oil is not here spoken of, but the finest quality of it, has been overlooked by those critics, who, as *Jac. Capellus*, *obs. in. h. l.*, and Movers, Krit. Unters. p. 165, would read 20,000 instead of 20 cors. Still more arbitrarily J. D. Mich. and Dereser proceed, who wish to complete the numbers in this passage from 2 Chr. ii. 9. 20,000 cors of the finest oil can in no case be intended, as even in Chron. only 20,000 baths, that is, 2000 cors are mentioned. But if we consider, that the oil, which Solomon furnished for the court of Hiram from year to year, was not the ordinary but the finest kind, of

V. 26. The here repeated remark, "the Lord gave Solomon wisdom," iii. 12, is intended to indicate to the reader the true point of view for that which precedes and follows. Solomon displayed the wisdom granted to him of the Lord as well in the treaty formed with Hiram, whereby he obtained materials and skilled workmen for the splendid buildings erected to the honour of his reign, as also in the application of the labours of his subjects which were still requisite and at his command for this object.

V. 27. וַיַּעַל וגו׳ he levied socage labourers out of all Israel. ויעל literally, he caused to go up out of the people, that is, he levied, not *in tabulas retulit* (*Ges.*) On מַס comp. on iv. 6.—מִכָּל-יִשְׂרָאֵל out of all the people of Israel. Erroneously Studer on Judg. i. 28, from the land of Israel, from the whole compass of which Solomon had driven the scattered descendants of the Canaanites to his great architectural works. For these 30,000 men are different from the remnant of the Canaanites who were reduced to slavery, who are mentioned in vv. 29, 30, and Ch. ix. 20 f. These are called מַס עֹבֵד ix. 21, as Jos. xvi. 10. And if elsewhere the simple מס denotes such Canaanitish bondservants, for example, Jos. xvii. 13; Judg. i. 28—30; 2 Chr. viii. 8, yet the author expressly distinguishes מס from מס עבד, when he adds, after mentioning the latter, ix. 22, "but of the children of Israel did Solomon make no bondmen" (עבד). These 30,000 socagers taken from the Israelites are also distinguished from the bondslaves from among the surviving Canaanites by this, that only 10,000 of them in turn labour one month at Lebanon, and spend the following two months at home, evidently to attend to their farms and houses, whereas the Canaanitish bondslaves had to labour there the whole year, v. 28.

V. 29 f. The 70,000 bearers of burdens, and 80,000 hewers of wood and stone, here mentioned, are, according to ix. 20, and 2 Chr. ii. 16 f., viii. 7—9, bondslaves taken from the unextirpated remnant of the Canaanitish tribes. With regard to the

which on account of the difficulty of preparation scarcely so much could be procured as of the ordinary quality, the quantity of 20 cors, that is, 200 baths mentioned in the text will not appear too small, especially as the cor was a very large measure (comp. on v. 2.)

number of the officers superintending the workmen there is a singular difference between our narrative and that in Chron. According to 2 Chr. ii. 17, Solomon set over the bondslaves 3600 overseers out of the remaining Canaanites, to set the people to work. Besides these he had, according to 2 Chr. viii. 10, 250 שָׂרֵי הַנִּצָּבִים captains of officers over his buildings. According to our passage, on the contrary, 3300 שׂרי הנצ״ are over the 150,000 Canaanitish bondslaves, and, according to Chr. ix. 23, 550 captains of officers besides over the socagers. As according to this the sum total of the officers, 3850 agrées in both narratives, we must not proceed with Movers, Krit. Unters. p. 61, to explain the deviations from the errors or changes of the numeral characters in copying them into numeral words, but, as I have already remarked in my apol. Vers. p. 221, attempt another arrangement. J. H. Michaelis (*adn. ad. h. l.*) explains the difference by a different principle of division. In Chron. the foreign and the Israelitish officers were distinguished, 3600 foreigners, and 250 Israelites: in Kings, on the contrary, the *inferiores et superiores praefecti.* Solomon may have had 3300 inferior overseers, and 550 superior, of whom 250 were selected from the Israelites, and 300 from the Canaanites. It appears to be against this arrangement that in Kings as well the 3300 as the 550 are designated as שָׂרֵי הַנִּצָּבִים הָרֹדִים בָּעָם; though it is correct in the main point. For if we consider 2 Chr. viii. 1—10 attentively, it appears, that the overseers mentioned, v. 10, had the supreme oversight of the labourers in Solomon's buildings in the country, but the 3600 mentioned, 2 Chr. ii. 17, were appointed out of the Canaanitish aliens over the labourers on Lebanon. If we compare with this the narrative, 1 Ki. ix. 15—23, we perceive that the socagers in all the buildings of Solomon are here spoken of. Now, when the number of the overseers is stated in v. 23 at 550, and thus at 300 more than in the parallel passage of Chronicles, there can scarcely be a doubt but that in the number 550 the 300 Canaanitish overseers omitted in our chapter are included with the 250 superior overseers, and the reason why these 300 are not mentioned sooner, but here for the first time, can only lie in this, that they did not fall into the same category with the 3300, but had the supreme oversight

of the labourers at Lebanon, as the 250 had that in the remaining buildings.[1] V. 31. Comp. vii. 9, 10.

In v. 32 the result of Solomon's negotiations with Hiram is given, and this section thereby closed. פסל to hew, as well stone as wood. וְהַגִּבְלִים and the Giblim, that is, inhabitants of גְּבַל جبل, جبلة Byblos, north of Berytus on an eminence by the Mediterranean, (comp. *Ges. thes.* i. 250, and Winer's bibl. R. W. i. p. 240) and lying nearest the celebrated cedar forest of all the great Phœnician cities. According to Ezek. xxvii. 9, the Byblians were also distinguished for shipbuilding.—By the position of this verse is decided also the question, whether the גבלים belonged to the בְּנֵי חִירָם, of which J. D. Mich. was doubtful. As the result of the section is here collected, the Giblim must have been given to Solomon by Hiram for labour, and have been subject to him as well as the Sidonians (v. 20), and therefore are identical with the בני חירם, as Cler. on Jos. xiii. 5; and Gesen. on Is. i. p. 725 have rightly observed. Hence it follows at the same time, that the Phœnician labourers in these buildings were in comparison with Solomon's own subjects a small number, and that they constituted merely the master workmen, under whose superintendence Solomon's people executed the works.

CHAPTER VI.

THE BUILDING OF THE TEMPLE.[2]

This chapter falls into two sections. *a.* The building of the temple, its size, internal and external plan, and the materials employed, are described vv. 1—10, to which is immediately

[1] Unsatisfactory are the attempts of *Ludov. Capellus* in the *descriptio templi Hierosol. juxta mentem Villalpandi* in the London Polyglott, vol. i., p. 20; of Lundius, jüd. Heiligth. Bd. 2. ch. 3. § 23; of *H. B. Stark, not. sel. in Vet. Test. p.* 153; and of others.

[2] As, in my treatise, der tempel Salomo's, Dorpat, 1839, I have

appended, vv. 11—13, the promise made to Solomon during the progress of the building, and the first section is closed with verse 14. Then follows, *b.* the larger account of the internal finish and ornature of the structure, vv. 15—36. Thus the proper building is completed, and the chapter closes appropriately with an account of the length of time it was in building. The brazen pillars erected before the temple porch, as well as the furniture of the temple, though important in reference to the sanctuary, yet did not belong to the building itself, but only to the fitting up of the edifice for worship. In chap. vii., therefore, the description of the royal palace built after the temple follows next, vv. 1—12, and only then the account of the pillars and temple furniture executed in metal by the Tyrian artist Hiram.[2]

enumerated the older works on this subject, and with constant reference to them have given the most intelligible representation possible of the whole temple in all its parts, and also have developed the symbolic import of the whole building, I shall confine myself here to the exegetical illustration of the several verses, and for the rest refer constantly to this treatise for the sake of brevity merely in the words, "s. i. p. q." Since that time only two short descriptions of Solomon's temple, by Fr. Kugler, Hdb. der Kunstgesch. p. 78 ff. and C. Schnaase, Gesch. d. bildenden künste bei den Alt. Düsseldorf 1843, vol. i., p. 239 ff. 264 ff., have come into my hands, by which, however, the investigation has been in no degree advanced.

[2] A parallel to both chapters is furnished in 2 Chr. iii. and iv., where, however, the arrangement of the matter is different. In Chronicles the external building of the temple is not, as in our narrative, separated from its internal decoration and arrangement, but after the size of the temple to be built has been mentioned, ch. iii. 3, follows the description *a.* of the porch, vii. 4; *b.* of the temple itself, and *α* of the holy place with its inner decoration, vv. 5—7, *β* of the holiest in its size and decoration, with the colossal cherubim erected in it and the vail before it, which is entirely omitted in Kings, vv. 8—14; *c.* the brazen pillars before the porch, vv. 15—17; *d.* the altar of burnt-offering, ch. iv. 1, which is not mentioned in Kings; *e.* the brazen sea, vv. 2—5; *f.* the brazen lavers, golden candlesticks, tables of shew-bread and golden basons, vv. 6—8; *g.* the courts, v. 9, whereupon the account concludes with a summary compend of the different temple furniture, vv. 10—22, which agrees almost verbally with 1 Ki. vii. 39—50. This so clearly observable difference of plan strengthens greatly the proof derived in my apolog. Vers. p. 328 from the different omissions and additions of the collateral narrative, that the two descriptions are incomplete extracts, made independently of one another from a common source, and not, as Movers Krit. Unters. p. 59 ff. has, after a superficial comparison of the two accounts, asserted, that the writer of Chronicles has employed the Books of Kings as an original source.

V. 1. The building of the temple forms a great epoch in the history of the theocracy. With it not only does the Mosaic worship gain an important accession in solidity and splendour, and the people itself a fixed central sanctuary, inasmuch as the Lord sanctions the temple on its consecration in the most solemn manner as the place chosen by him for his name; but also with it an end is first made to the provisional state of Israel in the promised land, and the Divine assurance, that he will "appoint a place for his people Israel, that they might dwell in a place of their own and move no more, neither shall the children of wickedness afflict them any more, as beforetime" (2 Sam. vii. 10), completely fulfilled. The importance of this epoch is indicated by this, that the time of building is determined not only by the year of Solomon's reign, but also by the departure from Egypt. 430 years was Israel in Egypt (Ex. xii. 40); 480 years elapsed from the departure out of this land of bondage to the foundation of the temple. These two numbers form two fixed resting points for the chronology of the history of Israel in ancient times, for which the historical books of the Old Testament contain no uninterrupted era, while there is no solid ground either for shortening the 430 years' residence of Israel in Egypt with some critics after the example of the LXX. to 215 years, or for lengthening the period of 480 years from the departure out of Egypt to the building of the temple according to an arbitrary combination of Josephus, with J. D. Mich., Jahn, and others, to 592 years.[1]

V. 2. The walls of the temple were measured from within,

[1] As the proof of the correctness of the 430 years' residence of Israel in Egypt is not in place here, it may be merely remarked by the way, that the statement of Ex. xii. 40, in itself as definite as clear, derives no small confirmation from Ezek. iv. 5, 6, where the 390 and 40 = 430 days to be reckoned as years, are obviously taken from the duration of the Egyptian bondage, comp. Hävern. Comm. on the passage. —The correctness of the 480 years in our passage, which I have formerly shown in the "chronological investigation of the years, which elapsed from the departure of Israel from Egypt to the building of Solomon's temple," in the "Dorptischen Beitr. zu d. theol. Wissensch." ii. p. 303 ff., cannot be placed in doubt by the recent essay of *Archinard, la chronol. sacreé, baseé sur les decouvertes de Champollion, Par.* 1841. p. 59 ff. to fix this period at 498 years, as this essay is wholly based on the synchronism of the old Egyptian history, a foundation at present far too uncertain.

sixty cubits long, twenty broad, and thirty high; s. i. p. q. p. 49 ff. The cubit is the Mosaic, after the earlier standard, 2 Chr. iii. 3, or holy cubit, according to Ezek. xl. 5, xliii. 13, a hand-breadth longer than the common and later one, and according to the careful meteorological investigations of Böckh in Bertheau, z. Gesch. d. Isr. p. 61, equal to 234, 333 Paris lines. The Hebrew word אַמָּה springs from the Coptic *mahe* or *mahi*, with the prefix, *ammahi*, the forearm the cubit, see Berth. i. p. q. p. 51.

V. 3. The porch before the sanctuary was also built of square stones, s. i. p. q. p. 83 ff. "Twenty cubits the length thereof before the breadth of the house, ten cubits the breadth thereof before the house;" that is, it was as broad as the house, twenty cubits, while the greater dimension running parallel to the breadth of the house is called the length, and ten cubits deep. Its height is not given in our narrative, and cannot be ascertained with certainty, as the statement of 120 cubits, (2 Chr. iii. 4), rests manifestly on an old error in transcription, s. i. p. q. p. 90 ff.

V. 4. The windows in the temple, concerning the number, nature, and position of which great variety of opinion prevails, (s. in p. q. p. 60--64), were opened in the upper part of the walls above the side stories, which were from 18 to 20 cubits high, probably in the two side walls, in the back wall above the holiest, and, provided the porch was lower than the interior, perhaps also in the front over the porch.—חַלֹּנֵי שְׁקֻפִים אֲטֻמִים is not to be explained with the Chald., Syr., Ephr. Syr., Theodor., Procop. of Gaza, several Rabbins, Luther, and others, by *fenestrae intus latae foris angustae*, but signifies windows with closed beams, that is, fixed, whose lattices or blinds cannot be opened or closed at pleasure, as the windows of ordinary dwellings, 2 Ki. xiii. 17; Dan. vi. 10. שְׁקֻפִים signifies nothing but beams, cross-pieces, vii. 4, s. i. p. q. p. 62 not.—אֲטֻמִים from אטם, to shut, closed, therefore fixed, as in Syr. and Arab., comp. besides, *Gesen. thes.* i. 77, especially Hävern. Comm. on Ezek. p. 652. These windows serve partly to let out the vapour of the lamps and the smoke of the frankincense, partly to light as well the holy place, which, on account of its height of 30 cubits, being three times that of the tabernacle, was not sufficiently lighted by the lamps of the candlesticks, as also the chambers that were above the holy of holies.

Vv. 5, 6, The additional building on the three sides of the temple is called יָצוּעַ, for which the *Keri* has constantly יָצִיעַ. The word is not *gen. fœm.* or *term. techn.*, as Fürst, *Concord. s.v.*, thinks, but *gen. comm.*, but so that the *masc.* has a collective meaning, the whole wing consisting of three stories (vv. 5, 10), the *fœm.* on the other hand denotes the single story of this wing. This in Hebrew rare, but in Arabic frequent distinction of the collective and the individual by the *gen. masc.* and *fœm.* is usually expressed by a separate feminine ending, as אֳנִי, fleet, group of ships, and אֳנִיָּה, a single ship, comp. Ewald, Heb. Gram. § 368, and *gramm. crit. ling. Arab.* i. § 295.—יצוע, *stratum*, signifies, like the Latin, *contignatio*, the joistwork of beams, then the story consisting of joistwork, and collectively the building composed of such stories. אֶת־קִירוֹת, not *cum parietibus, i.e. contigue ad parietes* (Seb. Schm., J. H. Mich.), but את is *not. accus.*, and את־קירות is a nearer definition of the עַל קִיר. The verse is to be rendered, "And he built against the wall of the house stories round about, namely, round about the walls of the house, against the holy place, and the most holy, and so made chambers round about." צְלָעוֹת signifies here, and in Ezek. xli. 6 ff., side chambers. This is settled, but the fundamental meaning is contested.[1] Gesenius in the *thes.* iii. 1171 gives the meanings of צֵלָע, 1. *costa*, 2. *latus*, *a costa proficiscitur lateris significatio*, 3. *conclave laterale* and holds *eminendi*,

[1] The ground-meaning, that which is to be torn off, separated, derived by Böttcher (Proben p. 340) from the supposed relation between צֵלָע and אָצַל, and to which v. Lengerke, Comm. on Dan. vii. 5, and Hofmann (Weissag. u. Erfüll. im A. u. N. T. i. p. 64) have assented, is erroneously determined. For אָצַל signifies neither, to tear asunder, nor, as Ges. *thes.* i. 143 states, *junxit*, *copulavit*, but simply *vergere*, *inclinare*, *reclinare*, *ad al.*, *inniti alc. rei*, related to עָצַל *resupinum*, then *pigrum esse;* thence אֵצֶל *id quod fultum seu innixum est*, *latus rei*, and as adv. *apud*, *juxta*. See the other derivatives אֲצִיל and אָצֵל in *Fürstii Concord.* p. 115. From אֵצֶל *latus* comes, as Gesen. *l.c.* has rightly observed, the *denom.* אָצַל *ad latus posuit*, *seposuit*, *etc.*, whereas Fürst *l.c.* constitutes this אָצַל, a separate root from the former. Were the fundamental meaning of אָצַל, to tear asunder, אֵצֶל must mean the contrary of *apud*, *juxta ;* it must signify, separated, divided from.

prominendi significatum to be the fundamental meaning. But it is impossible to see how *costa* arises from this as the first meaning. And the Arab. طلع has not the first meaning assigned to it by Gesenius, *prominuit, exseruit se (dens,)* but means—as may be learned from the various meanings enumerated in Freytag's *lex. Arab.* iii. p. 64—nothing more than go forth, appear, come to light, go up, mount. The fundamental signification of צֶלַע is much rather according to Fürst's *Concord.* p. 955. *Se inclinavit, acclinavit* thence derived, *claudicavit,* properly, to lean constantly to one side. In Arab. corresponds ضلع in the same sense, thence ضلع *costa,* ضلعة *latus.* In Hebrew from this primary meaning for צֶלַע the meanings, side, side-piece, side-wall, for example, of the ark, Ex. xxv. 12—14, &c., of the dwelling, Ex. xxvi. 20—35, &c., of the altar, Ex. xxvii. 7, xxx. 4, &c., side-boards of the dwelling, boards which formed the side-walls of the dwelling, Ex. xxvi. 26, 27, side of a mountain, slope, 2 Sam. xvi. 13, side in the human body, Gen. ii. 21 f.;[1] then צְלָעִים the sides, leaves of a door, 1 Ki. vi. 34, and, used of buildings, side-parts, side-stories, side-chambers, that are attached to the main buildings, so here and Ezek. xli. 6 ff. From the meaning, side or side-piece, is developed the idea of a piece presenting an extended flat surface, a broad board, vi. 15, 16. The meaning laid down by Gesen. and Fürst *trabs, asser* does not properly belong to the word, comp. farther vii. 3.

[1] In Gen. ii. 21 f. צֶלַע indeed is usually rendered rib. But this meaning is not clearly ascertained, although not so decidedly erroneous, as Hofmann i. p. q. asserts. In the obscurity of the matter this passage can no more be employed for ascertaining the proper meaning of the word than Dan. vii. 5, because the meaning of עלע is disputed, see Hävern. on the passage, and עלע is elsewhere found only in the *Targ. Hierosol.* Gen. xliv. 9, in the phrase, manifestly alluding to Gen. ii. 21 f., אלולי דהוה עלע מן בית אבא, where rib does not suit. And Job xviii. 12, Ps. xxxviii. 18, and Jer. xx. 10, can contribute nothing to a decision, because here it is a question, whether צַלְעִי is to be derived from צֶלַע *latus* or צֶלַע *claudicatio,* although in Job xviii. 12 Hirzel's explanation, it is ready for my fall, that is, to cause me to fall, remains in the highest degree doubtful.

V. 6. The breadth of these side stories was different; the lowest in the interior five, the middle six, and the highest seven cubits broad, because a reduction in the very thick wall of the temple (s. i. p. q. p. 53 f.) took place at every story, that is, a rebate was made, on which the beams of the side floor rested, without penetrating the temple wall. Hence this wing should appear as a building partly supported by the temple, resting on the ledges of its wall, but still not intermingled with it, and in this way the high dignity of the sanctuary be preserved, s. i. p. q. p. 52 f., 55 f. The height of these side chambers was, according to v. 8, 5 cubits; concerning their probable length and number, s. i. p. q. p. 56. Concerning the peculiar use of בְּ in measurements—5, 6, 7 in the cubit = 5, 6, 7 cubits, which is also found in the Aethiopic, comp. Gesen. Lehrgeb. p. 696, Not., and *thes.* i. 110.

Ver. 7. אֶבֶן שְׁלֵמָה מְסֻעַ,[1] "all unviolated stones of the quarry," that is, not altogether unhewn stones, that Providence had caused so to grow that they did not need to be wrought (Theod. and Procop.), but stones that were so hewn and wrought immediately in the quarry, that in the building of the temple walls neither hammer nor chisel, nor any tool of iron was required to prepare them farther—*lapides integri excisionis, i.e. quales excisi erant. Win. lex.* The expression, "hammer, chisel —was not heard," is by no means hyperbolical (Deres.), and is intended not only to attest the skill of the Tyrian builders, but serves merely for the nearer definition of the מ״א״ש״. In ordinary buildings the stones were only hewn to sit where the walls were erected, but it was otherwise in the building of the temple; in this case they were completely dressed at the quarry.

In v. 8 the brevity of the expression has been the cause of much misunderstanding. The correct interpretation I have already (i. p. q. p. 58 ff.) given: "A door into the middle chamber (of the under story) was in the right side of the house, and they went up with winding stairs into the middle (chamber of the middle story) and from the middle into the third story." In

[1] Concerning the grammatical connexion of these words, in which even Maurer stumbled, conceiving מסע to be not the genitive, but in apposition to אבן, comp. Gesen. Gramm. § 113, 1.

ordinary houses they could ascend by a stair from without to the upper chamber (עַלְיָה) without interfering with the middle story, comp. Winer, bibl. R.W. i. p. 548. Here they went first through a door from without, not from the interior of the sanctuary—as Schnaase, i. p. q. asserts—into the middle chamber of the under story, and from this chamber the winding stair led to the middle and upper story. The stair was erected in the chamber itself, not in the temple wall (Theod., Proc., and others), where it would not only have had no room above, but would have violated the sanctuary more than the holes for the joists which were avoided.[1]

Vv. 9 and 10 close this section. Manifestly here, as above in vv. 1 and 5, by the וַיִּבֶן of both verses, the temple house is distinguished from the wings, and these are added as an appendage, belonging indeed to the temple and destined for its use, but still altogether subordinate to it. The words וַיְכַס בְּ וגו׳, which I, i. p. q. p. 64. Not., understood of the wainscotting of the temple with cedar, I can now, after repeated careful examination, only understand, with the Chald., Syr., Vulg., Arab., Theod., Procop., Münster, Cler., and many others, of the roofing of the house, and render: "and he covered the house with beams and boards of cedar."[2] The necessity of this view arises *(a)* from the contrasted relation of the two verses. V. 9 treats of the temple house, v. 10, of the attached wings. Accordingly as nothing is said in v. 10 of the roof of the temple, it is natural to understand the words in question, v. 9, of this. For these can *(b)* by no means be understood of the internal wainscotting, since the following section, from v. 15, first treats of this. Finally *(c)* this view is confirmed by the use of the word סָפַן, סָפַן, identical with שָׂפַן, Deut. xxxiii. 19, and related to צָפַן, hide, conceal, thus means, properly, hide, conceal. This fundamental meaning we find still in Deut. xxxiii. 21, "and he saw that the portion as-

[1] Windows are not mentioned in the side chambers, but they could not possibly be altogether wanting, even if these chambers only served for keeping the priests' garments, the temple furniture (vii. 51, 2 Ki. xi. 10; 2 Chr. v. 1) and other sacred objects and relics.

[2] שִׂדְרוֹת, properly rows, 2 Ki. xi. 8, 15, 2 Chr. xxiii. 14, thus here, cedar boards and planks. Between the beams the boards were inserted in rows.

signed to him of the lawgiver was hidden," (סָפוּן.) Hence is derived the meaning, cover, which the word has not only in all other passages of the Old Testament,[1] but also in the Talmud, comp. Buxtorf, lex. chald. rabb. talmud. p. 1527.—In the present passage therefore סִפֵּן cannot mean board, or overlay with wood, because for this is used, v. 15—20, the verb צִפָּה, which also signifies the overlaying of the walls with gold, v. 20, 21. Farther, קִירוֹת סִפֻּן, v. 15, means walls of covering, and סְפַן בָּאדָז, vii. 3, a covering of cedars over the chambers. Comp. still, vii. 7.

V. 10. קוֹמָתוֹ, its height, that is, the height of the single story. By an inexactness arising from brevity, the suffix is referred to הַיצוּעַ, although this here denotes the whole building

[1] Fürst, indeed, *Concord s.v.* gives as the first meaning: *concamerare, fornicare*, to arch, board over; but this he founds upon its uncertain derivation from a root *pan, ban* with *sa* = *con*. The meaning also assumed by Gesen. and Winer after Kimchi, *texit*, is not fundamental but derivative, though it became prevalent in the later usage. This it has also in the only two passages in which it occurs beyond the present section, namely, Hag. i. 4; Jer. xxii. 14. In the former modern expositors, indeed (Rosenm., Maur., Hitzig, Ew.), generally render, "is it a time for you to dwell in your wainscotted (סְפָנִים) houses?" But without warrant. For even should סְפָנִים actually belong as an adjective to בָּתֵּיכֶם, as an adjective without an article is sometimes joined to a definite noun, (comp. Gen. xxxvii. 2; Ps. cxliii. 10, and Ew. Gramm. § 537), still it must surprise us, that the prophet should at once presume, that all the houses in Jerusalem were wainscotted, or covered with costly boarding scarcely fifteen years after the return of the exiles into their desolate country, where the whole condition of Jerusalem was still deplorable and wretched in the extreme. Rather must we render, "to dwell in your covered (that is, well-secured) houses," while the house of God lies waste. Do you care only for yourselves, the prophet means to say, that ye may live well sheltered under roofs, but have no solicitude for the house of God that it may be built again? In Jer. xxii. 14, also סָפוּן בָּאֶרֶז may be suitably rendered, *covered with cedars*, although here also the moderns give *wainscotted*. Even the derivative סְפִינָה, Jon. i. 5, signifies not *navis, a tabulando et affabre elaborando*, (Winer), because v. 3, 4, 5, אֳנִיָּה is used for this—not even *talem (navem), qualem Plinius tectam, Cicero*, (*Verr.* v. 34), *et Caesar* (*bell. civ.* 3, 101), *constratum, Græci* κατάφρακτον *vocant*, (Winer), but *the deck* of the ship, *quod Græci* στέγην *et* κατάστρωμα, *Plautus stegam, Petronius constratum navis dicunt.*

consisting of three stories. וַיֶּאֱחֹז וגו׳ "and it (the wing) rested on the house with beams of cedar." *Adjunctumque erat domui lignis cedrinis.* Cler. *Adhæsitque domui per ligna cedrina.* Seb. Schm. Untenable is the rendering; *contabulavit* (Gesen.), or *contignavit domum*, which Winer understands of the roof as the closing of the building, after the Chald. and the Vulg., which render אָחַז directly by *cover*. אָחַז means neither *cover* nor *close*, not even in the single passage cited for it by Gesen. and Winer, Neh. vii. 3, as we may perceive from this, that Nehemiah uses סָגַר of the shutting of the gates, xiii. 19. אחז confessedly means, *to seize, lay hold of, grasp, hold fast*, and is construed either *c. accus. rei et pers.* (Judg. xii. 6; 2 Chr. xxv. 5), or oftener still with בְּ. The author here chose the *constr. c. accus.* because he had used אָחַז בְּ in the sense, *fasten in*. The meaning is: because the beams of the side stories rested on the ledges of the temple wall, the wing was attached to the house, it was connected with the temple, without however interfering injuriously with the sanctuary.

In vv. 11—13 is communicated a word of the Lord, which Solomon received during the building of the temple (see the *partic.* בֹּנֶה v. 12.)[1] The Lord assures him that he will fulfil the promise made to David (2 Sam. vii.) in regard to the building of the temple on condition that he will walk in his statutes, judgments, and commandments, which are enumerated according to ii. 3 in the law of Moses, comp. Hävern., Einl. i. 2, p. 581. This word of the Lord is a short Divine confirmation of that which his father David had impressed upon him in the trans-

[1] Probably through a prophet, not, as Schultz thinks, *noctu sine dubio in somniis*. Against this is chap. ix. 3, compared with iii. 3. Calmet asserts, that this revelation follows immediately after the consecration of the temple, and coincides with that mentioned, ix. 2 ff. But the position of our section is decidedly against this. The author has introduced it in the narrative of the building of the temple between the description of the outer building and the internal finishing, in order to show that this word of the Lord came to Solomon during the building for the purpose of calling to his memory in the process of building, that the true service of God consists not in the costly erection and embellishment of a stone sanctuary, but in the faithful following of the Divine commandments.

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ference of the kingdom with special reference to the building of the temple. הַבַּיִת is *nom. absol.* "as to this house, which thou buildest, if thou . . . I will perform my word with thee which I . . . And I will dwell among the children of Israel, and will not forsake my people Israel." Literally David had not received this last promise, 2 Sam. vii. 12 ff., but only that the Lord would establish to his son for ever the throne of his kingdom. But implicitly this contained the most glorious promise for the whole people, to which David also points in his thanksgiving (v. 26.) With right, therefore, might the addition of the Lord's dwelling in the midst of Israel be designated as a confirmation of the promise imparted to David, though this addition agrees in words much more closely with Lev. xxvi. 11, where the highest blessing of true obedience to the commandments of God is compared in the words: "I will set my tabernacle among you, and my soul will not abhor you." The dwelling of God among Israel refers to his symbolic presence over the mercy-seat in the most holy place, in which the true spiritual connexion of the Lord with his people was represented.

Vv. 14—35. The completion of the building by the internal finishing of the temple. V. 15. The inner walls of the house are covered from the floor to the ceiling with cedar boards; the floor itself is laid with cypress boards, so that no stone is seen within, comp. v. 18.—V. 16 f. The whole internal space is so divided by a wall of cedar boards from the floor to the walls of the ceiling (עַד הַקִּירוֹת v. 16 is to be understood according to עַד קִירוֹת הַסִּפֻּן v. 14), that the rear apartment is twenty cubits long and broad, but the front forty cubits.[1] The former

[1] These forms are full of meaning. In and of itself certainly no symbolic import is to be sought in the quadrangle, as the oldest temples of the East were all of a quadrangular form, and round temples in general and also in the West were of later origin, comp. Winklemann, Baukunst der Alten i. § 30 and Bähr, Symbol. i. p. 238. But the import of the forms appears from this, that the proportions of the tabernacle are preserved also in the temple; the holy of holies is in both a complete cube, the holy place an oblong deviating only in the height. The proper import, however, is disputed. The meaning assigned by Bähr (Symbol. i. p. 155 ff.) to the number four, namely "the number of the world as the sum of all that is created," has been contested by Hävern., Comm. on Ezek. p. 690, as unfounded and

is designed for the inner room (דְּבִיר comp. Ges. *thes.* i. 318 and

incapable of proof from the Old Testament (comp. also Hengstenb. die Gesch. Bil. p. 71), and for the number four, as well as the quadrangle he claims only the general meaning of "the regular, fixed and definite, absolutely limited and unchangeable." This, however, does not explain the cube form, which the holy of holies had not only in the tabernacle, but also in the temple, and which even in Rev. xxi. 16 is ascribed to the city of God coming down from heaven to the new earth, as this is described not merely as a complete square, but as a perfect cube ("the length and the breadth and the height of it are equal") of 1200 stadia or 144,000 ells (of five feet) in every dimension, comp. Wieseler in Ullm. and Umbr. theol. Stud. u. Krit. 1839, part. 4. p. 1154 ff. Hävernick indeed only finds herein with Vitringa (Ἀνάκρισις *Apocalyps.* p. 899) the *ecclesiæ firmitatem et statum ejus ἀμετακίνητον sive ἀσάλευτον, immotum* (Hebr. xii. 27, 28) symbolized. But he has neglected to observe, that Vitringa not only recognizes the cubic form of the heavenly Jerusalem acknowledged by himself after Wieseler, but expressly remarks: *Quod autem additur:* longitudinem, latitudinem et altitudinem urbis esse æquales, *neutiquam ita accipiendum est, acsi ipsius urbis, h. e. ædificiorum altitudo exsurrexisset ad* 12,000 *stadia* (so Vitringa reads with the *text. rec.* Rev. xxi. 16, whereas Wieseler i. p. q. has proved that 1200 should be read); *quod ut paradoxum sic plane inconcinnum esset et hujus perfectæ urbis συμμετρίαν turbaret: nec referendum etiam videtur ad altitudinem montis, cui urbs fuit superstructa: quippe de quo nihil monetur; sed ut prudentes (?) interpretes cum Grotio jam observarent: ut longitudo et latitudo urbis erant æquales, sic pariter æqualem fuisse visam ædificiorum urbis altitudinem.* On the contrary, Wieseler has already perceived that the description is to be understood not literally but symbolically. "In this cube form, however," says he, "is expressed the prominent thought, that as of the temple edifice only the holy of holies, in which God himself dwelt, had the cubic form, was 20 cubits long, 20 cubits broad, and 20 cubits high (1 Ki. vi. 20), God so dwells in the new Jerusalem as in a holy of holies, united in the most intimate manner with the souls of believers. Then is every temple service to cease, Rev. xxi. 22; then begins the immediate vision of God, xxii. 4." From the whole the cube appears to us the symbol of the dwelling of God, though neither in heaven nor even on earth, but the dwelling of God in the midst of his people, the symbol of the complete kingdom of God, in which heaven and earth are united. The cube-formed heavenly Jerusalem on the new earth is, according to Rev. xxi. 3, *ἡ σκηνὴ τοῦ θεοῦ μετὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων.* Next to the cube stands the square, and next to this again the regular oblong. The temple, as well as the tabernacle, was, regarded as a whole, an oblong: the tabernacle is 30 cubits long, and 10 cubits broad, and its court 100 cubits long, and 50 broad: the temple, without vestibule and wings, is 60 cubits long, and 20 broad; the inner court of it probably 200 cubits long, and 100 broad, see i. p. q. p. 115 f. If with this we compare Ezekiel's vision, not only the sanctuary seen by Ezekiel forms a complete square of 500 reeds, comp.

Delitzsch, *Jesurun*, *p.* 87) or most holy place: the latter forms

Ezek. xlii. 15—20, xlv. 2, and Hävern. Comm. p. 687, but also the portion of land set apart in the new division of the country as a holy tribute or free-will offering of Israel for the sanctuary, the priests and Levites, for the city and its servants, is an area of 25,000 reeds square, Ezek. xlviii. 8, 20; the city Jerusalem also lying in this holy ground over against the temple is a square of 4500 reeds; and the suburbs are to include 250 square reeds, vv. 16, 17. Here the import of the square comes into view. But is it thereby to be merely indicated, that the temple rises regularly and securely from its foundations, that its form and stability thereby represented are correspondent with its whole magnitude? By no means. The stability of the new city is sufficiently indicated, partly, by the walls surrounding it (Ezek. xl. 5; Rev. xxi. 16), to which in the heavenly Jerusalem the twelve θεμέλιοι (vv. 14, 19 ff. comp. with Eph. ii. 20) are added, partly by its situation on a very high mountain, Ezek. xl. 2, on which also the heavenly Jerusalem lies, Rev. xxi. 10. Häv. erroneously observes, p. 690, What in the Apocalypse is transferred to the height of the walls, Ezek. expresses by the height of the mountain on which the temple stands.—If we farther compare the whole delineation by Ezekiel with the present description of Solomon's temple, we cannot fail to observe this great difference, that the external circumstances of the temple, the courts with their cells and doors, guard-rooms and chambers, its ornaments, dresses, &c., are much more carefully and exactly measured and described than the holy place, and the holy of holies of the temple itself, of which the description is surprisingly brief, whereas in the temple of Solomon the courts are scarcely mentioned. That this difference is not accidental, but that in this proportion the fundamental idea, which the prophet pursues in his representation, is put prominently forward, has been rightly remarked by Hävern. i. p. q. p. 668 f. With this is connected the repeated mention of the square form of so many different places of the courts, as well of the inner (Ezek. xl. 23, 27, 47) as the paved area of the outer court surrounding the former (xl. 19), of the separate area on which the temple itself stood (xli. 13—15), of the chambers by the outer eastern gate (xl. 7), of the table for the sacrificial requisites, &c. What else is indicated by this, but that the temple is to be most holy in its entire extent? (Comp. Hävern. i. p. q. p. 623.) But still it does not perfectly correspond to this idea. Still there is the difference between courts and temple, between the holy and the most holy place, and even if the most holy place is no longer separated by a vail from the holy (comp. Hävern. p. 669), even if the court have obtained a much higher import than in the temple of Solomon, yet still a great difference remains between the court, the holy and the most holy place, and therefore the square form is only predominant, not pervasive. For even the temple of Ezekiel is only a copy of the restored and renovated kingdom of God in Israel. For the same reason also in Ezekiel xlvii. and xlviii. the temple and the city are still distinguished, although both stand side by side on holy ground in the midst of

the exterior sanctuary (לְפָנִי *anterior*, comp. Ew. Gramm. § 343).

—V. 18. "And the cedar wood within the house was (carved), sculpture of bitter-gourds and opened buds." מְקֻלַּעַת פְּקָעִים carved work, sculpture in relief of gourds. On פקע comp.

the land. The glory of the Lord enters into the temple, fills the whole temple, and is directed from the temple to the city; the city is called xlviii. 35, יְהוָה שָׁמָּה, but still it has not so become the dwelling place of the Lord, that it no more needs temple, as the heavenly Jerusalem, Rev. xxi. 22: therefore also the external form wants its completeness, the height corresponding to the length and breadth. After so many facts, who could doubt that the quadrangle is in Scripture the symbol of the kingdom of God on the earth, and in its several steps, the oblong, the square, and the cubic represent the several steps of the kingdom of God from its first earthly formation to its completion in the end of days? The same symbolic import of the number four, the significance of which Winer bibl. R. W. ii. p. 827, and Hävern. i. p. q. p. 691 incorrectly deny, shows itself, not to speak of the *four* coverings of the tabernacle, the *four* garments of the priests, the twice *four* pieces of the high priest's official costume, the *four* ingredients of the holy ointment and many others, most clearly in the cherubim seen by Ezekiel in the throne of God. Not only are there *four* cherubim, but every cherub has *four* faces, *four* hands, *four* wings, whereas to four faces belong properly eight hands and eight wings (i. 6—10.) Here also it is not sufficient to say: "the remark of Calvin concerning the number of the cherubim: *quod numerum spectat, non dubito quin Deus voluerit docere, diffundi suam virtutem per omnes mundi plagas*, must admit of an appropriate application to the fourfold form of the face. Every cherub is thereby again an individual representative of the creation and of the life lying in it," Hävern. i. p. q. p. 18. For if the cherubim are the ideal representatives of the creation, and "the whole plenitude of the creative living power is shown not only in their whole appearance, but also in each individual and so again in its several parts" (Häv. i. p. q.), the number four, which is not conformable to reality, but merely expressive of the idea, must represent the ideal creation and be the signature of the world corresponding to its idea, that is, of the kingdom of God on the earth. Accordingly the number four and the quadrangle is the symbol not of the world as such, as it is in heathendom, but of the kingdom of God, or the world only in so far as it is to become, or has already become, a kingdom of God. In correspondence with this the most holy place has the form of the complete quadrangle, the cube, for here dwells the Lord, and his people, in the person of the high priest, appear before him, in order to effect once every year through the atonement communion with him, as it will continually subsist in the perfected kingdom of God. The holy place is an oblong, corresponding to its idea, to be the place of the people, who appear before the Lord and serve him through his consecrated priests (comp. Hengstenb. Beitr. iii., p. 635.)

Gesen. *thes.* iii. 1122.—V. 19. לְתִתָּן is not future with לְ prefixed, *ut reponeres* (Schulz, *Schol.* Gesen. Lehrgeb. p. 636, 716), but, as may be clearly seen from xvii. 14, *infin.* תֵּת with reduplicated syllable תֵּן, formed according to a reduplication of monosyllabic words more common in the later language, comp. Ew. Krit. Gr. p. 408. Not. 4 and Hebr. Gramm. p. 226.

V. 20. לִפְנֵי הַדְּבִיר is difficult. The Chald. and Syr. render לפני literally קֳדָם, but without meaning: Cleric. *ad adytum:* Maur. *pro, before* instead of *for*, quite arbitrarily. Seb. Schmidt's exposition also, *et faciebus, s. superficiebus adyti erant*, is not satisfactory. For it would be too strangely expressed, "the surface of the inner room had a length of . . . ," instead of simply saying, "the inner room was 20 cubits long." Luther's view of this verse, "and before the choir, which was 20 cubits long, 20 cubits broad, and 20 cubits high, and was overlaid with pure gold, he boarded the altar with cedars," can only be respectfully dismissed. Though independently of the violence of the construction the author cannot be so understood, because in that case the internal gilding of the holy of holies would only be mentioned by the way as it were *in parenthesi*, which is inconsistent with the whole form of the narrative. By attending carefully to the order of the description it appears, that the gilding of the most holy place forms the main subject of this verse. The לפני הדביר in conformity with the course of the narrative can only be employed as subject in the sense, the inside of the inner apartment. This sense, however, פָּנִים has not; wherefore the rendering of J. H. Mich. *quod ad interiora adyti adtinet* is inadmissible. With Kimchi we take לפני for the construct state of a subst. לִפְנִים, that occurs also, v. 29, in the sense of the inner part, the interior, and is formed according to the analogy of the adjective לְפָנִי, v. 17. The frequent use of לִפְנֵי as a mere preposition caused its origin from the prefix לְ and פָּנִי to be gradually forgotten, and the form to be regarded as a simple word from which the later speech formed new derivatives.[1]

[1] Older is the derivative פְּנִימָה also formed from פָּנִים *facies*, in the sense of *parietes domus e regione januæ positi, ap. Homerum: τὰ ἐνώπια (Gesen. thes.* iii. 1111), properly towards the inner wall, there-

זָהָב סָגוּר (סָגוֹר Job xxviii. 15), for which stands 2 Chr. iii. 8 זָהָב טוֹב, is shut up, that is, fine, precious gold. There is no ground for other meanings, as, *aurum densatum*, unporous gold (Fürst, *Concord. p.* 755), or, solid native gold (J. D. Mich. after the Arab. سَجَرَ, or, *igne probe excoctum*), (J. H. Mich. *Adnott. uber. in Job* xxviii. 15 after the Arab. سجر), which Rosenm. (*Schol. ad h. b.*) rejected, but Ewald has, notwithstanding, again proposed. For as סָגַר has a clearly ascertained meaning in Hebrew, which is also quite suitable here, we should not have recourse to foreign dialects, especially as the explanation ascertained in the Hebrew has an analogy in כֶּתֶם gold, properly the hidden.[1] "And covered the altar with cedars" (מִזְבֵּחַ without the article, because the altar has not been before mentioned.) J. D. Mich. translates falsely, Also the altar of cedar overlaid he with gold; for (*a*) מִזְבֵּחַ is not *stat. constr.*, (*b*) the gilding of this altar is first mentioned, v. 22.—Since the altar was overlaid or covered with cedars, it must have had a centre of stone. Besides the mention of the altar in this verse, which treats of the most holy place, is remarkable, and still more remarkably is this altar, v. 22, described as אֲשֶׁר לַדְּבִיר, "which belonged to the inner apartment (the most holy place)," (for לְ denotes property, ownership, comp. Hengstenb. Comm. on the Psalms, i. p. 151.) Hence Calmet, J. D. Mich., and Dereser inferred, that there was an altar in the most holy place, on which the high priest on the great day of atonement might set the

fore, inward, which is found already Lev. x. 18; and פְּנִימִי, that besides v. 27 and vii. 50, occurs only in Ezek., Chron., and Esther. For against the derivation of this word *a rad.* פנם *celare, occulere*, proposed by Fürst *Concord.* p. 911, decides at once the circumstance, that no trace is to be found of the existence of such a root in any of the Shemitic dialects.

[1] According to 2 Chr. iii. 8, 600 talents of gold were employed for the gilding of the most holy place, and 50 for nails. On the gilding of the ancients, comp. Jahn, Archæol. i. 1, p. 230. The upper chambers, also above the most holy place, which are not mentioned in the Books of Kings, but are inferred of necessity from the fact that the most holy place was ten cubits lower than the holy, were gilded, see i. p. q. p. 51 f.

censer. Quite incorrectly. Both verses are explained by the statements of the Pentateuch concerning the position of the altar of incense: "And thou shalt put it before the vail that is by the ark of the testimony, before the mercy-seat that is over the testimony," Ex. xxx. 6, and "thou shalt set the altar of gold for the incense before the ark of the testimony," Ex. xl. 5, while in the same passage, v. 26, it is distinctly said, "he put the golden altar in the tent of the congregation before the vail." By these passages the altar of incense, though standing in the holy place, is set in a closer relation with the most holy place than the two other pieces of furniture in the holy place, the table and the candlestick, which are therefore named alone, Ex. xxvi. 35, as the articles to be placed without the inner vail. This closer connexion, indicated in both these verses, of the altar standing certainly in the holy place, but immediately before the vail, with the most holy place, is shown also in this, that it is not only called Ex. xxx. 10 קֹדֶשׁ קָדָשִׁים לַיהוָה, but also on the great day of atonement was sprinkled on its horns, and purged with the blood, which was brought into the holiest to atone for the people and sprinkled on and before the mercy seat, Ex. xxx. 10; Lev. xvi. 18 f.[1]

V. 21. The gilding of the inner wall of the house, that is, the partition between the holy and the most holy place. This alone can be understood by דְּבִיר מִפְּנִימָה. The connexion demands this. For as v. 20 the interior gilding of the most holy place,

[1] From this close connexion of the altar of incense with the holy of holies is explained also the statement, Heb. ix. 4, that the holiest of all had a χρυσοῦν θυμιατήριον, which caused the expositors so much trouble that many fathers of the church, Origen, Augustine, Oecum. actually believed, that the altar of incense had stood in the most holy place (comp. Tholuck's Comm. on the Hebr. p. 281. Ed. 1), others explained θυμιατήριον by censer, for example, Fr. v. Meyer, Bibeldeut. p. i. ff., others still charged the author of the epistle to the Hebrews with ignorance of the arrangements of the Jewish sanctuary, or at best with a false explanation of the above cited passage of the Pentateuch, which—according to Bleek, Epist. to the Heb. iii. p. 488—might be so conceived, "as if the altar of incense had stood not in the holy place before the vail, which separated the holy from the most holy, but on the opposite side of the vail in the most holy place immediately before the ark." The correct view has been already conjectured, but not clearly enough expressed by Mynster (theol. Stud. u. Krit. 1829. part 2. p. 342 ff.) and Tholuck i. p. q. p. q. p. 293.

nd v. 22 that of the holy place are described, so in v. 21 the tion wall only can be spoken of. To this point also the y difficult words וַיַּעֲבֵר בְּרֹת׳ וגו׳, concerning which the old erpreters have only formed various conjectures. LXX., according to *Cod. Ab.*, render, *καὶ παρήγαγεν ἐν καθηλώμασι υσίου κατὰ πρόσωπον σοῦ δαβείρ.* The *Chald.* gives the ssage by the Chaldee words corresponding to the Hebrew, parently without having understood them. The *Syr.* "he ade ... *parastadem;* the *Arab.* still more arbitrarily: he made for the door of the sanctuary thresholds عتبات." *ulg.: et affixit laminas clavis aureis.*[1] Dereser has on the hole correctly hit the sense: "and he let a gold chain-work n (to the wall) before the oracle;" only he does not explain e use of the preposition בְּ. Much rather must we render: "he ade to go thereupon (upon the inner partition-wall) in golden hains," that is, he made an ornament running over the partion wall, consisting of gold chains,[2] of the peculiar nature of

[1] Clericus renders: *ante Adytum transmisit catenas aureas*, and nderstands this of golden chains, which were hung on the walls for rnament; whereas Dathe with a like rendering explains the words: *hæ catenæ ex pariete in ea tantum parte pependisse videntur, in qua ex illis velum, quod adytum a sancto separabat, suspendebatur.* J. D. Mich. after the analogy of the pillars by gold chains found in the mosque at Damascus or the balustrade of metal pillars running round the Kaaba, which are connected with chains on which hang silver lamps, represents the matter thus: "On the walls stood as an ornament pillars in the form of palm trees, and these were connected by golden chains hanging down." Most of the moderns after Vatabl. and Cocceius explain: "he barred with gold chains (the most holy place or the door of it);" thus Schulz *(Schol.)*, de Wette, Gesen. *thes.* ii. p. 984, Winer *(Lex.)* But the folding-doors of the most holy place stood always open, and the view into it was only covered by the vail, see i. p. q. p. 75 f. The signification *repagulare*, also, for עָבַר is by no means ascertained in the *Chald.*; for Buxtorf cites for proof merely this passage from the Targum, while it is a question, whether the Targumist actually understood it, although the *substant.* עֶבְרָה signifies the bar (properly that which is laid over.) In Hebrew at least all proof of it is wanting, as the piel עִבֵּר occurs again only in Job xxi. 10 in quite a different signification.

[1] בְּ designates the predicate only in so far as it states in what it consists, comp. Ewald, Gramm. § 521.

which, on account of the brevity of the expression, which is stil more indefinite in 2 Chr. iii. 16, no distinct conception ca obtained. The conjectures offered are given i .p. q. p. 76 ff.— 22. The whole house, that is, the holy place, along with the al in it was entirely overlaid with gold.

V. 23—28. For the most holy place Solomon had two coloss cherubim made, ten cubits high, with wings five cubits long, wild olive tree overlaid with gold, and set up with their fac turned to the holy place (2 Chr. iii. 13), so that their expande wings touched the side walls with their external points, and wi their internal reached one another, and the ark was placed und them, see i. p. q. p. 105 ff. Among the various explanations the word כְּרוּב, for which compare Gesen. *thes.* ii. *p.* 710 *sq.* ar Winer, bibl. R.W. i. p. 262 ff., the only tenable one is that giv by Aben Ezra, namely, צוּרָה, *forma, imago,* an artistic figu (see i. p. q. p. 107), for which also recently Hävern. Comm. o Ezek. p. 5 has decided. Gesen. l. c., indeed, thinks it wants *ap fundamento,* but it is sufficiently warranted by the Arabic an Syriac usage. "כרובים *sculpta, γλυπτά, ad certissimam originem thematis* كرب כרב *sculpsit,* says A. Schultens, *prov. salom. p.* 472, and ܟܪܒ *apud Syros est finxit, unde* ܟܪܘܒܐ *formator imaginum,*" *Castell. lex. heptagl. s.v.* and *Lex. et Comment. Serm. hebr. et chald. post J. Cocceium et J. H. Maium ed. Schultz* i. *p.* 610. Comp. still *Gesenius, de Bar Ali et Bar Bahlulo,* ii. *p.* 30.— These cherubim were certainly on the whole true, but colossal copies of the massive golden cherubic forms standing on the capporeth, but with this difference, that whereas the faces of the Mosaic ones were turned towards one another on the capporeth, these directed their faces not to one another but to the holy place, As beings, which, according to the admirable exposition of Bähr, "as standing on the highest step of created life and uniting in themselves the most perfect created life, are the most perfect revelation of God and the Divine life," (Symbol. i. p. 340 ff.), they were the most appropriate symbols of the glory of the Lord filling the sanctuary.[1]

[1] The connexion asserted by Spencer, but decidedly opposed by Bähr, between the cherubim and the Egyptian Sphinxes, even after all that Hengstenb. (d. BB. Mos. u. Aeg. p. 157 ff.), has alleged in its

In v. 29 f., the decoration of the inner wainscotting of the holy e already briefly mentioned, v. 18, is more completely ibed. All the walls of the holy place were wrought in es (carved work) of cherubim, palm trees, and opening buds, ar symbols of growth, bloom and potent life in the kingdom of od, see i. p. q. p. 144. Concerning the probable distribution of is sculpture, see i. p. q. p. 70 ff. מִלִּפְנִים וְלַחִיצוֹן, "from within without," that is, the most holy as well as the holy. Comp. on — מִן, Gen. ix. 10, and on לִפְנִים the remarks on v. 20.— ren the floor of the holy and the most holy place was overlaid th gold, that is, covered with thin gold-plates, see i. p. q. p. 70. V. 31—35. The door to the most holy place consisted of two ves of wild olive tree, that moved on golden hinges (vii. 50) d were decorated in the same manner as the inner walls of the mple. The door of the holy place was on the whole similarly nstructed, only the leaves were made of cypress-wood and only e posts of wild olive. Farther every leaf was divided into two alves or folds (צְלָעִים),[1] which turned by themselves, so that it as not necessary always to open the whole leaf, in order to nter the holy place. In the door to the most holy place this ivision was unnecessary, because in the first place this was ot opened and shut, but stood always open (see i. p. q. p. 5), and in the next place it was obviously smaller and lower han that to the holy place. Its size indeed is not expressly tated, but it may be inferred from the obscure words הָאַיִל מְזוּזוֹת חֲמֻשִׁיו v. 31, which Gesen. first in the *thes.* i. p. 42 *sq.*, here also the various opinions of the ancients are to be found, et in a clear light by the rendering: *crepido cum postibus erat*

avour, remains still in the highest degree doubtful, as amidst the total ncertainty concerning the proper and true form of the Mosaic cheru- im and their relation to the cherubic figures of Ezekiel, "the essen- ial agreement of form between them can neither be proved nor set side on convincing grounds." Comp. the certainly in some degree pposite remarks in opposition to Hengstenb. of B. Welte in the Tüb. heol. quart. 1842 part. 2 p. 299 ff.

[1] קְלָעִים, v. 34, is not to be taken with Schulz, Dathe, Maur., Gesen., Winer, for an error of transcription instead of צְלָעִים, but ests upon an Aramaising change of צ and ק, as אַרְקָא for אֶרֶץ, Jer. . 11.

quinta pars, i.e. quintam parietis partem occupabat, the frame the door with the posts[1] occupied the fifth part of the wall, i. p. q. p. 77. The door therefore, with frieze, socle, and p was 4 cubits broad, and certainly also as high—a size pro tionate to a wall 20 cubits high and broad. The entrance to t holy place was considerably greater, as it had posts of wild oli a fourth part (of the wall) v. 23, according to which the do with its frame was 5 cubits broad by 7½ high, so that the le might be quite conveniently divided into two separately turni halves. The gilding of the doors is also specially described. the leaves of the door to the holiest it is said: "he spread (ד from רדד) the gold upon the cherubim and palm-trees" (v. 3 that is, according to Jarchi's correct explanation: he laid t gold leaves over the doors that were covered with sculpture, that all the figures, elevations, and sinkings of the carved wo were expressed and made visible on the gilding. Of the doo to the holy place, it is said, v. 35: "he overlaid (the sculptur cherubim, &c.) with gold fitted upon the sculpture (carve work), that is, so thinly beaten and laid over the figures, th the gold was exactly joined to them."

V. 36. "And he built the inner court, three rows of hewn stone and a row of cedar-beams." This statement is very brie and ambiguous. Chr. (2 iv. 9) says still less about it, but at the same time mentions the outer court, which had its gates overlaid with brass, see i. p. q. p. 111 ff. Most interpreters understand these words of the enclosing of the court which was situated, according to Jer. xxxvi. 10, higher than the outer court surrounding it, which consisted of three layers of cut stone, on which a row of cedar-beams either lay flat or was applied in the form of a railing, see i. p. q. p. 115.[2]

[1] מְזוּזוֹת the *Syr.* translates ܦܪܣܬܕܐ παραστάδες: but they are not pillars, as Gesen. *l.c.* assumes, but square posts, pilasters. And הָאֵיל מְזוּזוֹת does not stand for אֵיל הַמְּזוּזוֹת as Gesen. Lehrgeb. p. 658 thinks, but מְזוּזוֹת is freely attached to האיל as an explanatory apposition, comp. Ew. Gramm. § 515. Hence also v. 33 מְזוּזוֹת stands alone.

[2] J. D. Mich., on the contrary, applies the words to the area of the court, which was formed of three rows, one above another, of large cut

, 38. From the second month of the 4th year to the month of the 11th year of the reign of Solomon, that is, years, for which the text gives the round whole number 7 , was the temple completed. In comparison with other t erections of ancient and modern times,[1] this building was cuted in a very short time. At the same time we are to member, that, notwithstanding the splendour with which it as finished, the edifice was not in itself very great; that, rther, an immense number of workmen were employed in it; nd, lastly, that the procuring and preparing of the material, nd the hewing of the stones, were accomplished on Lebanon, nd preceded the founding of the temple, and therefore are not o be reckoned in the 7½ years. Besides, the substructions of Mount Moriah necessary for the foundation of the temple and its ourt, would have required not only the greater part of the time, ut the most part of the stones. As Josephus, however, in his counts of it in three different parts of his writings (*Antiq.* viii. 9, xv. 11, 3, and *de bell. Jud.* v. 5, 1) partly contradicts himf (see i. p. q. p. 34 ff.), and at all events exaggerates the ter, it cannot now be ascertained, how much of these subons belongs to the work of Solomon and how much to the ng centuries; but a considerable part of it at all events is k, as the remains of it, which Robinson (Pal. ii. p. 58 ff.) covered according to its ancient style of building—the bordering of the enormous stones from 20 to 24 and t long, and 5 to 6 feet broad—point to the times before ty, and in that case certainly originated with Solomon

d a row of thick cedar-beams laid over them, because the were obliged to go barefoot in the inner court (comp. *Carpzov. r. crit. Antiq.* p. 787 sqq., and *Braun, de vestit. sacerd. p.* 33 *sqq.*), which would have been scarcely tolerable in winter, if they must have gone on the bare stones. But, not to speak of the improbability of so massive a pavement, this view is opposed by the passage 2 Ki. xvi. 17, according to which the court had a stone pavement in the time of Ahaz: and that this was not a subsequent work, but belonged essentially to the court, may be inferred from this, that the external court also of the temple seen by Ezekiel was laid or paved with stone.

[1] According to *Plinius h. n.* xxxvi. 12, all Asia was 200 years building at the temple of Diana at Ephesus, and 400 years engaged in its embellishment, and in Egypt 360,000 men were employed 20 years in the completion of one pyramid.

himself, not only because none of his successors dow captivity could command so much gold or labour as he, a which is told us of the new court under Jehoshaphat (see p. 112, and Hävern. Comm. on Ezek. p. 654), and o repairing of the temple by Joash, 2 Ki. xii. 5 ff.; 2 Chr. 4 ff., and Josiah, 2 Ki. xxii. 5 ff.; 2 Chr. xxxiv. 8 ff., does make the impression, that at these periods so costly and massi walls were to be executed, but also because the building of great and splendid palace on Mount Zion immediately after th temple renders it probable, that the joining of the two hills by means of a bridge, the remains of a great arch of which have likewise been discovered by Robinson i. p. q. p. 64 ff. closely con nected with the foundation wall of the mount, and showing similar style of building, is at all events a work of the reign o Solomon.

CHAPTER VII.

BUILDING OF THE ROYAL PALACE, VV. 1—12, AND MAKI THE TEMPLE FURNITURE VV. 13—50.

The first section of this chapter, which treats of the of the royal palace, is exceedingly difficult on accou brevity and the want of perspicuous statement. V. connected with vi. 37, 38, and forms the transition account of the erection of the temple to the building of t palace. The thirteen years, according to ix. 10, are reckoned from the completion of the temple. With v. 2 begins the description of this building. As in what follows several buildings, as the house of the forest of Lebanon (2—5), the portico of pillars with a porch (6), the porch of the throne and of judgment (7), the dwelling house of the King, and the house of the daughter of Pharaoh were erected one after another, the question in the first place arises, whether all these buildings were different parts of the one royal palace, or different buildings from it? The former opinion we find in Josephus (*Antiq.* viii. 15, 2)

Theodor., Procop., Villalpand. (*ad Ezech. t.* ii. *p.* 431 *sqq.*), Corn. a Lap., Calm., Seb. Schmidt, etc., while on the contrary the Arab. translator (perhaps also the Chald. and the Syr.), most of the Rabbins, Seb. Münster, finally J. D. Mich., Dathe, and Dereser, are of the latter opinion. Of these Mich. and Dathe, with Iken (*dissert. philol. theol.* i. *diss.* 15) and Hamelsveld (bibl. Geogr. i. p. 338) assume as certain, that the forest-house of Lebanon was a summer residence of King Solomon built on Lebanon or at the foot of it, for which Dathe appeals to x. 19; 2 Chr. viii. 6. Comp. the remarks on ix. 19. But on the contrary Cleric. rightly concluded, from the statement x. 17, that Solomon deposited the golden shields in the forest-house of Lebanon, that this *villa* cannot have been far distant from Jerusalem. *Neque enim tam pretiosa suppellectilia in loco minus tuto reposuisset;* while Villalpand. *l. c.* inferred from xiv. 25, 26, that these golden shields were in the royal palace at Jerusalem. Comp. also Rosenm. bibl. Althk. i. 2, p. 305. But we do not need this argument, which is far-fetched, and has been opposed by Iken *l. c.*, as more convincing reasons lie much nearer. The forest-house of Lebanon cannot be a building different from the royal palace mentioned, v. 1, for this reason, that afterwards (ix. 1, 10,[1] 15, comp. x. 12) only one palace is always named among the buildings executed by Solomon, and thus in case of the forest-house of Lebanon, and the palace built in Jerusalem being different, nothing definite is said of the thirteen years building of the latter, whereas here so large an account is given of the summer palace, which is no farther mentioned in the following chapters. Still more decisive, however, is the relation of the first verse of the chapter to the following. Had the expositors thought of this, that v. 1 is a mere superscription, as vi. 14, no one would ever have proceeded to connect with Dathe the last sentence of v. 1 with v. 2 thus: *quâ absolutâ construxit domum etc.* With v. 2 begins the account of the erection of the building mentioned v. 1; וַיִּבֶן is here, as vi. 14, to be

[1] From chap. ix. 1 and 10, and the parallel, 2 Chr. viii. 1, Corn. a Lap. drew the right conclusion, that the king's house, the house of the daughter of Pharaoh, and the forest house of Lebanon, were joined and connected with one another, *ita ut non tam tres domus, quam tres partes vel tria membra unius ejusdemque domus esse viderentur.*

rendered, "he built namely." It necessarily follows from this, that the collective buildings mentioned in vv. 2—8 formed only the one royal palace, the several departments of which are described in succession, whereupon the section is concluded with a statement of the materials employed in the building (vv. 9—12.)

But even after the unity of the building has been agreed upon, it is extremely difficult to draw an outline of the entire palace, that will be intelligible, and in conformity with the statements of the text.[1] In vv. 2—5 the principal part of the edifice is described, which consisted in some sort of a forest of cedar pillars, so that the whole palace derived therefrom its name, the forest house of Lebanon. This structure was 100 cubits long, 50 broad, and 30 high, and was surrounded with a wall of massive hewn stones (vv. 9, 10.) This appears clear as well from the words of the text as from the *analogy* of Eastern buildings, which are always enclosed with a wall, comp. Faber, Archæol. i. p. 411; Jahn, Archæol. i. 2, p. 199 ff.; and Winer, bibl. R.W. i. p. 548. But how were the pillars arranged and distributed? From vv. 2 and 3: "he built the forest house of Lebanon . . . . upon four rows of cedar-pillars, and cedar beams were upon the pillars; and it was covered with cedar

[1] Even Josephus does not know how to deal with the text, and betakes himself therefore, *l.c.*, to a fanciful delineation of the building, speaking of pillars supposed to be formed in the Corinthian style, of sculptures wonderfully adorned with leaves and branches, of magnificent cooling groves and the like, not a syllable of which is in the biblical text. Villalp. afterwards followed these fancies more than the biblical text in his description (*l.c.*), provided with a ground plan, which is not in the remotest degree connected with the text. The other expositors have contented themselves with aphoristic remarks on several verses, without even making the attempt to form an idea of the building. Even the modern biblical archæologists, Jahn, Hofmann, De Wette, have not ventured upon this, and therefore it is not to be wondered at that enquirers unacquainted with Hebrew are either silent in regard to the ancient architecture of this palace, as Stieglitz, in his Beitr. z. Gesch. d. Bauk. der Alten, or only mention it briefly, without attempting any description of it, as Hirt, d. Gesch. d. Bauk. bei. den Alten, i. p. 126, Schnaase, Gesch. d. bild. Künste i. p. 247, and Fr. Kugler, Hdb. d. Kunstgesch. 1842, p. 83 f. Faber only has in his Archæol. of the Hebr. given a description of this palace, which, however, irrespective of several demonstrable errors, is unsatisfactory for this reason, that according to it the building proves so small that King Solomon could not possibly find room in it.

above upon the side chambers, which were upon the pillars, 45 (pillars), 15 the row;" is derived the following representation of it: the building consisted of side chambers (צֶלָעוֹת comp. vi. 5), which were built upon the pillars, and indeed upon four rows of pillars. This can scarcely be otherwise understood, than that the side chambers of the one side, or the chambers of each wing rested inwards on two rows of pillars, while the beams at their outer ends caught upon the enclosing walls and were partly supported by them. The three rows of cedar pillars, (v. 3), of which 15 made a row, are to be conceived standing one over another, according to which the building had three stories, of which the lower consisted of a double colonnade formed by the two rows of pillars of each side and the enclosing wall, but the two upper had each a row of chambers with a gallery[1] formed by the pillars. Thus is explained the statement of the four rows of pillars and 45 pillars, 15 the row, of which the ancient translators and most of the modern expositors could make nothing, so that several of them either proposed or proceeded to alter the text in an arbitrary manner. If the under rows of pillars, on which the side-stories rested, were counted, there were four rows; but if the pillars standing one above another were counted, there were three rows on each side, each consisting of 15 pillars.[2] That these 45 pillars distributed into three rows, stand one over another, appears from vv. 4 and 5; "And beams in three rows and view against view three times. And all the doors and posts were squared of beams, and front-view against view three times."[3] Three rows of beams and a threefold *vis à vis* can only be under-

[1] This gallery is not mentioned indeed in the text, but must certainly be assumed, in order to explain the free position of the pillars in the two upper stories of the side chambers.

[2] If the 15 pillars of each row be conceived distributed over a length of 100 cubits, the distance from one to another would amount to somewhat more than six cubits. Now if we assume for the breadth of the under portico the like measure, there remains in the midst an open space of about 25 cubits broad, which is sufficiently large in relation to the whole breadth of the building, which was 50 cubits.

[3] There is great obscurity in the words: מְחֻזָּה אֶל־מְחֻזָּה שָׁלֹשׁ פְּעָמִים, v. 4, and מוּל מְחֻזָּה וגו׳, as the word מְחֻזָּה occurs only here, though the *rad.* חָזָה is well known. Gesen. and Winer (*lexx.*), explain it with the modern expositors by window; but this meaning

stood without subtilty of three stories. In favour of this is also the height of the whole building, which was 30 cubits; cedar pillars of this height are not to be found in any ancient building, especially if they are to bear any thing.[1] If on the contrary we distribute the height of 30 cubits into three stories, each story, we allow the beams to be a cubit thick, and consequently each pillar will be about 7 cubits, or 11⅔ Paris feet high, if the three stories were of equal height. But the building gains in symmetry, if we suppose the undermost row of pillars longer and the upper shorter, while the side chambers would still be sufficiently high for being inhabited.

V. 6, 7. Before this building was a portico, 50 cubits long and 30 cubits broad, and before this portico again a porch with pillars and a threshold pediment. According to the analogy of the temple porch, (vi. 3), we must conceive the given length to run parallel to the breadth of the forest-house, so that the porch was properly 50 cubits broad and 30 cubits deep.[2] This analogy

is no better founded for מחזה than for שְׁקֻפִים, which many of the ancients also render by window. None of the old versions has assigned this meaning to the word, however differently they have explained it. LXX: καὶ χῶρα ἐπὶ χῶραν τρισσῶς, v. 4, and καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ θυρώματος ἐπὶ θύραν τρισσῶς, v. 5. *Chald:* וּזְוִי לִקְבֵיל זְוִי תְּלַת זִמְנִין, *et angulus e regione anguli tribus vicibus.* *Syr.* ܡܩܒܠܝܢ ܚܕ ܠܚܕ, three times mutually corresponding or opposite. Similarly the *Vulg.* and *Arab.*—מֶחֱזָה means nothing but *aspectus* or *prospectus*, view to or from, whereby certainly the meaning of מחזה אל־מחזה may be differently conceived. For we may conceive these words in both verses to be explanatory of the first half of the verse, and understand מחזה of the visible ends of the projecting beams (שְׁקֻפִים from שָׁקַף to be prominent, project), as Jarchi, in the *Comment. lat. vers. a Breithaupto*, or regard it as independent, and understand מחזה of the front of the edifice between the projecting beams.

[1] In the ruins of Persepolis, indeed, are found pillars 44 (English) feet high = about 27 Hebrew cubits, but these are, it is well to remark, not of wood but of stone, and even with regard to them Schnaase, i. p. q. p. 221 remarks, that for bearing a roof "this weak fragile form was very unhappily chosen."

[2] Probably from the circumstance, that the length of the portico was exactly half the length laid down for the whole building. Faber was led, i. p. q., to set back the portico into the building, against which arrangement, besides the name אוּלָם, which always denotes only the

also the name אוּלָם, decides also concerning its position relative to the main building, that as its portico it must have been built before it. It was likewise, according to v. 12, surrounded with a wall, perhaps so that the front and the two sides had special walls, but the rear or the wall opposite the entrance was formed by the wall which separated the main building from this portico. The walls of the portico, according to v. 12, consisted of three rows of hewn squared stones and a row of cedar beams, from which we may conclude with tolerable certainty, that it was lower than the main building, and also consisted of a single row of pillars or a single colonnade on each of the four sides. Its height is not given in the text, any more than the height of the temple porch; though we must not imagine it too low, as the square stones employed for the whole building, according to v. 10, were of ten cubits and of eight cubits, so that, if they were not hewn completely square, they must have had a height of four or five cubits. Before this portico is still a porch (אוּלָם עַל־פְּנֵיהֶם) with pillars and a threshold basement (v. 6.) The second עַל־פְּנֵיהֶם corresponds to the first, and the *plural suff.* refers to אוּלָם הָעַמּוּדִים, but is grammatically connected not with the *nomsn regens*, but the *nom. rectum.* This porch formed the grand entrance to the whole palace, and consisted probably of nothing more than a handsome portal of pillars, that is, of pillars and a pediment thereto of cedar wood. Concerning עֵב, which the Chald., here and Ezek. xli. 25, explains by סְקַפְּתָא, pediment of a threshold, comp. Gesen. *thes.* ii. *p.* 977.—The throne porch, mentioned v. 7, in which the king gave judgment, on account of which it was called the porch of judgment, is in all probability identical with the grand portico, or at least a part of it, namely, that in which the throne described, x. 18 ff., stood. This may be inferred from the fact, that neither its size nor its situation is indicated.—וְסָפַן בְּאָרֶז וגו׳ "and it (the porch) was covered with cedars from floor to floor." מִהַקַּרְקַע עַד־הַקֹּרוֹת,

erection before the main building, the comparison of vi. 2 and 3 decidedly speaks. If in the temple the length of the porch is not to be included in the 60 cubits, which are the length of the sanctuary, as is generally admitted, neither is this to be done here.

Gesen. (*thes.* iii. 1210) after the *Syr.* and the *Vulg.* explains: *a fundo ad lacunar (quod conclavium superiorum fundus est)*, from one floor to another, *i.e.*, *in omnibus parietibus ab imo ad summum*. Scarcely correct. For how can a portico be conceived with its sides covered from the floor to the roof, since סָפַן is used, of wainscotting or covering the walls with cedar boards, but on of the covering of the house, the roof, or of the flooring, as the covering of the floor and foundation (comp. on vi. 9)? קֶרְקַע also could only signify the ceiling of the chamber, on condition that it was at the same time the floor of the chamber above, and therefore not in a portico, which has no upper chamber. The words can only mean, from one end of the floor to the other, that is, over the whole floor (Cler., de Wette, and others), or else the one floor as well as the other, that is, in case the throne-porch formed only a part of the portico, the floor of the throne and judgment-porch, as well as the remainder of the portico, or the portico and the porch before it.

V. 8. "And his house, where he dwelt in the other court within the portico, was of the like work. And he made a house for the daughter of Pharaoh, whom Solomon had taken, like unto this portico." Here there is much that is obscure. From analogous cases we are to conclude that the house of Pharaoh's daughter was not a separate building from the dwelling-house of Solomon, but only a distinct part of it, built either behind or above it, perhaps, also, only a wing of the building,[1] the *Gynæceum*, which is otherwise called בֵּית נָשִׁים, Esth. ii. 3, 9. The dwelling-house for the king and queen are in the other court (חָצֵר[2] הָאַחֶרֶת) within or behind the portico, that is, in the court (חָצֵר *locus circumseptus*) formed by the so-called forest-house, for this lay within and behind the portico, and might be designated as the other court in relation to the court formed by the portico itself. In the forest-house, however, as the rows consisting of

[1] The women in the East dwell usually in the interior or back part of the house, but also in the upper story, comp. de Wette Lehrb. d. hebr. jüd. Archæol. p. 148 (3d ed.)

[2] חָצֵר is a prepositional word loosely annexed to the whole sentence for the definition of the place, comp. Ewald, Gramm. § 149 and on the want of the article § 537.

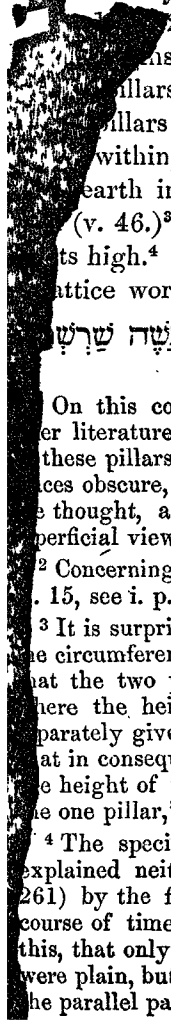
illars fill up the 100 cubits, which is the whole length of uilding, and with a twofold colonnade on each side of the h there remains certainly the necessary space for the open t but not for the dwelling house, the residence for the king queen must have been built at the rear wall of it, so that rear wall of the forest-house forms at the same time the t wall of the dwelling-house. By this means the stories built he two sides of the forest-house first acquire the character of s, which secured to the apartments therein the name צְלָעֹת chambers, while the dwelling-house of the king and queen, t in the rear, formed the centre of the whole palace.[1] Of the size, and internal arrangement of this dwelling the inde- nd ambiguous words, "it was of the like work—like unto rtico," afford little explanation. Wherein consists the like- s stated, vv. 9—11, "All these were of costly stones, rding to the measures of hewing, etc." According to this collective principal parts of the palace had massive walls of t hewn squared stones,—a large building supported only wooden pillars every storm might have overturned. The are stones employed for the walls were "sawed with saws ithin and without," because not only several walls formed on oth sides inner walls of the building, but also the whole build- ng was surrounded with a great court, "and from the foun- lation to the copings (טְפָחוֹת comp. Gesen. *thes.* i. 553), and rom without to the great court." From these words it follows, hat not merely the walls from the foundation to the roof-beams vere constructed of great hewn stones, but also the great court around the building was flagged with square stones. Concern- ng the great court it is also v. 12 remarked, that it consisted ll around of three rows of hewn stones and a row of cedar- beams, as the inner court in the house of the Lord and the porch of the house. The three rows of square stones and he row of cedar-beams formed in it, as in the inner temple-

[1] If the whole building did not want its centre without the assumption of a residence in the rear of the two wings, we might, according to the analogy of the above v. 7 conjectured identity of the throne and judg- ment porch with the portico, throw out the farther conjecture, that the residence of the king and queen is to be sought in the צְלָעֹת v. 3.

court (vi. 36), the fence or outer wall. It must, therefore, surround the whole building, because, if it were the inner of the building, it could have had no surrounding wall, but surrounding buildings or porticoes must have been its bounda The phrase לְאֻלָם הַבַּיִת refers not to the temple porch, bu the portico of the pa the enclosing wall of which was of same description with tha of the court.

From v. 13 is described the temple furniture fabricated the Tyrian artist Hiram. V. 13, 14. This artist is called ם as the Tyran king, and bears 2 Chr. ii. 13 and iv. 16 the hon able title אָב, that is, Master, Councillor, comp. Fr. v. Me d. Tempel Sal. p. 50 f.—According to v. 14 he sprang mother's side from a widow of the tribe of Naphtali, acc to 2 Chr. ii. 13 his mother was of the daughters of Dan. dius and others understand this of the city Dan, which was ated in the bounds of the tribe of Naphtali; but the appa contradiction is as easily solved by the assumption, that mother was by birth of the tribe of Dan, but was married Naphtalite, so that as widow she belonged to the tribe of Na tali, from which Hiram's father married her. The words מִמַּטֵּה נַפְתָּלִי Mich. *(adnot. ub. ad 2 Chron. ii. 3)* with Kimch and other Rabbins explains incorrectly so that Hiram was of th tribe of Naphtali, and his father was called אִישׁ צֹרִי merely on account of his residence in Tyre. אִישׁ צֹרִי is a native Tyrian, o at least so naturalised in Tyre, that Tyre may be counted hi native city. The artistic skill of this Hiram is described in almos the same terms as that of Bezaleel, Ex. xxxi. 3 ff., only with the difference, that in Bezaleel it is derived from an inspiration by the Spirit of God, that is, it is described more as a supernatural gift, whereas in Hiram by the indefinite terms, "he was filled with wisdom, understanding, and knowledge" it is described more as a natural gift of God. At all events the author had the passage in Exodus before his eyes. Farther, Hiram is represented here as a worker in brass, in 2 Chr. ii. 13, at the same time as skilled to work in gold, silver and iron, wood and stone, in purple, etc. This difference is explained by the different position of the two accounts. In the present narrative Hiram is only mentioned in the beginning of the section treating of the artistic brazen ware

of the temple, and is therefore described only as a worker in brass. In 2 Chr. ii. 7, on the contrary, Solomon at the very beginning asks the Tyrian king for an artist to fabricate all the artistic works in the temple, and the king sends him Hiram as a man experienced in all the arts requisite for this purpose. Besides the example of Bezaleel shows, that these different kinds of skill might be united in one man, while it is to be remembered that Hiram was only the master, who of course was not alone, but came with Tyrian assistants and executed the works.



15—22. The account of the works of art executed by Hiram begins with the greatest and weightiest, the two colossal brazen pillars, which were set up before the temple-porch.[1] These pillars were each 18 cubits high[2] by 12 cubits round, and hollow within, of brass four fingers thick (Jer. lii. 21), cast in the clay earth in the valley of Jordan between Succoth and Zarthan (v. 46.)[3] On them were placed (v. 16) cast capitals five cubits high.[4] These capitals were adorned with nets or lattices of lattice work, which is more strictly defined as גְּדִילִים laces, מַעֲשֵׂה שַׁרְשְׁ chain-work, that is, not twisted lace,—which

[1] On this comp. my above cited treatise (i. p. q.) p. 95 ff. and the other literature in Winer's bibl. R.W. i., p. 616 f. The description of these pillars, especially of their capitals, is certainly to us in many places obscure, but by no means a jumble of confusion of the text and the thought, as Hitzig, d. Proph. Jerem. p. 423, asserts after a very superficial view of the verse.

[2] Concerning the deviating statement of the length given in 2 Chr. iii. 15, see i. p. q. p. 96, note *.

[3] It is surprising, that in v. 15 only the height of the one pillar and the circumference of the other are given, and that it is not remarked that the two pillars were alike. If we compare particularly v. 16, where the height of each capital, notwithstanding their likeness, is separately given, we may certainly assent to the conjecture of Cleric., that in consequence of the ὁμοιοτέλευτον the words: "and 18 cubits the height of the other pillar, and a line of 12 cubits did compass the one pillar," have fallen out.

[4] The specification of three cubits height, 2 Ki. xxv. 17, can be explained neither with J. D. Mich. and Jahn (bibl. Archæol. iii. p. 261) by the fact that the capitals were shortened two cubits in the course of time, nor with the Rabbins, Münster, Grot., and others by this, that only three cubits were ornamented and the other two cubits were plain, but rests upon an old error of transcription, as appears from the parallel passage, Jer. lii. 22.

גְּדִילִים also signifies,—but lace plaited in the form of a cl
(comp. جديل a rein plaited of thongs, Amrulk. p. 36,
צַמָּה plaited locks, Song i. 10, 11; 1 Tim. ii. 9, 1 Pet. iii
Seven such laces were placed on one capital in such a ma
that they were wound across one another in the form of fest
and appeared to the eye as a netformed lattice, as they are c
in the drawing of Fr. v. Meyer (d. Tempel Sal.), only that
two such lattices are erroneously applied the one u
Above and beneath the lattice was bordered by a r
granates encircling the capital (v. 18.)[1]. The text, inde
mines nothing concerning the relation of the two rows
granates to the net-like lattice, though it can scarcely be
that the one row ran round the capital under, and th
above it. According to vv. 41 and 42, compared with 2
iv. 12, 13, there were on the two capitals 400, and therefo
the one 200 pomegranates, so that there were 100 in each
and indeed, according to the fuller statement of Jer. lii. 23, t
were 96 pomegranates to the wind; all the pomegranates u
the lattice were 100 round about, so that four, that proba
exceeded the rest in size, were directed exactly to the wind, t
is, to the four cardinal points, and the remaining 96 were dis
buted equably between them round about. Farther it appe
from the words גְּלוֹת הַכְּתָרֹת, "the bowls of the capital
used vv. 41 and 42 instead of the simple הַכְּתָרֹת, that the ca
tals under the lattice work were not exactly round, but urn
bowl shaped. The second ornament of the capital is thus d
scribed vv. 19 and 20: "And the capitals which were upon t
top of the pillars (made Hiram) lily-work as in the portico fo
cubits. And the capitals upon the two pillars also above besi

[1] In the Masoretic text of this verse the words הָעַמּוּדִים a
דָּרְמוֹנִים are obviously interchanged by an error of transcription,
that we must read with some *codd.* וַיִּתֵּן אֶת־הָרִמֹּנִים *and after*
wards עַל־רֹאשׁ הָעַמּוּדִים. So the LXX. appear still to have read
while the Chald. and Syr. had already before them our present text
from which a rational sense cannot possibly be drawn, see i. p. q.
98, not.

the belly which was beyond the net-work." With this compare v. 22: "and upon the top of the pillars was lily-work." According to this the lattice work with the rows of pomegranates occupied not the whole height but only the under part of the capital. Beyond, that is, above it, the capital had either a belly and lily-work, or was first bellied and then above bent out and adorned with lily stalks, leaves, and blossoms, by which the upper part of the capital acquired the appearance of a bunch of lilies. The last words, however, of v. 19: "lily-work in the portico (בָּאוּלָם) four cubits," concerning which I can only now repeat the conjecture offered i. p. q. p. 98, Note**, whether it should not be read בָּאוּלָם instead of בָּאוּלָם, and then assumed, that in the portico also an ornament of lilies had been introduced, as in the pillars, and this ornament on the pillars occupied perhaps four cubits of the capital, so that the net-like lattice was only a cubit high.[1] For this emendation the LXX. may be quoted, as it renders בָּאוּלָם *κατὰ τὸ αἰλάμ*, if we may attach any weight to this version, considering its known loose manner. The Syriac version also appears to express this sense.

[1] On the third copperplate to Hirt's history of architecture among the ancients, fig. 20, is a capital of a column copied from Latopolis with a trellis-formed ornament on the under part, which occupies only a fourth of the top which is bent out and adorned with leaf-work, though the trellis-work is not bellied out nor furnished above or below with pomegranates. *Athenæus* also (*Deipnos l.* v. *c.* 9) testifies, that the Egyptians adorned their round pillars with net-work. Not one is found, however, among the numerous capitals of columns copied by Hirt. i. p. c., that has a special resemblance to the present. Kugler therefore i. p. q. p. 81 f. rightly remarks; "The Egyptian forms appear to present little agreement, as on the whole in the plan of the temple there is nothing remarkable that points to an immediate relation with Egyptian architecture. There might be a closer comparison with the pillars of Persepolis; at least here also the capitals of the columns (those which are not formed by the figures of animals) consist of several divisions, and there occurs among them at the same time a kind of pearl-string, which appear to correspond in some measure with the rows of pomegranates." With this we may compare the description of the capitals in the centre hall of the palace of Persepolis (Tschil-Minar) p. 89; the under part has the form of a bellied vessel; above this rises a slender, cup-like member, both are adorned, namely with sticks and strings of pearls." But this resemblance also is too slight to awaken the thought of imitation.

V. 21. These pillars were set up by themselves before the portico (לְאוּלָם, towards the portico, comp. לִפְנֵי הַבַּיִת, 2 Chr. iii. 15, and עַל־פְּנֵי הַהֵיכָל, v. 17), as is recognised also by Kugler, i. p. q. p. 82, and Schnaase i. p. q. p. 280 f., and not in or under the portico, bearing its roof, as Fr. v. Meyer and Böttcher (Proben. p. 334) assume. That they had a symbolic meaning, the names applied to them prove, יָכִין, he will establish, *q.d. stabiliet templum (Simonis Onomast. p.* 430) and בֹּעַז *ex.* בּוֹ עֹז *in illo sc. Domino robur (Sim. p.* 460.) Kimchi had correctly explained the first name, *ut stabile sit templum hoc in æternum*, and the second *quasi optaret Salomo, ut Deus ei robur ac subsistentiam largiatur.* The two pillars are accordingly symbols of the stability and strength, which were possessed not so much by the temple as an external building, as the kingdom of God in Israel incorporated in the temple by the Lord, who had chosen the temple for his dwelling place among his people, and their emblems point to the beauty and glory of the dwelling of God, see i. p. q. p. 167.[1]

Vv. 23—26. Comp. 2 Chr. iv. 2—5. The brazen sea, a colossal round (עָגֹל) water basin, which was 5 cubits high, and at the brim (מִשְּׂפָתוֹ עַד־שְׂפָתוֹ, from its one edge to the other) 10 cubits in diameter, so that a line of 30 cubits compassed it. The relation of the diameter to the circumference is stated ap-

[1] The typical meanings assigned to these pillars by the ancients are arbitrary, for example that they denote the two worlds, the visible and the invisible (Ephraim Syrus), or Christ according to his two natures (*Maii œcon. in Michael. annotat. uber. ad 2 Chr.* iii. 17.)—Contrary well to the usage of the Hebrew language as to the spirit of the O Testament revelation, Movers (d. relig. der Phöniz. i. p. 293) expounds the names Jachin and Boaz by foundation and movement, and affirms the pillars to be symbols of the resting and fleeing Saturn (!!); but Vatke (die relig. d. A. Test. i. p. 324 and 336) finds in the pillars with their emblems, as in the other furniture of the temple, only Phœnician symbols and emblems of the Tyrian Heracles or Sun-god, regarded as the generative principle of nature; and B. Bauer (die Relig. d. A. T. 11 p. 92) renders this still more definite by the statement, that the pillars "as needles symbolize originally the sunbeams in respect of their penetrating force and power," and bear their names "probably in reference to the irresistible and creative power of the sunbeam"—views, the total groundlessness of which has been already i. p. q. p. 155 ff. pointed out.

proximately in whole numbers, for strictly it is as 7 to 22, or 113 to 335.[1] Under the brim ran two rows of gourds around the vessel, made at the same casting with it, concerning the distribution of which see the details, i. p. q. p. 119.[2] This vessel rested on twelve brazen oxen, which were turned with their heads out, directed every three to a different cardinal point, and probably fixed upon an under-plate of brass, as the Rabbins assumed. The metal of the sea was a hand-breadth thick, and the upper rim of it resembled the work of a cup-rim in the form of a lily-flower. According to v. 26, it contained 2000 baths, according to 2 Chr. iii. 5, however, 3000, a difference, that could only be explained with the older archæologists in this way, that when filled to the very brim it contained 3000 baths, but when filled only to the regular height it contained 2000 (comp. *Deylingi observ. ss.* i. *p.* 127. *Nicolai dissert.* ii. *p.* 14—16), if the differences frequently occurring in statements of numbers, and arising partly through a false reading of numbers originally expressed

[1] As Spinoza (*tract. theol. polit.* ii. *p.* 22) from this mathematically inexact statement of the ratio had raised an objection against the truth of the narrative, the old theologians gave themselves much unnecessary trouble to prove it mathematically exact, thus for example *Reyher (Mathes. Mos. p.* 415), *Deyling, observ. ss.* i. *p.* 125 *sqq.* and especially P. Heinr. Nicolai, who, in 2 dissert. *de symmetria maris œnei Salomonis, Witeb.* 1717, first contradicts the different opinions, that it was either not quite round but somewhat compressed on both sides, or oval, or hexagonal or cylindrical and hemispherical, and then endeavours to prove, that underneath it was quite cylindrical but above somewhat bent outwards, so that the diameter at the brim was 10 cubits, and the circumference of the cylinder underneath was 30 cubits, in which Schmidt (bibl. Mathem. p. 160) agrees with him.

[2] Instead of פְּקָעִים, v. 24, they are termed, 2 Chr. iv. 3, דְּמוּת בְּקָרִים, the likeness of cattle. As the remaining words run quite alike, the same ornament must be understood by both. The old interpreters endeavoured to reconcile both statements after the example of Kimchi thus: *quod corpus sive substantia colocynthidum fuerit rotunda instar ovorum, et facies sive anterior pars earum fuerit similis capitibus boum,* comp. *Lightfooti Opp. i., p.* 628, and *Mich. annot. ub. ad.* 2 Chr. iv. 3, but this compensation of the difference fails in this, that בְּקָרִים certainly means cattle but not ox-heads. The variation can only be explained by an error of transcription, as the writer of Chronicles found בקרים instead of פקעים already in his source and explained it by דְּמוּת הַבְּקָרִים.

in letters, partly through obvious errors of transcription did not render it more probable, that here also an error of this kind is to be presumed.[1] The brazen sea appears in the temple in the place of the wash-basin in the tabernacle, and served for the priests to wash in (2 Chr. iv. 6), that is, to hold water in readiness, that the priests might wash their hands and feet, if they approached the altar for service or wished to enter the sanctuary, Ex. xxx. 18 ff. The water was probably let into it at pleasure through openings provided with cranes. See the opinions of the Rabbins on this point in Lundius, jüd. Heiligth. p. 356. Twelve, the number of the oxen, had a symbolical reference to the twelve tribes of Israel, that approached the Lord in the Levitical priests.[2]

[1] As the dimensions of the vessel are given in Chronicles quite consistently with our narrative, it is evident of itself, that the deviation in the number of baths contained in it cannot owe its origin to any intentional exaggeration of the writer. Such like assertions therefore, of a rationalistic criticism blinded by prejudice, should not be admitted into scientific works, as Winer's bibl. R. W. ii. p. 84. Besides, if the calculations given by Bertheau (Gesch. der Israel. p. 61 and 73) according to Böckh's metrological researches, from which one cubit should be equal to 234.33 par. lines, and one bath should contain 1985.77 cubic inches of water, be correct; even 2000 baths, the number contained in our text, is much too great, as according to these determinations, a cylinder of 10 cubits height, and 9⅔ cubits diameter, would only contain 1376 baths.

[2] Not, however, to the twelve months of the year, from which Vatke explains this washing basin as a "symbol of time" (*sic.*). From the fact that a Tyrian artist executed the work, it by no means follows, that, as even Hävernick, Comm. on Ezek. p. 26, is inclined to concede, Phœnician ideas must lie at the foundation of his works, as not a single certain trace of this can be pointed out, while, on the contrary, the temple in its chief forms and emblems was copied after the tabernacle, in which an Egyptian influence is more conceivable than a Phœnician. The only demonstrable agreement of the Phœnician architecture with the Israelitish consists in "the custom," as O. Müller, Hdb. der Archaöl. der Kunst, p. 273, 2nd ed. expresses it, "characteristic of these nations to overlay wooden walls or wainscotting over stone walls with gold plating." But to infer from this, that the proper plan of the Phœnician temple may be best estimated from the temple of Jehovah at Jerusalem, that is, in other words, that this temple was built quite after the Phœnician fashion, is a lame conclusion, which only gains some plausibility on the presumption, that the whole history of Israel before David is a pure myth, and the Mosaic tabernacle had no existence, but was copied in the myth from the temple of Solomon and transferred to the Mosaic times, as Vatke actually asserts.

Vv. 27—39. The ten brazen bases with the lavers upon them, which, according to 2 Chr. iv. 6, were designed for washing the things for sacrifice, were made with great art. But the description of them, notwithstanding its fulness, is difficult to understand, and therefore most interpreters have passed over it very briefly, while those who have engaged in it more particularly, as Vatabl., C. a Lap., Calmet, Lightfoot (*Op. i. p.* 644 *sq.*), Patrick, and Poole in the English Bible, and J. Mich. have not given any clear conception of their form.[1] The bases were square chests four cubits long, four broad, and three high; their four sides cast of brass had pannels (מְסִגְּרוֹת),[2] and indeed pannels in ledges or mouldings (שְׁלַבִּים *commissuræ* from the Chald. שְׁלַב *conjunxit*, in Syr. ܫܠܒܐ *vincula*, Ps. ii. 3, then bands or mouldings), which not merely enchased the pannels, but at the same time strengthened the four sides at the angles.[3] V. 29. On the pannels were lions, oxen, and cherubim, and beneath the lions and oxen and garlands (לְיוֹת *corollæ pensiles* from לוי *flexit, plicuit*, see Schultens, *Proverb. i. p.* 9), מַעֲשֵׂה מוֹרָד pensile work.—The words וְעַל־הַשְּׁלַבִּים כֵּן מִמַּעַל are ambiguous. After the LXX. and *Vulg.*, Dathe and de Wette translate: "and on the corner ledges so above," that is, on the corner or border ledges above are found lions, oxen, and cheru-

[1] Even the old archæologists, as *Lamy, de tabern. foed.*, plate 16, *Villalpandi ad Ezech.* ii. p. 492, *Leusden* in the *philol. mixt.*, *Lundius* (jüd. Heiligth. B. 2 Ch. 15), deviate greatly in their representations from the Hebr. text and from each other.; the moderns, Jahn, Hofmann, de Wette, have not entered into any more particular description, and Winer says; "a clear idea of these lavers we shall vainly endeavour to obtain through the descriptions in 2 Ki. vii. 27 ff., or Josephus *Antiq.* viii. 3—6." From Josephus certainly not, who, unconcerned about the Hebrew text, gives a description after the partly unintelligible version of the LXX. and his own fancy; but assuredly from the Hebrew text, as Züllich (die Cherubim-Wagen, Heidelb. 1832, p. 50 ff.), has proved by the fact, even if the figure proposed by him be not in all particulars correct, as Grüneisen in the Tübing. Kunstbl. 1834, No. 5 and 6, has shown.

[2] מְסִגְּרוֹת, Ex. xxv. 25, denotes the boards or pannels in the upper part of the table frame, by which the four feet were connected together, and on which the leaf of the table rested. Comp. Züllich i. p. q. p. 65.

[3] Züllich renders שְׁלַבִּים tenon-work.

bim. But independent of this, that on these ledges there could scarcely be room enough for such figures, is it not plain, what sense is to be attached to מִמַּעַל above? The correct meaning is found in the Chald., which explains כֵּן by בַּנְתָּא *basis*. Above the ledges was a base, that is, a stand for the laver placed upon the chest, the description of which follows, v. 31. V. 30. "And four brazen wheels for the one base and brazen axle-trees, and its four feet had shoulder-pieces, under the laver were the shoulder-pieces cast, beyond each one, garlands. V. 31. And the mouth of it (the laver) was within the crown and above it in a cubit, and the mouth of it (the crown) was round, after the work of a base,[1] a cubit and a half, and also upon its mouth was carved work, and the pannels of it (the mouth) were square, not round. V. 32. And the four wheels (made he) under the pannels, and the pins of the wheels in the base, and the height of a wheel was a cubit and a half. V. 33. And the work of the wheels was like the work of a chariot wheel, their pins, and their felloes, and their spakes, and their naves, all were cast. V. 34. And four shoulder-pieces (made he) on the four corners of the one base, of the base (out of it were) its shoulder-pieces. And on the top of the base was a cubit high made round, and on the top of the base were its hands (hand-stays), and its pannels of the same. V. 36. And he cut (graved) on the plates of its hand-stays and on its pannels cherubim, lions, and palms, according to the open space of every one, and garlands round about."

From this extremely literal translation of this obscure passage the following representation is derived. The square chest forming the base stood on the brazen axles of four cast wheels, after the manner of the ordinary chariot wheels, but not immediately on the axles themselves, but on four feet (פְּעָמוֹת),[2] which were

[1] מַעֲשֵׂה־כֵן which de Wette rightly paraphrases, "after the manner of a pedestal."

[2] From this representation not only the ancient describers of these bases, but also Züllich altogether deviates. The Rabbins explain פְּעָמוֹת after the Chald. זְוִיתֵיהּ by corners or corner ledges of the chest. They are followed by most of the old writers, also Luther, de Wette, and others. But Züllich *i.* p. q. p. 75 with right calls this explanation, "obviously false, because the text called the corners v. 34

fastened to the axles, so that the sides adorned with figures were

פִּנּוֹת." The word פַּעַם, pace, step, and in Is. xli. 7, anvil, from the *rad.* פָּעַם beat, stamp, strike, occurs in the sense of any thing made by art besides the present verse only in Ex. xxv. 12, xxxvii. 3, where to the four פַּעֲמוֹת of the ark are to be applied rings for the bearing poles. Bähr, in his detailed description of the ark, has quite omitted these פַּעֲמוֹת, but Züllich understands by them cross-pieces or brackets, poles, against which, however, Grüneisen has raised the well-founded objection, that all antiquity is ignorant of these, and how then can Züllich know them: "I have never yet found the like either in copies of Egyptian or in those of Persepolitan antiquities. *Schefferus* also, whose experience is great (*de re vehicularia veterum*), has nothing of them, unless from the multitude of ancient vehicles, with which he makes us acquainted, and from the endless variety of their contrivance we may form the conjecture, that the use of such pieces or brackets so generally acknowledged to be serviceable, and therefore so generally extended in the whole modern world, cannot have been altogether unknown to the ancients." But as there is much in most extensive use in the modern world and become quite indispensable to it, which the ancients did not know, under these circumstances we can only admit the assumption of such cross-pieces, if the text and usage of speech necessarily require it. But the speech-usage is decidedly against it; for Züllich himself, in Ex. xxv. 12, explains פַּעֲמוֹת by *feet*, *striding feet*, that is, bent outwards as feet spread out for striding, while he remarks farther: "the פַּעֲמוֹת had according to this v. (30) כְּתֵפֹת shoulder-pieces, and according to v. 32 יָדוֹת hands, and of the כֹּתֶפֶת it is said v. 30, that they (with their under parts) were cast in the *mechonah*, which is repeated v. 34 with the farther particularization, that they rose out of the *mechonah* on its four corners. But of the יָדוֹת it is said v. 35, that they also were on the top of the *mechonah* chest of one casting with it, and thus proceeded from it in a downward direction. Now where should the פַּעֲמוֹת be besides these כֹּתֶפֶת and יָדוֹת, if they were not the whole, which is divided into יָדוֹת and כֹּתֶפֶת, that is, the whole ledge from the axle to the under side of the כִּיּוֹר?"—But if the כְּתֵפוֹת, according to v. 34, proceeded from the four corners of the *mechonah*, that is, were so cast on it, that they—probably of one casting with the lid—appeared to proceed immediately from it, the יָדוֹת, which according to v. 35 were on the head (עַל־רֹאשׁ) of the *mechonah*, and indeed also proceeded from it, could not possibly have been the continuation of כֹּתֶפֶת downwards. Therewith fails the whole assumption that the פַּעֲמוֹת were identical with the כֹּתֶפֶת, that is, ledges.—The פַּעֲמוֹת are accordingly, striding feet, that is, feet bent out beneath, which, however, are not merely applied beneath the chests, but as in a table extended on the four corners of the chest-sides up to the lid, so that the

raised above the circumference of the wheels, and the wheels stood under the pannels (v. 32.)[1] Every wheel was a cubit and a half high (v. 32), that is, according to its whole, not—as Züllich assumes—its half diameter, as I have already proved i. p. q. p. 121. It is more difficult to make intelligible the upper part or lid of the base, which formed the foot or stand for the laver. In the middle it had a top or crown (כֹּתֶרֶת) of base-work (מַעֲשֵׂה-כֵן v. 31), into which the laver discharged itself. This top of a cubit and a half diameter had square pannels adorned with the same figured work as the pannels of the sides, and rested upon stays and pannels, that is, on broad plates running from all the four sides to the middle, which formed at the same time the lid of the square chest, and probably ran to the middle not horizontally but in an arched form, whereby their bearing power was increased, from which also they were called stays and plates of the stays (vv. 35, 36.) The intervals between the stays, which are to be regarded as plates pretty broad and adorned with figures, formed the pannels of the lid, which were similarly adorned.[2] Above upon the stays were the כְּתֹפֹת

shoulder-pieces projecting from the lid rested on them and thereby gained bearing power. That, however, the כתפת with their under-parts were cast on the *mechonah* is not in the text.

[1] Gesenius in the *thes.* ii. *p.* 972 assumes, that the axles, as in the Roman *plaustra* and to this day in Italy, were fastened to the wheels and turned with them. But it is against this, that (1) the wheels had naves (חִשֻּׁרִים v. 33), whence we must conclude that they turned round the axles (comp. Züllich p. 73); (2) to the wheels belonged יְדוֹת (v. 32) properly hands, that is, pins by which the wheels were fastened in the axles. Cler., de Wette, and Gesen. (*thes.* ii. 567) falsely understand ידות of the axles of the wheels; for not only are these called סְרָנִים (v. 30), but axles can in no way be denoted by ידות. And the meaning, pins, is completely established by Ex. xxvi. 17, 19, xxxvi. 22, 24.

[2] As to the distribution of the garlands nothing can be determined from the ambiguity of the words "beyond each one (shoulder-piece) garlands" (v. 30.) In reference also to the sculpture it must be left undecided, whether the palms mentioned only in v. 36 were applied merely on the lid along with the cherubim, lions, and oxen, or also on the side pannels.

shoulder-pieces,[1] namely four strong cast brackets or bars, which, proceeding from the four corners of the chest lid, stretched, with only a slight inclination to the middle of the top, almost directly up to the external rim of the laver resting on the top.—The form and fashion of the laver are more correctly conceived and represented by Villalp. and Lundius than by Züllich, who represents it as an equal-sided cylinder of a cubit and a half diameter and four cubits height (or depth), and then lets it sink so deep into the chest, that only a cubit of it is above the top. Züllich came to this quite incorrect conception from a misapprehension of the very obscure words: "And its (the laver's) mouth was within the top and above it by a cubit" (v. 31). For the mouth of the laver can in no case be the upper part of it, as Züllich assumes; and if this were admitted, the words cannot have the meaning, that the upper part of the laver was a cubit above the top. For then the measure of four cubits given v. 38 must have been understood of the depth or height of the laver, whereas according to the analogy of the measure of the head, v. 31, it is to be understood of the diameter or breadth of it. But if the laver was four cubits broad above, and the head of the base, into which it discharged, only a cubit and a half, we obtain for it the natural form of a bowl expanding very much above, which was four cubits broad at the brim, but underneath was reduced to a cubit and a half.[2] The reduced part of the laver was about a cubit of its whole height, and rose somewhat about the head on which it rested. This is expressed in the words: "its mouth was within the crown and above it in a cubit." But it is called mouth (פִּי) or aperture, because it fitted and discharged into the crown, which is also called the mouth of the base (v. 31); and from it the water in the laver, as often as it was defiled by the washing of the offerings, was let out into the chest below it, which, when it was full, might be taken away and emptied.—All the ten bases were of the same casting, measure, and form (v. 38.)—On the

[1] Incorrectly and inconclusively Gesen. (*thes.* ii. 725) explains כְּתֹפֹת v. 30 and 34, *cardines axis.*

[2] From this form of the laver is explained also the necessity of the above described shoulder-pieces (כתפות) on the four corners of the base.

situation of these utensils in the inner court (v. 39) see i. p. q. p. 147.

In vv. 40—50 all the articles made by the artist Hiram for the temple, as well the greater, already described at large, as the smaller and larger articles not yet mentioned, are summarily stated;[1] vv. 40—47 the brazen utensils of the court, vv. 48—50 the golden utensils of the sanctuary. The first half of v. 40 belongs to the preceding section, so that the summary enumeration begins first with the second half, as may be seen from וַיְכַל, and still more clearly from the fact, that the articles named in the first half, the pot, shovels, and basins are recapitulated in v. 45. We are surprised by the mention of the כִּיֹּרוֹת v. 40; for that these are not the lavers described v. 38 appears clear enough, on the one hand, because these are first repeated v. 43, and on the other, because in the repetition of this verse in v. 46 instead of כִּיֹּרוֹת they are called סִירוֹת pots, which name is found here also in Chr. (2, iv. 11.) If we add to this, that in the account also of the furniture of the tabernacle Ex. xxvii. 3, the סִירוֹת are mentioned before the shovels and basins, it amounts to a certainty, that כִּיֹּרוֹת is a slip of the pen for סִירוֹת, comp. Movers Krit. Unters. p. 35 f., although כִּיּוֹר also denotes a small basin for cooking and for coals (1 Sam. ii. 14; Zech. xii. 6), and therefore might be not very different from a pot.—According to Ex. xxvii. 3 pots served for removing the ashes.—מִזְרָקוֹת are basins, wherein the blood of the slain victims was received for the purpose of sprinkling on the altar.—In the description of the tabernacle are mentioned besides forks and fire-basins or coal-pans, which are here omitted.—בֵּית יְהוָה in the house of the Lord, comp. Ew. Gr. § 491. In 2 Chr. iv. 11 stands the explanatory בְּבֵית יי; and beside v. 45 in 2 Chr. iv. 16 לְבֵית for the house of the Lord.

Vv. 41—44 recapitulate vv. 15—38. Instead of הַמְּכֹנוֹת עֶשֶׂר the ten bases and הַכִּיֹּרוֹת עֲשָׂרֶה the ten lavers (v. 43) stand in 2 Chr. iv. 14 הַמְּכֹנוֹת עָשָׂה the bases made he and הַכִּיֹּרוֹת

[1] This section is found agreeing almost to a letter in 2 Chr. iv. 11—22, whereas before the writer had followed another arrangement in the description of the temple. See the note before vi. 1.

עָשָׂה the lavers made he. This deviation rests upon no mere slip but a designed alteration, which the writer found necessary, because he had not described the ten bases in the preceding context; comp. Mover's i. p. q. p. 59 not. The *Kethibh* הָאהֶל v. 45 is a mistake for הָאֵלֶּה *(Keri.)*

V. 46. All the brazen vessels were cast in the valley of the Jordan between Succoth and Zarthan, where according to Burkhardt (Reise ii. p. 593) the soil is entirely marl, בְּמַעֲבֵה הָאֲדָמָה in the condensation of the earth. According to Gesen. *thes.* ii. 981: *formæ ex humo densa s. argilla factæ;* correct in general, only we must assume that these forms were dug in the earth and made by the thickening of the soil. Succoth and Zarthan cannot have been far asunder. According to Judg. viii. 5 and Jos. xiii. 27 Succoth lay east of Jordan,[1] probably near its eastern bank, yet not, as Tuch on Gen. xxxiii. 17 asserts without proof, on both banks. Zarthan צָרְתָן, also called הַצְּרֵדָה xi. 6, צְרֵדָתָה 2 Chron. iv. 12, and צְרֹדָתָה[2] Judg. vii. 22, lay not far from Beth-shean (comp. iv. 12) in the valley of Jordan, Jos. iii. 16.—V. 47. וַיִּנַּח he left all these vessels, because they were exceeding many the weight of the brass was not found.[3] הִנִּיחַ to let lie,

[1] As Jerome also *ad Gen.* xxxiii. 17 and in the *Onomast.* expressly testifies, see v. Raumer, Palästina p. 247. But Succoth is erroneously identified by v. Raum. i. p. q. and Winer (bibl. R.W. ii. p. 629) with the ruins of a place سكّوط Sukkot found by Burkhardt (Reis. ii. p. 595) south of Beisan (Scythopolis); for these (*a*) lie according to Burkhardt on the west of the Jordan, where they are marked in the chart by Kiepert in Robinson, not on the east as v. Raum. supposes, and (*b*) even the names are different. سكّوط would be in Hebrew שְׁכֹּוט.

[2] So with several *codd.* and the Syriac and Arabic versions must it be read in this place.

[3] The author of Chronicles found this expression too obscure for his readers, and wrote instead of it: Solomon made all these vessels in great abundance (2 Chr. iv. 18). Movers (Krit. Unters. p. 87) incorrectly explains וַיִּנַּח "he laid them down in the temple." If this were the sense, the statement of the place should not be wanting. In like manner he explains incorrectly the reading of Chronicles as an error of transcription arising from the eye wandering to וַיַּעַשׂ v. 48.

then, to leave unweighed. The immense quantity of brass required for these vessels, some of which were of colossal magnitude, David had taken from the cities of Hadadezer (1 Chr. xviii. 8.)

Vv. 48—50. The furniture of the sanctuary. In v. 48 mention is made only of the golden table, on which the shew-bread lay. In 2 Chr. iv. 10 stands, "the tables," because the making of ten tables and their placing in the sanctuary has been already related. As this verse is wanting in our narrative, only the table, on which the shew-bread usually lay, is mentioned, without implying, however, that there was only one shew-bread table in the temple; much rather the analogy of ten candlesticks speaks also for ten tables, as I have already remarked i. p. q. p. 109 f. Along with the candlesticks, v. 49, are named הַפֶּרַח the flowers or blossoms and הַנֵּרֹת the lamps, which belonged to the candlesticks. The description of these objects is very brief, because in shape and form they were obviously assimilated to the corresponding articles in the tabernacle, and hence are presumed to be known. See the particulars in p. q. p. ff. 108 and Bähr's Symbol. i. p. 407 ff.

Vv. 50, 51. After the completion of the whole building Solomon brought all that David had dedicated to the Lord in gold, silver, and vessels into the treasure chambers of the temple. As so much gold and silver was employed in the building itself, we might be surprised, that Solomon had not expended the treasures collected by his father for this purpose, but was still able to deposit probably no inconsiderable treasure from this source in the treasure-chambers of the temple. But according to 1 Chr. xxii. 14—16 and xxix. 2 ff., David had collected an immense store of gold, silver, and brass for the building of the temple, to which he added still his private treasure and the free-will contributions of the chiefs of the people (1 Chr. xxviii. 13—18.) Solomon also from his own revenues, which, beside the customs of the merchants and the tribute of the confederate nations and governors, amounted annually to more than 660 talents [1,883,750 marks]=£3,613,500 (x. 14) might have contributed a considerable portion to the building of the temple, so that the treasure of the sanctuary, which moreover had been

commenced not first by David but previously by Samuel and Saul, and into which also the generals of David, Abner, Joab, and others had brought a part of the gold and silver taken by them (1 Chr. xxvi. 20—28), was not necessary to be applied to the building. But how much the victorious campaigns of David and his generals may have brought into this treasury, may be conjectured from this, that golden shields were taken from the generals of Hadadezer, and these as well as the silver, golden, and brazen vessels presented by Tou, king of Hamath, as homage-gifts, were dedicated to the Lord along with the silver and gold, which David had dedicated from the conquered Syrians, Moabites, Ammonites, Philistines, and Amalekites, 2 Sam. viii. 7, 11, 12; 1 Chr. xviii. 7, 10, 11.[1]

CHAPTER VIII.

THE DEDICATION OF THE TEMPLE.

This solemn transaction falls into three acts, according to which our chapter is divided into three sections.[2] The solemn

[1] In order to form an approximate conception of the magnitude of such treasures, let us consider, that for example according to *Appian (Parth.* 28 *ed. Schweigh.)* the temple at Hierapolis in Syria was so stored with riches, that Crassus took several days to weigh the gold and silver vessels, and reflect upon the accounts bordering on the incredible of the immense treasures of the ancient and modern East, which Rosenm. (A. u. N. Morgenl. iii. p. 264 ff.) and Bähr (Symbol. i. p 258 ff.) have collected together.

[2] That references to the Pentateuch occur in our chapter, has been proved by Kanne (bibl. Unters. u. Ausleg.) and Hertz in the tract cited on ii. 3 against de Wette's review of his Beiträgen 3. Einl. ins A.T. Still more profound, though not complete, is Hävernick's (Einl. i. 2. p. 582) recognition of these allusions, so that he remarks; "the speech of Solomon is only to be read and explained by the constant aid of the Pentateuch." Notwithstanding these emphatic indications, de Wette in his embarrassment has only confessed, that he now finds in the whole chapter a resemblance to Ex. xl. 34 f. in v. 10 f., and an allusion to Deut. iv. 20 in v. 51, comp. Lehrb. der histor. krit. Einl. ins. A.T. 5th ed. 1850 p. 213.

removal of the ark, and the other furniture of the old sanctuary into the newly built temple, forms the first act, vv. 1—21; the noble prayer of Solomon, that the Lord would connect with the temple the fulfilment of all the promises made to his people, and thereby make it the true place of the revelation of his covenant grace and truth, forms the second, vv. 22—61; the act of offering makes the third, which is described vv. 62—66.[1]

The first section again contains two elements, (*a*) the act of transferring the ark into the holy of holies, and the old sanctuary and its furniture into the new temple, vv. 1—11; (*b*) the words, in which Solomon celebrated the entrance of the Lord into the new temple v. 12—21.

Vv. 1—7. The ceremony in the removal of the ark rests entirely on the solemnity with which, under David, the ark was conveyed from the house of Obededom to the tabernacle prepared for it on Zion (2 Sam. vi. 12 ff.; 1 Chr. xv. 25 ff.)—Solomon assembles the elders of the people, and all the heads of the tribes, in a word, the princes of all the families, as representatives of the commonwealth of Israel, to himself at Jerusalem (v. 1), whither also all the men of Israel came and appeared at the feast of tabernacles falling on the 15th day of the 7th month, and joined in the dedication of the temple immediately before this feast (v. 2.)—On the form יְקַהֵל com. Ew. Krit. Gramm. p. 542.—According to the Mosaic law the priests bore the ark, the Levites the holy tabernacle with the rest of its furniture, while the king and the people sacrificed sheep and oxen in countless number before the ark (vv. 4, 5.) Properly the law ordained (Num. iii. 31, iv. 6 ff.) only that the ark and other furniture should be borne by the Levites, and in particular by the Kohathites, but so that they were not immediately to touch these holy things on pain of death, on which account Aaron and his sons (the high-priests and priests) were first to wrap them carefully in coverings. But this prescript was strictly in force only for the transport in the wilderness, and Solomon applies it accord-

[1] The parallel account in 2 Chr. v. 2—7, 10, has, besides smaller alterations mostly intended for explanation in words and construction, only towards the close some greater deviations, omissions, and additions, but elsewhere it agrees almost word for word with our narrative.

ing to its spirit, so that the ark, as the most holy piece of furniture, is borne by the priests themselves, while the remaining articles, which were replaced by new ones in the temple, and were thus no longer to be used for the proper service of God, are brought in by the Levites, in order to remain as holy relics in the upper and side chambers.[1] The אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד, which is brought into the temple (v. 4), is the Mosaic tent of assembly, the so-called tabernacle, which formerly stood at Gibeon (comp. iii. 4; 2 Chr. i. 3; 1 Chr. xvi. 39, xxi. 29), but before the dedication of the temple had been removed thence to Jerusalem, as Cler. not improbably conjectures, and not the tent erected for the ark on Zion (2 Sam. vi. 17; 1 Chr. xv. 1), as this is demonstrably nowhere called אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד and in 2 Chr. i. 3, 4, is expressly distinguished from it. Even in 1 Chr. xxiii. 32, the only passage, where this can be a question, אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד denotes only the Mosaic tabernacle, as appears at once from the adjacent בֵּית יְהוָה.

V. 8. "They prolonged the staves, and the heads of the staves were seen from the holy place before the oracle, but they were not seen without," that is, they drew the staves, after the ark was set down in the most holy place, so far forward, that their ends could be observed from the sanctuary by the elevations on the vail, which might be seen in the sanctuary itself, but not without. The object of this cannot be determined with certainty. Some Rabbins were of opinion, that by this means the high-priest on the great day of atonement were enabled to enter between the staves directly before the ark.[2]

V. 9. The statement, that there was nothing in the ark save

[1] The Rabbins indeed, and ancient as well as modern theologians, assert that the Mosaic candlestick and shew-bread table were still used in Solomon's temple, but this assumption is not only destitute of all evidence, but contradicted by the fact, that Solomon had ten candlesticks and ten tables made. In v. 4 also it is only said of the tabernacle and the other articles וַיַּעֲלוּ they brought them in (to the temple), but of the ark it is farther remarked, the priests brought it into the holy of holies into its place under the expanded wings of the cherubim that were there (v. 6.)

[2] There is no probability in the opinion expressed by Kimchi, J. D. Michaelis and others, that new longer staves were made, as the old

the two tables of stone which Moses put there at Horeb, has been arbitrarily explained in various ways by the old interpreters, in order to bring it into agreement with Heb. ix. 4, according to which, beside the two tables, there were to be found in the ark the golden pot with manna, and the blossoming rod of Aaron. Some, for example Vatabl., following *R. Levi ben Gersom*, explained אֵין רַק, *nihil aliud ex tota lege scilicet, sive ex libro legis continebatur in arca nisi etc.* Others, as Kanne, bibl. Untersuch. u. Auslegg. ii. p. 14 f., and the expositors there cited, thought, that these objects were only in the ark as long as it was moved from place to place, in order not to multiply the number of things to be removed, but were taken from it as soon as it obtained a fixed place. Others still imagine adjoining or side-arks (*arcæ laterales*) of the ark of the covenant, in which these objects might be preserved, comp. Lundius jüd. Heiligth. p. 72 ff. or p. 78 ff., of the ed. of 1738, and the older expositors of the Epistle to the Hebrews.—All these hypothesis owe their origin to the false exposition of the passages, Ex. xvi. 33 f. and Num. xvii. 25 (comp. Bleek, d. Brief an die Hebr. ii. 2 p. 495 ff.) which we may conclude from Heb. ix. 2, had become traditional among the Jews. According to Ex. xvi. 33 the pot of manna was laid up לִפְנֵי יְהוָה before Jehovah, that is, according to the more exact terms of v. 34 לִפְנֵי הָעֵדוּת before the testimony, that is, before the ark containing the testimony or tables of the law, and therefore without the ark. The same place is assigned, Num. xvii. 25, for the blossoming rod of Aaron. From the beginning, therefore, nothing was in the ark but the two tables of stone. In modern times this verse has been misapplied by de Wette (Beitr. i. p. 164 ff.) to prove that the book of the law did not yet exist in Solomon's time, because it is neither found in the ark, nor, as might be expected from its importance, is its repository specially distinguished in the enumeration of the holy things brought into the new temple. But that it could not be in the ark is evident of itself, as it was to be deposited according to the express com-

Mosaic ones could have at most 10 cubits length, that is, the length of the holy of holies in the tabernacle. וַיַּאֲרִיכוּ בַּדִּים does not mean to make new longer staves.

mand of Moses, Deut. xxxi. 26, not in the ark but at the side of the ark, comp. Hertz i. p. q. p. 13. But we cannot understand why it might not be among the holy things brought into the temple, as the explanation of כְּלֵי הַקֹּדֶשׁ, namely, articles of holy use, not of the sanctuary, given by de Wette, i. p. q., is untenable, comp. Hertz and Kanne i. p. q.; and from the mention of the tables of stone it does not follow that the book of the law must also have been mentioned.[1] For the narrative is by no means so particular, as de Wette affirms, and the tables of the law had a much greater importance than the book of the law, which was only a supplement to it, comp. Hengstenb. Beitr. iii. p. 640.[2]

Vv. 10, 11. As formerly, at the dedication of the tabernacle, the glory of the Lord in the veil of a cloud filled the sanctuary, so that Moses could not enter (Ex. xl. 34 f.), so it was now. When the priests had deposited the ark in its place and retired from the sanctuary, the cloud filled the temple so that they could not stand to minister before the cloud.—The repetition of the same fact is described in the same words. Thereby the Lord consecrated the temple to be the place of the revelation of his glory, and Israel now found here his God and King as oft as he approached into his presence. The old controversy, whether the cloud, that visible symbol of the Divine glory, was constantly or only at certain seasons visible, Hengstenb., Christol. iii. p. 521 ff., has correctly decided in favour of the latter view, comp. also J. H. Kurtz, das Mos. Opfer (Mitau. 1842) p. 291, Not.—The Lord was constantly present in the temple, but the visible sign of his presence was only exhibited at the dedication as a manifest proof that the name of the Lord had taken up his residence here, and afterwards only when the high priest, on the great annual day of atonement, entered into the holiest, until the time when

[1] Besides, we cannot really conceive, how de Wette still (see his Lehrb. d. Einleit. § 162 *a*, in the 5th ed.) can lay stress on the want of any mention of the book of the law, when he himself acknowledges references to the Pentateuch, not only in ii. 3, but also in v. 10 of our chap. and in other places (see Einl. § 162 *b*.)

[2] In order to explain the אֲשֶׁר כָּרַת, we must complete the conception לֻחוֹת הַבְּרִית from לֻחוֹת הָאֲבָנִים, comp. Deut. ix. 9, where both phrases immediately follow. This complement is so much the easier, as כרת alone is elsewhere used for making a covenant, 1 Sam. xx. 16, xxii. 8; 2 Chr. vii. 18.

the temple, having become, through the abominations of the people, a den of murderers (Jer. vii. 11), ceased to be the dwelling place of the Lord, where Ezekiel in spirit beholds how the glory of the Lord, sitting above the cherubim, raises itself out of the temple, and, retiring over the Mount of Olives, leaves the temple and Jerusalem (Ezek. xi. 20.) כְּבוֹד יְהוָה, is the glorious nature of God, as it reveals itself to man, therefore his gracious presence in Israel, which, during the period of the old covenant, was connected with the mercy seat of the ark overshadowed by the cherubim, for which reason the ark also was called כְּבוֹד יִשְׂרָאֵל, the glory of Israel (1 Sam. iv. 21, 22; Ps. lxxviii. 61), and on the other hand is designated the throne and footstool of God (1 Chr. xxix. 2; Ps. xcix. 5, cxxxii. 7; Lam. ii. 1.)—To the question, why the priests could not stand to minister before the cloud, C. a Lap. answers: *tum ab reverentiam divinæ majestatis se ostendentis per nebulam, tam quia nebula hæc sensibilior offendebat oculos sacerdotum eorumque aciem obtundebat et hebetebat.* The first of these grounds is not sufficient, and a materialistic notion lies at the foundation of the second, as if the cloud had been a gross cloud of smoke. The proper ground we perceive from Lev. xvi. 2—13, where Aaron is commanded to enter with the holiest before the mercy-seat of the ark not at every time, but only once every year, and also then only with burning incense, that the cloud of incense might cover the mercy-seat over the testimony, "that he die not, for I will appear in the cloud upon the mercy-seat." Not veneration for the Divine majesty alone forbids delay in the presence of the Divine glory, not even a holy dread merely thrills through the priests, so that they draw back, (Kurtz i. p. q. p. 293); but the glory of the Lord, like to a consuming fire, (Ex. xxiv. 17; Deut. iv. 24, ix. 3; Heb. xii. 29) is that before which unholy man cannot exist, to which he cannot approach without being destroyed. Hence the high priest was obliged to prepare his entrance into the holiest by first enveloping with the smoke of burning incense, the symbol of the sin-covering power of prayer, (Rev. v. 8, viii. 3, 4; Jam. v. 15), the cloud, which embodied the glory of the Lord.[1]—In

[1] Too abstractly and in too little harmony with the symbol is the meaning of the arrangement: "that the cloud of incense may cover the mercy-seat that is upon the testimony, that he die not," thus ex-

Chr. we have here an addition concerning the playing and singing of the Levites during the procession, (2, v. 12—14.)

Vv. 12, 13. *Vidit Salomo templum a nube repleri, recordaturque quod Deus in nube apparere voluerit etiam in tentorio Mosis; hinc certo credidit, quod in hac nube etiam esset Deus, qui sicut olim tabernaculum, sic jam templum replere et in eo habitare vellet. Seb. Schm.* After Vatabl. de Wette incorrectly renders אָמַר, *has decreed;* still more incorrectly Fr. v. Meyer explains, *decrees, intends.* אמר *has said* refers—as Jarchi, C. a Lap., and others, have observed—to earlier expressions of God, whereby he had declared his dwelling in darkness and in the cloud; only we must not limit this to Lev. xvi. 2, "I will appear in the cloud," but refer at the same time to Ex. xix. 9, where the Lord says to Moses, "I am come to thee בְּעַב הֶעָנָן, that the people may hear my voice," but especially to Ex. xx, 21, according to which God appeared on Sinai, בָּעֲרָפֶל, and Deut. iv. 11, v. 19, according to which he appeared in עָנָן וַעֲרָפֶל. The appearance of God in the dark cloud contains at the same time the reason why the holiest was quite dark both in the tabernacle and the temple.—Fully convinced of the presence of God in the cloud filling the sanctuary, Solomon, (v. 13), addresses God as present: "I have built a house for thee to dwell in, a place for thee to abide for ever." עוֹלָמִים (comp. on עוֹלָם. Hengstenb. Christol. ii. p. 427 ff.), is not to be so understood, as if Solomon believed, that the temple built by him would stand for ever, but is explained on the one hand, from the opposition to the former dwelling of God in the tabernacle, which, from its very nature, could only be temporary, since a tent, as the tabernacle was, is not only a mutable and provisional, but even a very fragile dwelling, whereas a house of stone and cedar is built for durability, (comp. 2 Sam. vii. 6 and 7,) where this opposition is presented; on the other hand, from the promise given to David, 2 Sam. vii. 13—16: "thy seed after thee shall build a house for my name, and I will establish the throne of his kingdom *for ever;* I will be to him a father,

plained by Hengstenb. Beitr. iii. p. 644; "prayer, grounded on the reconciling and guilt-covering grace of God, is the only means of escaping the destruction, which the law testifying against trangression brings on the sinner.

and my mercy shall not depart from him," etc.—If in fact God would not withdraw his grace from the seed of David, who should build him a house, but would establish his kingdom for ever, the gracious relation also of God to Israel, which, through the dwelling of God, was embodied in the temple, must be of perpetual continuance. And this relation was by its very nature perpetual, although the earthly form of it was transitory. But from the transience and mutability of the form, Solomon at this moment looks quite away. But that it was not entirely unknown to him, we may with tolerable certainty infer from his clear conceptions concerning the covenant relation of God to Israel, as they are expressed in the course of his observations.

Vv. 14—21. The preceding words Solomon had uttered with his face directed to the holy of holies: now he turns to the people in the court and blesses the whole congregation of Israel, who were standing.—עמד, *reverentiam Deo et regi exhibiturus. J. H. Mich.*—יברך denotes the blessing, with which Solomon greeted the congregation and introduced the following expression of praise to God. He praises the Lord, that he has now actually fulfilled the promise made to his father, 2 Sam. vii. 6—16, since he has now ascended the throne of his father, and been able to execute the wish of his heart, to build a house for the name of Jehovah, and to prepare a place there for the ark (vv. 15—21.) When Solomon describes the temple as the place for the ark, he points it out as its heart and centre; this it was, inasmuch as the covenant, in consequence of which the Lord of heaven and earth condescended to dwell as God of Israel in the midst of this his chosen people, rested entirely upon his holy law, which was deposited in the ark. On this ground also the symbolic sign of his presence was connected with the ark, and the temple was only the dwelling place of the Lord, in so far as it was the place for the ark, comp. Hengstenb. Christol. iii. p. 525 f.

With v. 22 begins the second act of the solemnity of dedication, containing *(a)* the prayer, which Solomon offered up before the altar of burnt-offering in the court of the priests on a brazen platform erected for the special purpose, five cubits long and broad and three cubits high (2 Chr. vi. 13), kneeling (v. 54 comp. with 2 Chr. vi. 14), and with his hands stretched out to heaven, vv. 23—53; *(b)* the blessing, in which he sums up the prayer pre-

sented to the Lord and applies it to himself and the assembled congregation, vv. 54—61.—The text to this prayer is the law, especially the blessing and curse pronounced upon the people by Moses, Lev. xxvi. and Deut. xxviii.—Setting out from the blessing here promised, Solomon praises (vv. 23, 24) the Lord for its past fulfilment, after which follows the prayer for the averting of the curse alluded to, (vv. 25—53.)

Vv. 23, 24. By the bestowment of the promised blessing the Lord had hitherto proved himself the only and true God in heaven and on earth, who keeps covenant and mercy with his servants who walk before him with all their heart. With this acknowledgment of God (comp. 2 Sam. vii. 22, xxii. 32) begins the prayer, for from this arises the right confidence for the petition, which is certain of being heard, Matt. xxi. 22; Mark xi. 24; Jam. i. 6.—The words, "keeps covenant and grace," are a literal reminiscence from Deut. vii. 9, only instead of the following, "that love him, and keep His commandments," Solomon says, "his servants, who walk before him with all their heart." —V. 24. A necessary result of the covenant-faithfulness of God is the promise given to his servant David, 2 Sam. vii., of which Solomon has now lived to see the fulfilment commenced (2 Sam. vii. 12, 13.) כַּיּוֹם הַזֶּה *as this day*, is an abbreviated comparison for, as it is this day, in which the fulfilment is realised. In this fulfilment is concentrated the whole blessing, which the Lord had promised his people by Moses, comp. Hengstenb. Christol. iii. p. 605. Now as Solomon had expressed his thoughts already in vv. 12—21 on the realization that had now ensued before the eyes of all the people by the entrance of the glory of the Lord into the temple, he here dwells no longer on this, but proceeds immediately to the petition for the averting of the remembered curse. A part of the effect of this curse, however, was taken away by the promise, that the Lord would chasten the seed of David, if he commit iniquity, with the rod of men, and with the stripes of the children of men, but would not quite withdraw his grace from him (2 Sam. vii. 14 f.) For if the Lord wished to make David's house and kingdom perpetual (2 Sam. vii. 16), he could not completely reject and extirpate Israel, as was threatened to the despisers of the law, Deut. xxviii. 45, 51, 61. Solomon therefore holds by this promise, and prays, vv. 25 and 26 the Lord first, that he would still farther graciously fulfil hi

promise to David, that there shall not fail one to sit on his throne (comp. on ii. 4) on this condition: "only if thy children take heed to their way, that they walk before me, as thou hast walked before me." This condition certainly is not found in 2 Sam. vii., but it follows of itself from the spirit of the covenant relation, and especially from Lev. xxvi. and Deut. xxviii., where a blessing is announced only to the observers of the law, while severe punishments are threatened to its transgressors; for which reason also David urged it on his son before his death (ii. 3, 4), and the Lord himself in his appearance at Gibeon (iii. 14), and afterwards during the building of the temple (v. 12) had added it to his promise.—Solomon then prays v. 27 ff., that the Lord may especially make the temple the place of the manifestation of his grace, from this earthly seat of his name only grant grace and forgive sin, that the threatened curse may never fall upon Israel.

V. 27. כִּי means not *verò, but, however, indeed,* but *for,* as *partic. ration.* The connexion of v. 26 with v. 28 has been rightly stated by Seb. Schm.: *Hanc tuam gratiam* (that is, the selection of David's family for the sovereignty, in which was included the selection of Jerusalem and the temple for the place of the manifestation of the Lord) *te rogo: Scio enim quod non necesse habeas sive Jerusalem sive templo hoc, cum tantus sis ut cœli cœlorum te non capiant, multo minus domus, ut omnino mera gratia sit, si in hoc templo habites ipsumque templum non tui gratia sed nostri sit ædificatum, ut nobis sit certum symbolum gratiæ et præsentiae tuæ. Pro hac gratia te oro et precor, ut respicias precationem servi tui etc.*—כִּי אַף now even, that this house should contain thee (Maurer.) By the sentence, the heavens and heaven of heavens, that is, the heaven in its most extended compass, cannot contain God, Solomon strikes down all rationalistic assertions, that the Israelites imagined Jehovah to be only a finite national god. The infinitude and supramundane exaltation of God cannot be more clearly and strongly expressed than it is in these words.[1] That, how-

[1] Our verse was employed by the old theologians for the refutation of Spinoza thus in the *Brevis explicatio vs.* 27. i. *Reg.* 8, *ex qua contra Bened. Spinosam, qui extensionem proprietatem divinam sive Deum esse rem extensam, in Ethica sua part.* ii. *propos.* ii. *statuit,* Dei immensitas *probatur. Præside Fr. Ernst Meis, Th. D., respondente Jo. Gottl. Schubarth. Silusiæ.* 1710. 4.

ever, Solomon was addicted to no abstract idealism is sufficiently apparent from this, that he unites this consciousness of the infinite exaltation of God with the firm belief of his real presence in the temple. The true God is not merely infinitely exalted above the world, has not only his throne in heaven (vv. 34, 36, 39; Ps. ii. 4, xi. 4, ciii. 19; Is. lxvi. 1; Am. ix. 6), he is also present on the earth (Deut. iv. 39), has chosen the temple for the dwelling place of his name in Israel, from which he hears the prayers of his people, comp. Tholuck, die Bergpred. (1833) p. 395 f. Solomon hereby opposes not the fancy, that God actually dwells in the temple, as J. D. Mich. thinks, but only the fancy, that he so dwells in the temple, as men dwell in a place, confined to the place, and not at the same time beyond and above it. A fancy that no doubt sometimes found admittance with the carnally-minded Israelites; but was uniformly resisted by the prophets, comp. Mic. iii. 11; Jer. vii. 4, and others. Only by the certain confidence, that God was really present in the temple, the following petitions of Solomon can be understood, especially the general petition, vv. 28—30, that God would take the temple under his special protection and hear every prayer directed to it.—תְּפִלָּה, תְּחִנָּה and רִנָּה are distinguished so, that תפלה is prayer in general, whether it be praise, petition, or thanks, תחנה entreaty or supplication, petition for grace and help, רנה praise, prayer as the joyful expression of praise and thanks. V. 29. "That thine eyes may be open towards this house" (אֶל does not stand for עַל) that is, *speciali quadam providentia in hanc domum directi* (Mich.), but not *ad eam defendendam et conservandam*, but to hear the prayer directed to it. V. 30. תִּשְׁמַע אֶל־מְקוֹם וגו׳ "hear thou to thy dwelling place, to heaven"—a pregnant expression for, hear the prayer which ascends or is sent to thy dwelling place, to heaven. The last words, "hear and forgive," are to be left in their generality and not to be limited by any complement. Forgiveness of sins can alone remove the curse, which transgression draws after it.

This general petition is v. 31 ff. specialized by the enumeration of a series of cases, in which Israel in prayer turns to his God in the temple. The first case refers to the oath to be sworn in the temple. If any things (goods or money) delivered to a

neighbour to keep have been lost or stolen, or a head of cattle entrusted to him have died or been driven away, or injured (Ex. xxii. 7—9), or if any one denied that which was found, or over-reached another in any of these ways (Lev. v. 21—25), he, whom the other suspected of theft, fraud, wilful damage or concealment, or by whom he believed himself to be overreached, might be sued at law to make oath of his integrity.[1] In these cases the law ordered not only restitution with the addition of a fifth part, but also a trespass offering to atone for the guilt incurred by false swearing. But as this punishment could only be inflicted, if the guilty party afterwards confessed his guilt, many false oaths as to these points might be sworn and remain unpunished by men. Solomon therefore prays, that the Lord would hear every oath of this kind, which should be sworn before the altar, and judge his servants to punish the guilty and justify the innocent.[2] The phrase תֵּת דַּרְכּוֹ בְּרֹאשׁוֹ to inflict on any one merited punishment, which often occurs in Ezekiel, for example ix. 10, xi. 21, xvi. 43, xvii. 19, xxii. 31, is formed after the juridical *terminus* שִׁלֵּם אֹתוֹ בְּרֹאשׁוֹ Lev. v. 24, and תֵּת לוֹ כְּצִדְקָתוֹ (comp. 2 Sam. xxii. 21—25; Ps. xviii. 21—25, vii. 9, xxxv. 24) after the kindred formulæ of the law, הֵשִׁיב, גָּמַל, שָׁלַם כְּצִדְקָתוֹ. The phrases הַרְשִׁיעַ רָשָׁע and הַצְדִּיק צַדִּיק are derived from Deut. xxv. 2. The construction תִּשְׁמַע הַשָּׁמַיִם here and vv. 34, 36, 39, 43, 45, 49, which in Chronicles is retained only in 2, vi. 27, and elsewhere uniformly explained in תש״מן־הש״, might perhaps be accounted for by the adverbial use of the accusative (comp. on vii. 40), but it is obviously more correct

[1] Jarchi erroneously refers to the oath, which the woman accused of adultery had to take, Num. v. 15.

[2] The mention of this case appears certainly to be at variance with our assumption, that these petitions arise from the threatenings of the law (Lev. xxvi. and Deut. xxviii.) but this appearance is ungrounded. For Solomon in all probability has in view the command preceding the threatenings in Lev. xxvi. 2, "reverence my sanctuary, for I am the Lord," and prays with reference to this command, that the Lord would in all cases, where reverence for his sanctuary was boldly violated, as by a false oath sworn at the altar, step in with his judicial righteousness and prove himself to be the holy one in order that the reverence due to his sanctuary might be maintained among the people.

to derive it as אֶל־הַשָּׁמַיִם v. 30 from a pregnance of the expression.[1]

V. 33 ff. The following cases are all taken almost word for word from Lev. xxvi. and Deut. xxviii. Vv. 33 and 34. If Israel on account of his sins be given up by the Lord to his enemies, so that they smite him, and then turn to the Lord and pray to him in the temple, then let him hear his prayer, forgive him and restore him to the land of his fathers.—Here the old interpreters found a difficulty in this, how those smitten by the enemy, who are to return to their native land after forgiveness received and therefore were carried away by the enemy, could pray to the Lord in the temple before their return. Most expositors (Kimchi, Vatabl., Calm., and others), therefore, understand the words so that those remaining behind turn to the Lord in prayer; others, as Seb. Schm., refer the *verba* to the *captivi et reliqui in terra*, but the captives could neither come to the temple, before they were free, nor return to the land, before they were carried away. The supplying of a different subject from עַמְּךָ thy people Israel is arbitrary. The solution of the difficulty follows from the passages of the law, which were before the mind of Solomon, Lev. xxvi. 17, "ye shall be slain before your enemies, and they that hate you shall reign over you, and ye shall flee when none pursueth you," and Deut. xxviii. 25, "The Lord shall cause thee to be smitten before thine enemies; thou shalt go out one way against them, and flee seven ways before them." The punishment here threatened consisted not in the removal of the whole people into a foreign land, but only in the conquest and subjugation of Israel by foreign nations intruding into their country, so that the mass of the people remained in the country, and only the captives of war and the deserters were removed into foreign countries. Thus the smitten might turn to the Lord in his temple and receive forgiveness, that they might be delivered from the hand of the enemy, and the exiles and deserters might be restored to their native land.

V. 35, 36. If the Lord punish the land on account of its sins with drought and want of rain, Deut. xi. 17; comp. with Lev.

[1] The old opinions on this point, see in *Deylingi Observatt, ss. i. p.* 16.

xxvi. 19, let him forgive his people and send rain to the land, if they turn from their sins to him. כִּי תְעַנֵּם when thou humblest them (Ps. lv. 20), not, when thou hearest them (Chald., Abarb. and others.) Contrary to usage and grammar de Wette rendered כִּי תוֹרֵם, after thou hast pointed out them the good way: כִּי does not mean, *after that*, and the *fut.* cannot stand for the *praet.* כי תורם corresponds with כי תענם v. 35, and means, when thou teachest them the good way. The words contain the motive to pardon. When God teaches his people, and if they follow not his commands endeavours to bring them back by chastisement to the good way, he must pardon them, if acknowledging the punishment as a chastisement they pray to him.

Vv. 37—40. In v. 37 Solomon names the various plagues, famine, if God on account of the sins of his people make the earth as brass and iron, so that it yields no increase, Lev. xxvi. 19 f.; Deut. xxviii. 23; and the staff of bread is broken (Lev. xxvi. 26)—pestilence (Lev. xxvi. 25), blasting and jaundice or yellowness of the grain[1] (Deut. xxviii. 22); consuming locust (חָסִיל is a mere epithet of אַרְבֶּה formed after Deut. xxviii. 38, where the consumption חסל of the grain by the locusts is threatened); distress from enemies in the land of their gates, that is, their cities, in their own land (for which stand, Deut. xxviii. 52, "in all thy gates, in thy whole land"), as it is threatened in copious terms, Deut. xviii. 49—57, to the despisers of the law; finally, plagues and sicknesses of every kind, as they are to fall in terrible ways upon the transgressors according to Lev. xxvi. 16, and Deut. xxviii. 59—61—and then v. 28 comprehends all the rest in the words, every prayer, every supplication, that is made by any man, by all thy people Israel, when they know every man the plague of his own heart. נֶגַע לְבָבוֹ, explanatory of which stand 2 Chr. vi. 29 נִגְעוֹ וּמַכְאֹבוֹ, Vatabl. and C. a Lap. understand of *dolor animi, quem quisque sentit apud se;*

[1] The word יֵרָקוֹן in all places where it occurs in connection with שִׁדָּפוֹן—besides that above cited, 2 Chr. vi. 28; Am. iv. 9; Hag. ii. 17—signifies a disease of grain, which is produced in Arabia by a hot wind, and consists in the ears becoming yellow and bearing no pickles, comp. Forskal in Niebuhr's Beschreib. v. Arabien, pref. p. 46.

J. D. Mich., need of every kind, which I cannot here particularly name—correct in substance but not explaining the terms. נֶגַע לֵבָב signifies Divine chastisements, which affect the heart, that is, sufferings, sicknesses, pains, evil, and misfortune, which the individual recognises as Divine chastisements.—In all these cases may God hear the prayer and give to every man according to all his ways, that is, all his conduct, as he knows the heart, "for thou alone knowest the heart of all the children of men," v. 39. As heart-searcher God is alone able to give to every one according to all his ways, and so to hear his prayer as it is good for him, Jer. xvii. 10.—The object of all hearing of prayer, that they should fear the Lord, so long as they live in the land (v. 40), is expressed is the same words, which are given in Deut. iv. 10 as the object of teaching the commandments of God.

Vv. 41—43. After the petition for the hearing of every prayer of the Israelites follows naturally the thought of the stranger, not an Israelite, who will come from a distant country on account of the name of God to pray to Jehovah in his temple. That such strangers will come Solomon presumes with confidence; Moses, Num. xv. 14—16, had already permitted the stranger sojourning in Israel to offer at the tabernacle, and the great name of the Lord, his strong hand and his out-stretched arm had become known in Moses' time to all surrounding nations (Ex. xv. 14, xviii. 1; Jos. v. 1), and the knowledge of the glorious deeds of God in and among Israel itself had penetrated as far as Mesopotamia to Balaam,[1] comp. Hengstenb. die Gesch. Bil. p. 14.—The words הַיָּד הַחֲזָקָה and הַזְּרֹעַ הַנְּטוּיָה standing separately in Ex. xiii. 9, xxxii. 11, and vi. 6, and used quite synonymously in Deut. ix. 26 and 29, are connected together in Deut. as the standing expression for the wonderful doings of omnipotence, by which God redeemed his people from the bondage of Egypt (comp. Deut. iv. 34, v. 15, vii. 19, xi. 2, xxvi. 8.) And what is expressed, Deut. xxviii. 10, as the blessed consequence of Israel's walking in the commandments of God: "all people of the earth will see that the name of the Lord is named upon thee," this Solomon transfers to the temple as the fruit of

[1] Historical facts of this kind are not known of Solomon's temple, as the queen of Sheba came to Jerusalem not to pray in the temple, but to learn of the wisdom of Solomon.

hearing the prayer, which the heathen offer in it, that all nations will acknowledge the name of the Lord, to fear (reverence) him (which is the object of every hearing of prayer by God) and learn his real presence in the temple.—The phrase frequently occurring in Jeremiah נִקְרָא שֵׁם יְהוָה עַל פל the name of the Lord is named on any one, on a house (comp. Jer. vii. 10, 11, 14, 30, xiv. 9, xv. 16, xxv. 29, &c.), the most recent expositors (see Hitzig, Maur., Umbr. on Jer.) explain falsely, he bears from me (Jehovah) the name: it signifies, God is in him, revealed in him, really present, comp. Hengstenb. Christol. iii. p. 231.

In vv. 44—53 Solomon finally entreats a hearing in the case when far from Jerusalem and the temple prayers are directed thither to the Lord. *First*, vv. 44 and 45, if Israel go to war by order of the Lord. D. Kimchi explains the words, in the way in which thou wilt send them, too specially of an express Divine command through a prophet or through the Urim and Thummim. They denote merely the war which is carried on for the good of the theocracy.—Every righteous war is a war of the Lord (1 Sam. xxv. 28), where Israel might pray, may the Lord do right. עָשָׂה מִשְׁפָּט to do right or judgment, always denotes the decision in favour of the righteous cause, comp. Deut. x. 18; Ps. ix. 5; and Hengstenb. Comm. on the passage. The direction of the eyes in prayer to the temple, according to Steudel, Vorles. ü. d. A. Test. p. 192, was to serve "as an indication, that a man worshipped the God, in honour of whom this temple was erected." Unsatisfactory; as the true ground lay in the belief of the real presence of God in the temple—a belief that was a vain imagination in the heathen with respect to their gods, whereas among the Israelites it rested on the fact related, v. 10, of the condescending grace of God.—*Next*, vv. 46—49, if Israel on account of his sins were to be delivered to his enemy and carried away into the enemy's land. In this petition Solomon refers to the threatening, Lev. xxvi. 33 and 44, but so that he does not confine his prayer merely to the captivity of the whole people predicted there and in Deut. xxviii. 48 ff. and 64 ff., comp. with xxx. 1—5, but extends it generally to every removal into the enemy's land. הֵשִׁיב אֶל לֵב, to take to heart,

consider, Deut. iv. 39, and without an object,* to reflect, comp. the passage here alluded to, Deut. xxx. 1.—The confession of sin, which Solomon requires as the condition of being heard, חָטָאנוּ וְהֶעֱוִינוּ רָשָׁעְנוּ, the Jews appropriated word for word in the exile, (comp. Ps. cvi. 6; Dan. ix. 5), as the most exhaustive expression of the deepest consciousness of guilt and sin. The words contain a climax; חטא, to slide, *labi*, denotes sin in its negative aspect, as a deviation from the way of God; העוה, to act perversely, in its positive aspect, as a perversion of right, (Job. xxxviii. 27, comp. Hävern. on Dan. ix. 5); רשע, in Arab. رَشَغَ, *magna cupiditate et concupiscentia fuit*, in Syr. *perturbatus est animo* denotes sin as passion, which gives men no rest, comp. Isa. lvii. 11, and Hengstenb. Comm. on the Ps. i. p. 11, and thus properly expresses the internal character of ungodliness.

In vv. 51—53 Solomon concludes with motives, which ought to secure the hearing of his prayer on the part of God. Seb. Schm. justly remarked, that these reasons apply not merely to the last but to all the preceding petitions. "*Hæc quæ oravi pro me et pro populo meo, Tu Domine facies propterea, quia populus tuus est, pro quo oravi et ego rex eorum: ideo audies preces servi tui et populi tui. Nam vs.* 52 *facit mentionem sui ipsius et omnium casuum, in quibus invocaturi essent Dominum.*"—The reason, v. 51: "for they are thy people and thine inheritance, which thou hast brought out of Egypt from the midst of the furnace of iron," is taken word for word from Deut. iv. 20, and v. 52: "for thou hast separated them from among all the people of the earth, to be thine inheritance," from Lev. xx. 24 and 26, comp. with Ex. xix. 5.—In 2 Chr. vi. 40—42, the conclusion of the prayer is varied so that it closes with a call upon the Lord to cause safety and grace from the temple to preside over his people.

V. 54—61. At the end of his prayer Solomon arose from his knees and blessed the whole congregation. This blessing is wanting in Chronicles, because it is only a recapitulation of the foregoing longer prayer.—V. 56 corresponds to vv. 23 and 24. The first half of the verse rests on the promise, Deut. xii. 9, 10, and its fulfilment, Jos. xxi. 44, 45 and xxiii. 14; the second on Lev. xxvi. 3—13, and Deut. xxviii. 1—14, where the "good

word" is specified in the blessing which the Lord had promised to his people and hitherto continually, but now in the most glorious manner fulfilled, comp. the remarks on v. 14, and Hengstenb. Christol. iii. p. 605. This glorious fulfilment authorised the confident hope, that the Lord would also hereafter fulfil that which he had promised to his servant David, "for a great while to come," (2 Sam. vii. 19), if only the people on their part kept the condition, on which alone the fulfilment could take place. Solomon then embraces, in vv. 57—61, the petitions of vv. 25—43, in the words: "the Lord be with us, as he was with our fathers —that he may incline our hearts unto him, to walk in all his ways, etc." lest the evil word, prophesied by Moses, Lev. xxiv. 14 ff.; Deut. xxviii. 15 ff., may befal on us.—On v. 57 comp. Deut. xxxi. 6, 8; Jos. i. 5.—אַל־יִטְּשֵׁנוּ corresponds to לֹא יַרְפֶּךָּ in three passages. In the Pentateuch נטשׁ is used only once of men, who forsake the Lord, Deut. xxxii. 15; otherwise it means, to throw down, scatter, Num. xi. 31, to cause something to lie, rest, Ex. xxiii. 11, to permit, allow, Gen. xxxi. 28. Of God forsaking his own, we find it used first, Ps. xxvii. 9, in connexion with עזב, as here and often in Jeremiah.—V. 61. Let your heart be שָׁלֵם עִם יְהוָה entirely, undividedly given to the Lord, so that it may have שָׁלוֹם in him alone, comp. xi. 4, xv. 3—14 etc.

With v. 62 begins the third act, the offering, consisting of a burnt-offering (עֹלָה), with the meat-offering (מִנְחָה) belonging to it, and a thank-offering (זֶבַח שְׁלָמִים), which Solomon and all the people offered.[1]—The thank-offering, which embodied

[1] Chronicles (2, vii. 12) here furnishes an important supplement in the statement, that fire from heaven consumed the offering. That this notice, which even Movers (Krit. Unters. p. 195 and 264), according to his false view of the sources of Chronicles, regards as a traditional appendix, does not, in consequence of its absence from our narrative, become an invention of the compiler of Chronicles, arising from a love of the miraculous, as de Wette and Gramberg imagine, has been already proved in my apolog. Vers. p. 329. The omission of this miraculous fact is explained, as so many other things that are passed over in the description of the temple, by this, that it is presumed to be known from the dedication of the tabernacle. As in the latter God the Lord does not rest satisfied with merely manifesting his presence by the cloud filling the holiest, but also consumed the first offering presented on the altar standing before it by fire from heaven (Lev. ix.

their thanks for the grace and covenant-faithfulness of God and represented their communion, their house and table companionship with the Lord (comp. Bähr, Symb. ii. p. 368 ff., and Kurtz, d. Mos. Opfer. p. 129 ff.), consisted, in correspondence with the greatness of the manifestations of the Divine grace, of 22,000 oxen and 120,000 sheep. This is so enormous a number of victims, that, as in the thank-offerings, only the fat pieces (חֲלְבֵי הַשְּׁלָמִים) were burned upon the altar, while the rest of the flesh was reserved for the sacrificial repast.—J. D. Mich. enters into a tedious reckoning of probabilities, whether the Israelites assembled in Jerusalem could have consumed 22,000 oxen in fourteen days, wherein however he altogether forgets the 120,000 sheep offered at the same time, and then, without any authority from the text, divides these offerings among fourteen days, though they were offered, according to v. 63, only at the dedication of the temple, which lasted but seven days. The seven days' feast of tabernacles certainly followed immediately after, but this is plainly distinguished from the dedication of the temple by the express division of seven days and seven days (v. 65.) The whole calculation, indeed, is vitiated, because Mich., according to his altogether external mode of examination, calculates the number of the offerings merely from an economical point of view. If Solomon and all the people offered thanks to the Lord for the favour of the building of the temple being happily completed, and now also consecrated by the miraculous manifestation of God, it would occur to no Israelite to calculate economically, whether he could, with his family, consume altogether the thank-offerings presented by him. The probability of the number mentioned can only be estimated from the greatness of the multitude possibly assembled at the dedication of the temple.—If, beside the elders, heads of families and tribes, all Israel, from the region of Hamath to the river of Egypt, in great assembly, (קָהָל גָּדוֹל v. 75) appeared at this festival, there may have easily been 100,000 fathers, and 20,000 elders, heads of families, and tribes,

24), in order to sanction the altar as the legitimate place of offering; so with the repetition of the first miraculous fact in the dedication of the temple, the second also is so connected, that our author might deem it superfluous to mention it expressly.

assembled. Now if, on an average, every father offered only one sheep, every elder an ox, and the king out of his abundance, 2000 oxen and 2000 sheep, the number of victims stated will not appear too great. Now, whether a man could consume all the flesh of these offerings at the festival or not, is a matter of no consequence, as the law in this case commanded the burning of the remainder (Lev. vii. 17 ; xix. 6.)—That, besides, the number of the victims offered must have been unusually great, is evident from this, that the by no means small altar of burnt-offering was not sufficient to contain the sacrifices, and the king therefore dedicated the whole space of the inner court for a place of offering on this occasion (v. 64.)—"From the region of Hamath to the river of Egypt" denotes the territory of Israel, according to its whole extent from north to south, 2 Chr. vii. 8. The description of the north boundary, לְבוֹא חֲמָת (Num. xiii. 21, xxxiv. 8; Jos. xiii. 5; Judg. iii. 3; 1 Chr. xiii. 5; 2 Ki. xiv. 25; Am. vi. 14) is falsely explained by Gesen. (Lehrgeb. p. 799, *thes.* i. 185), Ewald (Krit. Gram. p. 646), Studer on Judg. iii. 3, and others, *unto Hamath*, so that Hamath was the border city, and לְבוֹא is pleonastic, in decided opposition to which is the circumstance, that wherever a place is to be described as a proper boundary point, the simple עַד or מִן merely is used, for example, Gen. x. 19; Jos. xiii. 3—9, etc.—לְבוֹא and בְּאָה denote the region from a place.—עַד בְּאָה, till one comes, that is, towards, בְּבוֹא in the direction of—עַד לְבוֹא, towards, מִלְּבוֹא from the direction of, that is, from the region of—so that the place (city) named after this particle always lies beyond the boundary point, the boundary reaches only to its neighbourhood. חֲמָת is *Ἐπιφάνεια* of the Greeks, on the Orontes, between Larissa and Arethusa, still an important town of about 30,000 inhabitants under the old name حماة, comp. Burkh. Reise, i. p. 249 ff., and Winer, bibl. R.W. i. p. 537. It did not belong to the kingdom of Israel, although Solomon, according to 2 Chr. viii. 4, possessed a part of the territory of Hamath.[1]

[1] V. Raumer (Palæst. p. 126) erroneously confounds חַמַּת Hammath (*thermæ*, the fortified city of Naphtali) with the Syrian Hamath, and understands of the former all the above cited passages, where Hamath is named as the north boundary of Palestine.

The river of Egypt is not the Nile, but the brook which falls into the Mediterranean Sea at the town of Rhinocorura, or Rhinocolura, now el Arish, and formed the south boundary of the land of Israel, Num. xxxiv. 5; Jos. xv. 4, 47. Comp. Rosenm. Hdb. d. bibl. Altherthk. ii. 1, p. 86 ff., and Gesen. *thes.* ii. 872.

V. 66. On the eighth day of the last named seven days' feast of tabernacles, that is, on the twenty-third day of the seventh month (2 Chr. vii. 10) Solomon dismissed the people, who returned to their tents joyful and glad of heart, for all the goodness that the Lord had done for David his servant and Israel his people.—Tents for houses (Judg. vii. 9; 2 Sam. xx. 1) is an expression retained from the life of the patriarchs. David his servant, not Solomon, is named, because all the happiness conferred upon the people under Solomon was only the fruit of the promise made to David, comp. at v. 15.

CHAPTER IX.

THE HAPPY ANSWER TO SOLOMON'S PRAYER, VV. 1—9; CLOSING NOTICES OF HIS BUILDINGS, VV. 10—25; AND OF HIS NAVY, VV. 26—28.

Vv. 1—9. The second appearance, which was made to Solomon, seems according to v. 1 to have taken place at least thirteen years after the dedication of the temple, *post quam rex aedificiis suis omnibus supremam manum imposuisset* (Sanctius.) But this is inconceivable, as this manifestation contains the special answer to the prayer uttered by Solomon at the dedication. *Seb. Schmidt* indeed thinks: *quod Deus distulerit hanc apparitionem usque ad tempus, quo Salomonis peccatum appropinquabat, ut non diu antequam fieret, eum serio moneret.* But who could believe, that the Lord, if he had first appeared to him so late, would have begun his answer with the words: "I have heard thy prayer and thy supplication that thou hast made before me; I have hallowed this house which thou hast built, etc.?" The old interpreters, therefore, held that this appearance took place the night

after the dedication of the temple. But are we to assume this in contradiction to the plain words of the text? By no means. V. 1, indeed, forms the transition from the prayer of Solomon to the answer of God, for which reason it is, 2 Chr. vii. 11, the closing formula to the section on the dedication of the temple; but our author has made this transition sentence at the same time the superscription of the following section in which he records not only the appearance of God but also that which Solomon undertook for the completion of all his buildings. This superscription, however, is couched in such a manner, that it forms at the same time the introduction to the Divine appearance, and is therefore, after this has been communicated, partly repeated in v. 10 as introductory to that which took place after the twenty years, in which Solomon had executed the building of the temple and his palace. The error, that the Divine answer to the prayer of Solomon followed twenty years after, arose merely from misunderstanding this general determination of the first verse. The time of the Divine appearance accordingly is not definitely stated in our narrative, but it may be determined with tolerable certainty from the words: "the second time, as he had appeared unto him at Gibeon" (v. 2.) As God appeared to Solomon at Gibeon in the night following his sacrifice, so also here probably in the night (2 Chr. vii. 12) after the prayer of dedication and the sacrifice.—The Divine promise to hear his prayer adheres closely in its terms to the prayer of Solomon (v. 3); our narrative gives only a summary, while it is more fully stated 2 Chr. vii. 12—16. If Solomon prayed: "that thine eyes may be open toward this house," the Lord answers, ever giving more than we ask, "mine eyes and my heart shall be there."—Vv. 4 and 5 contain the special answer to viii. 25 and 26.—V. 6—9 refer to the prayer that the curse may be averted, to which the Lord replies, if you and your children turn from me, keep not my commandments and worship other gods, this house will not protect you from the curses threatened in the law, but these will be fulfilled on you and on this temple in all their extent and rigour. This threatening adheres most minutely in form of expression to the Pentateuch, with v. 7 comp. Deut. xxviii. 37, 45, 63.—In vv. 8 and 9 is the curse pronounced upon Israel, Deut. xxix. 22, 24—26 transferred to the temple. The

words, "this house will be high," for which stand in 2 Chr. vii. 21, "this house, which was high," have been variously misunderstood. The assumption of Seb. Schmidt, that the *fut.* stands for the *præt.* and אֲשֶׁר is to be supplied, is as objectionable as the proposal of Cler. and Dathe to amend the text of our author from Chronicles, as is actually done in *Cod.* 66 in Kennicott. The correctness of our text is proved by the old versions. LXX. render literally, ὁ οἶκος οὗτος ἔσται ὁ ὑψηλός; the *Vulg.* explains: *domus hæc erit in exemplum;* the Syr. and Arab. "this house will be destroyed," while the Chald. "this house, which was high, will be destroyed, has explained it according to 2 Chr. vii. 21, but so as to show that it had our text before it.[1] The sense is, this house will remain high, that is, be a conspicuous example of punishment. The temple was situated on a high hill, and if it be destroyed, this example of Divine punishment will meet the eyes of every passer by (J. D. Mich.) There is probably in עֶלְיוֹן an allusion to Deut. xxvi. 19 and xxviii. 1. Here God promises to make Israel high (עֶלְיוֹן) above all nations. This blessing is to be changed into a curse; the temple, which was high and far-famed, is to be and remain high but in an opposite sense.[2]

Vv. 10—24. In this section the Shemitic mode of composing history, by collecting excerpts from antecedent documents, is presented in a very clear light. Here unquestionably all is to

[1] Inadmissible are also all explanations, which have recourse to ellipses, as that of Jarchi: *erit excelsa omni sc. tempore quo non peccaveritis, ast quando peccabitis, omnis qui transibit etc.*—of Vatabl. and others.

[2] The deviating text of Chronicles leads to the assumption of such a play on words. For to derive this deviation from a misunderstanding of our text can satisfy no sensible critic; still less can it be an explanatory paraphrase for obviating all possible misunderstanding; for had the writer wished to explain, he would certainly have explained as the Chald., Syr., Arab., and *Vulg.* have done. J. D. Mich. was on the track of the correct explanation of this deviation, when he remarked that the original text had been, "This temple, which has been so conspicuous, will be a conspicuous example of punishment;" only he is mistaken when he adds, that something has fallen out of both texts. Rather the complete text stood from the beginning neither in our verse nor in Chronicles, but in the larger source employed by both, from which each in his own way made an imperfect excerpt.

be put together, which was yet to be related concerning Solomon's buildings, especially the fortification of a great number of cities in his wide dominions and every thing connected with this; but this statement is not only very incomplete, but appears also at first view quite unarranged. Only on a thorough examination into the matter a principle of arrangement is here also discovered. Our author, to wit, arranges his materials according to the means which enabled Solomon to execute so many works.[1] These means were *(a)* the supply of building materials on the part of Hiram, *(b)* the socagers, whom he levied from his territories. But in the description of these means is inserted the account of the cities built and fortified, and the supply on the part of Hiram is only parenthetically (v. 11) introduced, because it had been already (v.) related, and even the account of the cities which Solomon wished to present to Hiram, is imperfectly given. Considered as a section in themselves, vv. 10—14 want a conclusion; for v. 14, which, as it furnishes a supplementary explanation to v. 11, necessarily belongs to it, has not the form of a conclusion. More must therefore have been found in the source from which these notices are taken. Now Chronicles comes in to supply the statement, that Hiram gave cities to Solomon, which the latter built and caused Israelites to dwell in them (2 Chr. viii. 1, 2), that is, the cities given to him as a present by Solomon, because they did not please him, he returned them, on which Solomon built them and peopled them with Israelites.[2] This places the connexion of our section with the buildings of Solomon in a much clearer light.

Vv. 10—13. With regard to the construction of vv. 10 and 11, the first half of v. 11 is to be taken as a parenthesis, as the conclusion to וַיִּבֶן v. 10, begins with אָז יִתֵּן. The statement, that Solomon (contrary to the Mosaic law) should have given a

[1] In Chronicles the arrangement is simple, as in the first place the buildings are enumerated (2, viii. 1—6), and then an account is given of the socagers.

[2] That the brief account of Chronicles (2, viii. 2), "And the cities which Hiram had given to Solomon, Solomon built them, and caused the children of Israel to dwell there," is to be reconciled with our narrative in the above-mentioned way, has been observed among others by the ingenious Geographer C. Ritter, die Erdkunde ii. p. 384, see my apolog. Vers. p. 221 f.

part of the land bestowed by Jehovah on the people of Israel to the heathen king Hiram, has been the cause of much scruple to the old interpreters, so that *Serarius, C. a Lap.*, and others assumed, that he had merely resigned to him the use of it, until he should be able to refund the expenses incurred for him. But nothing of this is in the text. Grotius, on the contrary, affirms the opinion, that they were cities conquered in war, of which the king had the free disposal. But this also is an unfounded conjecture by which that scruple derived from the law (Lev. xxv. 13 ff.) is not at all set aside. For if these cities lay within the boundaries assigned to the Israelites by Moses, they were still according to the law inalienable, even if the Israelites were unable to conquer or keep them, until David, who waged many successful wars against the Syrians, annexed them to the territory of Israel. The bestowment of these cities on Hiram can only be reconciled with Solomon's theocratic feeling by the supposition, that they were inhabited not by Israelites but by heathen. But this is not only evident from this, that Solomon first peopled them with Israelites, after he had built them (2 Chr. viii. 2), but is rendered probable from other considerations. The cities were in the land of כַּבּוֹל. Galil denotes, not indeed the whole extent of the later province of Galilee, but yet a part, and that the northern part of it, as appears from this, that the Kadesh belonging to the tribe of Naphtali (Jos. xx. 7, 21, 32; 1 Chr. vi. 61) is distinguished by the addition בַּגָּלִיל from the Kadesh in the south of Palestine. The passages 2 Ki. xv. 29 and Is. viii. 23 show still more clearly, that Galil included in it the northern part of the tribe of Naphtali (comp. Gesen. and Hitzig on Is. viii. 23), and the designation of this Galil as גְּלִיל הַגּוֹיִם by Isaiah, proves at the same time that this district was mostly inhabited by the heathen. Probably the Israelites had partly not quite conquered it, partly very soon lost it again, although it was assigned to the tribe of Naphtali. For here lay for example Hazor, the residence of the Canaanitish king Jabin, that was certainly taken and burned (Jos. xi. 10—13), but yet in the early times of the period of the Judges was again in the possession of a king Jabin, whose general Sisera dwelt in the neighbouring Harosheth of the *Gentiles* (Judg. iv. 2, 13.)—The

cities of this district were probably in a very unfavourable condition, on which account they did not please Hiram, so that he called them contemptuously the land of Cabul. Gesen. (*thes.* ii. 656) concludes on good grounds from the connexion of our passage, that Cabul is a name of contempt.[1] But his explanation is doubtful. Among the different opinions enumerated by Gesen. *l.c.* the explanation proposed by Hiller in the *Onomast. V. T. p.* 435 and adopted by Reland, Gesen., and Maurer, namely, that it is contracted from כְּהַבּוּל *sicut id quod evanuit tanquam nihil*, has still the greatest probability, whereas other explanations attempted from the *rad.* כָּבַל *vinxit, constrinxit*, for example that of Cocceius, a land which fettered its inhabitants as slaves through hard labour, or that current among the Rabbins, a miry or clayey land in which the foot sinks and is held fast (comp. Rashi *ad h. l.* and Fürst, *Concord. p.* 541), are much too artificial and far-fetched, and that of the Rabbins can scarcely be reconciled with the natural character of this region, as the soil here is particularly mountainous and hilly, and towards Safed of a volcanic nature (comp. Robins. Pal. iii. p. 637 ff.), but swampy land is only found about the sea of Merom.

V. 14. The statement here appended, as already remarked, by way of supplement for the explanation of וּבַזָּהָב, namely, that Hiram gave Solomon 120 talents of gold, must appear very surprising, if we consider Solomon's great wealth and his large annual income in gold. J. D. Mich. therefore not improbably conjectures, that this gold was not raw but wrought. If we do not assume this, we shall be compelled to suppose, that Hiram presented this inconsiderable sum compared with Solomon's wealth in gold for some special purpose.

V. 15 ff. The other means, by which Solomon was enabled to raise so many buildings, consisted in this, that he levied the remnant of the old Canaanitish population still dwelling in his territory for socagers. זֶה דְּבַר־הַמַּס is thus connected with the

[1] A place Cabul occurs indeed, Jos. xix. 27, on the borders of Asher. But as its situation cannot be determined with certainty, nothing can be gathered from it for the explanation of this passage, even though it should be identified with the town of this name mentioned by Edrisi and belonging to the eparchy of Safed (comp. *Rosenmülleri Anal. arab. iii. p.* 41.)

socagers. But before this connection itself is stated, the author enumerates the buildings, vv. 15—19.—הַמִּלּוֹא the entrenchment, the castle (comp. Gesen. *thes. ii.* 789), which David already built (2 Sam. v. 9) and which was situated, according to this passage and 1 Chr. xi. 8, on Mount Zion, and according to xi. 27, 2 Chr. xxxii. 5, on the wall enclosing Zion. We know nothing farther of it, comp. Lightfoot *Opp.* ii. p. 189 and Hamelsv. bibl. Geogr. ii. p. 46 f.—*The walls of Jerusalem.* David also appears to have built at these (2 Sam. v. 9; 1 Chr. xi. 8.) According to xi. 27, Solomon closed the breaches of the city of David; the building of Solomon therefore consisted either in the repair of the walls surrounding Zion, or, as in our verse the walls of Jerusalem, not of the city of David merely, are named, in building at the same time a fortified wall round the lower city, and either, as Hamelsv. i. p. q. p. 50 supposes, enclosing the temple-mount within the city wall, or at least joining the fortified temple-mount to the wall of the upper city. חָצֹר Hazor, an old Canaanitish royal city, not far from Kadesh, situated according to Josephus above the sea of Merom, and attached to the tribe of Naphtali, comp. Rosenm. bibl. Alterthk. ii. 2, p. 55, and v. Raumer Pal. p. 126. It belonged evidently to the twenty cities, which Solomon wished to cede to Hiram, and was, on account of the importance of its situation on the northern boundary of Palestine, fortified by Solomon. This also explains why it is not expressly mentioned in the parallel passage of Chronicles, because it was already included under the cities not accepted by Hiram and then built by Solomon.—Concerning Megiddo comp. iv. 12.—גֶּזֶר *Γαζέρ* or *Γαζηρά*, an old Canaanitish royal city on the western border of Ephraim, assigned to the Levites, but possessed by the Canaanites, until Pharaoh took and burned it, slew its inhabitants and then gave the city as a dowry to his daughter who was married to Solomon, on which Solomon rebuilt and probably fortified it, comp. Rosenm. i. p. q. p. 194 f. Its site has not yet been discovered, but it cannot, as v. Raumer, Pal. p. 188 f. conjectures, have been situated near Joppa on the way from Joppa to Ramleh, but must be sought for between Beth-horon and Lydda, north of the straight way between these two places, as it lay, according to Eusebius, four Roman miles

north of Nicopolis.—V. 17. Beth-horon the lower or nether. According to 2 Chr. viii. 5 Solomon also fortified upper Beth-horon. Both places exist at the present day under the somewhat corrupted names of Beit Ur et Tahta and el Foka, with remains of the old walls and foundations stones, and lie scarcely an hour asunder on the way from Joppa to Gibeon and Jerusalem, only five hours or twelve Roman miles from the latter, at the foot of the mountain, nether Beth-horon westward on a small eminence, upper Beth-horon eastward on a steep projection of the mountain only to be ascended by steps, comp. Robins. Pal. iii. p. 273 ff. By this position they formed when fortified a strong banner against every enemy marching from Joppa to Jerusalem.

V. 18. בַּעֲלַת Baalath is identified by Iken (*dissert. phil. theol.* i. p. 249), Michaelis (*Suppl. ad lex. Hebr.* i. p. 199), and Rosenm. (bibl. Althk. i. 2 p. 281) with Baalgad or Heliopolis in in Coelesyria, that is, Baalbek, of which there are still splendid ruins, but without sufficient grounds. For that the present inhabitants of this region ascribe the building of the city to Solomon, proves nothing from the entirely unhistorical character of such legends, and the mention of Baalath in this verse before Tadmor is counterbalanced by 2 Chr. viii. 6, where it is entirely separated from Tadmor. According to Jos. xix. 41—44, comp. with xv. 10, Baalath or Baalah, which is there distinguished from Baalgad (Jos. xi. 17, xii. 7, xiii. 5), lay on the borders of Judah and Dan, west of Ekron, and belonged to Dan (comp. Robins. Pal. iii. p. 226 not. 5), in accordance with which Josephus testifies (*Antiq.* viii. 6, 1), that it was not far from Beth-horon and Gezer.—תמר according to the Kethibh, that is, Palm, city of palms, in 2 Chr. ix. 4 תַּדְמֹר, called by the Arabs of the present day تدمر or تدمر *locus palmarum ferax*—is Palmyra of the Greeks and Romans, situated between Damascus and the Euphrates in a fruitful region enclosing it around from the sandy desert (therefore Tadmor in the wilderness), the ruins of which, particularly of an enormous temple of the sun, which outshine in architectural beauty, art, and magnitude all the antiquities of Greece and Italy, have been extant from the times of Diocletian, and were first copied and described by R. Wood, The Ruins of

Palmyra, Lond. 1753, on which the present Tadmor, a cluster of farm-houses, is built, comp. Rosenm. bibl. Althk. i. 2 p. 275. —According to Arabic legends (comp. *Schultens ind. geogr.* to the *vita Saladini* under *Tadmor*), the city existed before Solomon, and was therefore only rebuilt, embellished, and perhaps fortified by him as a barrier against the conquerors of Upper Asia. בַּמִּדְבָּר after בָּאָרֶץ creates a great difficulty. What is the meaning of Tadmor in the wilderness in the land? J. D. Mich. therefore conjectured, that the name of the land, in which Palmyra lay, might have fallen out, and Cler. supplied *Aramæa*. Against this, however, stands the consideration, that all the old translators had our present text before them, and endeavoured by possibility to explain it. The most probable opinion is that proposed by *Tremellius*, that by בָּאָרֶץ the cities before mentioned are designated as situated *in regno Salomonis et intra fines a Deo designatos*. We obtain this meaning by connecting בארץ with וַיִּבֶן v. 17; he built them in the land, that is, in his own land, and thus it forms a parallel to בְּכֹל אֶרֶץ מֶמְשַׁלְתּוֹ v. 19.[1]

[1] Movers (Krit. Unters. p. 210) explains בָּאָרֶץ in a peculiar manner. Setting out with the assumption, that תמר is not Palmyra, but Hazezon-Tamar or En-gedi, which is named תָּמָר in Ezek. xlvii. 19, xlviii. 28, and that תַּדְמֹר (Chron.) signifies the same city En-gedi, he finds the proof of this opinion in בארץ, since Tamar is distinguished by this addition as a city lying in the land, that is, inland, from the Syrian Tadmor or Palmyra. But there is no ground for this proof. For in the first place it is not decided, that תָּמָר in Ezek. is certainly En-gedi, since others understand by it either Jericho or Tamar, a military post mentioned by Eusebius not far from the south point of the Dead Sea (comp. Hävern. Comm. on Ezek. p. 738); and the assertion of Movers, that En-gedi is called also Tadmor by the Talmudists, is destitute of all ground, as the Rabbinical passages cited by him in *Lightf. Chorogr. Matth. præm.* c.vi., neither assert nor by any means imply this. Finally the Tadmor built by Solomon, according to 2 Chr. viii. 3, 4, lay in the region of Hamath Zobah. And even if with Movers, p. 209, we were to charge the writer with error, yet by בַּמִּדְבָּר בָּאָרֶץ Tadmor cannot possibly be distinguished as a city situated in the wilderness of Judah on the Dead Sea in opposition to the Syrian Tadmor, because Solomon, according to Chronicles, not merely possessed a part of the territory of Zobah and Hamath, and

V. 19. Beside the cities named, Solomon built also עָרֵי מִסְכְּנוֹת magazine-cities, fortresses, in which were deposited provisions for the army (2 Chr. xvii. 12, xxxii. 28), as Pharaoh built in Goshen by means of the Israelites (Ex. i. 11, and Hengstenb. d. BB. Mos. and Asg. p. 45 f.), and עָרֵי הָרֶכֶב cities for the war-chariots and horses, comp. v. 6. The latter are perhaps identical in part with the magazine-cities, and several of them might have been situated on the northern boundary of his kingdom in the region of Hamath, and on Lebanon, as must be inferred partly from the importance of the north border for the security of the whole kingdom, partly from the fact that Solomon had an adversary in Rezon of Damascus (xi. 23), who might easily excite to rebellion the northern provinces which were first incorporated into the kingdom by David, and partly from the express statement of 2 Chr. xvi. 4, according to which there were magazine-cities in the land of Naphtali.

Vv. 20—23. Comp. v. 27—30 עֲבָדִים v. 22 servants of the kings. שָׂרִים are military and civil officers. שָׁלִישִׁים *τριστάται* royal satellites. According to etymology שָׁלֹשׁ signifies the third either in rank or in some other respect. According to Gesen. (*lex. man.*) it denotes originally the chariot-warriors (three in each chariot), then the royal guards. This opinion approved also by Thenius on 2 Sam. xxiii. 8 is founded partly on the passages Ex. xiv. 7, and xv. 4, partly on the fact that the writers of *catenae*, as Origen testifies, thus explain the Greek *τριστάτης*, but the Glossator in the *Octateuch.* (see Schleussner *lex. in LXX. tom.* v. *p.* 338) explains *τριστάτας* by *τοὺς παρὰ χεῖρα τοῦ βασιλέως ἀριστερὰν τρίτης μοίρας ἄρχοντας*. Similarly *Hieron. ad Ezech.* 23: *nomen est secundi gradus post regiam dignitatem.* Comp. also Bochart, *Hieroz.* i. *p.* 172. By this the testimony of the author of the *catena* is completely neutralized, especially as it is at most only a probable inference from Ex. xiv. 5. For here it is said of the war-chariots of Pharaoh

established garrisons in it, but, according to 1 Ki. v. 4, his territory extended to Thapsacus on the Euphrates, and therefore the Syrian Tadmor or Palmyra in the wilderness actually lay in the land, that is, in the land under his sway, and, according to ix. 16, he erected buildings on Lebanon, and in all the land of his dominion.

שְׁלִישִׁם עַל כֻּלּוֹ, which Gesen. explains: chariot-warriors were upon each; but it may also mean, royal guards or satellites on each. The *Sing.* הַשָּׁלִישׁ denotes in all the places, where it occurs, the royal adjutant, comp. 2 Ki. vii. 2, 17, 19, and xv. 25 (Pekah, the Shalish of Pekahiah, who rebelled against him), where neither chariot-warriors nor charioteers (as de Wette everywhere renders the word) can be understood. In ix. 25 also שָׁלִישׁ is not chariot-warrior but adjutant of the king. The *plur.* שָׁלִישִׁים occurs 2 Ki. x. 25 in connection with הָרָצִים of the royal body-guards, and thus denotes royal satellites, as in 2 Sam. xxiii. 8; 1 Chr. xi. 11, and xii. 8. Chariot combatants cannot be intended here, because David employed no chariots in his wars, and preserved only a hundred even of the war-chariots taken from the Syrians, and consequently could have no corps of chariot-warriors. Finally also in Ezek. xxiii. 15 and 23, שָׁלִישִׁים denotes only a choice band of warriors. After all we must understand the word in Ex. xiv. 7, and xv. 4, also of the guard of Pharaoh, especially as the old Pharaohs had a guard (comp. Hengstenb. die BB. Mos. und Aeg. p. 132 f.), and their war chariots were very small and light, so that they could scarcely hold three men, comp. Rosellini in Hengstenb. i. p. q. p. 131, and our remarks on v. 6.[1]

Vv. 24 and 25 contain two notices that appear to be appended in this place in quite a superfluous and arbitrary manner, but yet are inserted here not without plan and design. They stand namely in reference to iii. 1—4, and show how Solomon after the completion of his buildings remedied the defects which existed in the beginning of his reign, comp. the remarks on iii. 1. These verses thus form the full and suitable close to the section treating of Solomon's buildings.

Vv. 26—28. Solomon also built a fleet (אֳנִי fleet, not ship, comp. Gesen. *thes.* i. 124) at Ezion-geber beside Eloth, on the northern point of the Red Sea, and sent his servants with the skilful Tyrian mariners to Ophir, from which they brought

[1] Thenius (die BB. Sam. p. 247) explains our verse in a very modern and arbitrary manner, when he understands by עבדים lieutenants, שׂרים captains, שלישים majors, and שׂרי הרכב and שׂרי הפרשים colonels.

yearly 420 or 450 talents of gold, and according to x. 11 sandal wood and precious stones. On this subject compare my "Untersuchung über die Hiram-Salomonische Schiffahrt, Dorpat, 1834," the first section of which on the navigation to Ophir is also printed in the Dorpater Beitr. zu d. theol. Wissensch. vol. ii. p. 233 ff. Here I have shown at large that Ophir is not to be sought in India or the east coast of Africa, but lay in the southern part of Arabia, with which view most learned men now agree, comp. Gesen. *(thes.* i. 141 sqq.), Winer (bibl. R.W. ii. p. 215 ff.), and Tuch in the review of my work (Hall. A. L. Z. 1835 No. 80), who especially has farther established the diversity of Ophir from the Σουπάρα of *Ptolem.* and Ουππάρα of Arrian.[1] Concerning Ezion-geber and Eloth comp. Robins. Pal. i. p. 275—284. Of Ezion-geber no trace is to be found. But Eloth continued as a city to the twelfth or fourteenth century; since Abulfeda's time, about 1300 A.D., there exists of it only a small fort with a governor, and a small Egyptian garrison under the new name of Akaba, and heaps of rubbish still mark the place where the city once stood.

CHAPTER X.

VISIT OF THE QUEEN OF SHEBA TO JERUSALEM, VV. 1—13. SOLOMON'S RICHES, VV. 14—29.

V. 1. Concerning the country of the queen of שְׁבָא not only the old expositors, but also two nations, the Arabs and the Ethiopians contend,[2] although here the name alone decides.

[1] Junker: "The circumnavigation of Lybia by the Phenicians about the year 610—604 B.C." in the supplem. to Jahn's New Jahrbb. für Philolog. 1841 Bd. 7. H. 3, has again briefly sought Ophir in India, but this opinion is rightly again rejected, and Ophir assumed to be in Arabia, by Herm Bobrik, "the development of geography among the ancients," in the Zeitschrift für vergleich. Erdkunde of Lüdde, year i. vol. ii. P. i. p. 381.

[2] According to the legends of the Abyssinians, which are adopted by Josephus *(Antiq.* viii. 6, 5), *Corn. a Lap., Capell. (Observ.* p. 648),

שְׁבָא in the Old Testament denotes, never Meroe or Ethiopia, which is called סְבָא, but always the kingdom of the Sabæans with their capital Saba or *Mαριάβα*, a country in Arabia Felix abounding in frankincense, gold, and precious stones, the inhabitants of which were celebrated among the Hebrews and Greeks for their extensive trade in these products. See the proofs in Bochart (*Phal. ii. c.* 26), Rosenm. (bibl. Althk. iii. 174 ff.), and Gesen. (thes. iii. p. 1350.)—The fame of Solomon's great wisdom, which might have been spread abroad, according to the probable conjecture of Ephraim Syrus, by the voyages to Ophir, moved this queen to come to Jerusalem in order to be convinced by proving him with riddles of the truth of the report that had come to her ears. The difficult words, לְשֵׁם יְהוָה, cannot mean, *in nomine Jehovæ*, still less, et *nomen Jeh.* (*Tremell.*), as לְ never stands for וְ, as *Nolde Conc. partic.* asserts, and the translation *καὶ τὸ ὄνομα Κυρίου* in LXX., Syr. and Arab. rests only on a peculiar view of the words, and does not, as Dathe thinks, presuppose the reading וְשֵׁם. The literal rendering of Seb. Schmidt; *quoad nomen Jehovæ* is allowable, but the explanation *quod Jehova ipsi dedisset tantam sapientiam* is an arbitrary *quid pro quo*. Even the view adapted by Maurer and de Wette: *in gloriam Jovæ*, that is, the fame ministering to the glory of God, is scarcely contained in the words.[1] I render: "by the name of

and Grotius, this queen had a son Menihelek by Solomon, from whom the Abyssinian monarchs believe themselves descended (comp. Ludolf *hist. Aethiop.* ii. 3, and *Lobo* voyage d'Abyssinie i. p. 337 ff.) But these legends are fully counterbalanced by similar traditions of the Arabs, who call this queen Balkis, and make her a wife of Solomon, comp. Koran. Sur. 27, and Pococke *Specim. hist. Arab.* p. 60; if such legends in general could prove anything in their obviously unhistorical character. The other arguments advanced in favour of the Ethiopians, Bochart (*Phal.* ii. c. 26) has overturned with a great profusion of learning.

[1] Movers (Krit. Unters. p. 75) wishes here also again to remove the difficulty by the assumption of a gloss, in accordance with a review in Rheinwald's Repert. viii. p. 199, against which, however, the old versions, which have universally read לְשֵׁם יְהוָה, enter a protest, if Movers' reasons actually deserved the name. For he says, *(a.)* "לשם יהוה is superfluous, moreover, unsuitable and unintelligible," that is, simply because Movers did not understand it, it appears to him

the Lord," that is, belonging to it; or, "in regard to the name of the Lord." The fame of Solomon by the name of the Lord is the fame of Solomon, which so far belongs to the name of the Lord or stands in relation to it, as it was brought about by this, that the name of the Lord was attested in Solomon by the wisdom given to him.—חִידָה, riddle, is a very pointed sentence, מָשָׁל, indicating a deeper truth and leading to thought, comp. Ezek. xvii. 2, and Hävern. Comm. on Ezek. p. 207.—This wisdom, couched in apophthegms and riddles, in which Solomon not only distinguished himself (v. 12), but according to the statement of Menander and Dius in Josephus (*Antiq.* viii. 5—3, and *c. Ap.* i. 17), had an encounter with Hiram of Tyre, was quite a familiar exercise with the Arabs. How rich Arabia is in proverbs and riddles, so that it may be regarded as their native land, is proved by the vast collections of Ali Ben Abi Taleb and Meidani,[1] which certainly proceed from modern times (Meidani

unsuitable and superfluous—a purely subjective ground by which we might strike any possible thing out of the text. *(b.)* "It has also arisen merely from writing the preceding word שְׁלֹמֹה twice only with the transposition of the ל, thus לִשְׁמֹה, while the transcriber took the ה, which is often exchanged with ו, for the usual abbreviation of the name Jehovah." But the transposition of ל and even the frequent exchange of ה with ו being granted, to which however many considerations are opposed, this assumption falls to the ground, because, *(a.)* the occurrence of such abbreviations 300 B.C., when the change must have been effected, as the LXX. read לְשֵׁם יְהוָה, is incapable of proof; *(b.)* the abbreviation of the name יְהוָה never consists of a mere ו, but of יה or יו or ויו, comp. Buxtorf. *de abbrev. hebr. p.* 5 (*edit.* ii. 1640); and lastly, *(c.)* the letters ה and ו in the old Hebrew writing, which was then in use, have too little resemblance to be readily exchanged with one another.

[1] Of the proverbs of Ali, Stickel says *(Sententiae Ali etc. Jenæ* 1834, *praef. p.* xi.) : *Siquidem tam immensus numerus est, tantaque varietas eorum ac dissimilitudo, ut inveniendis iis omnibus vel solertissimum ingenium unius hominis impar sit habendum, nec possint nisi per conjunctam universae cujusdam nationis sapientiam e diuturna ac multiplici vitæ experientia haustam et per commune diversissimorum hominum acumen producta esse.*—J. Theod. Zenker, *biblioth. orient. fasc.* i. *(Lips.* 1840) p. 15 f. enumerates the different editions of the several parts.—The great collection of Meidani, consisting of 6000 proverbs, has been lately edited by Freytag (Bonn. 1838.) Comp. on other editions Zenker, *l. c. p.* 55.

lived in the 12th century), but retain a large amount of ancient proverbs and riddles. How deeply these proverbs were rooted in the life of the people, appears from the statement of Suyuti in the life of Aasha:[1] "the Arabs considered no one a good poet, who did not interweave his poems, whatever might be their contents, with wise sayings," and still more from the fact, that no inconsiderable part of the oldest traditions of the nation are deposited in these sayings and thereby preserved,[2] that formal encounters in wise sayings and riddles took place,[3] and that to the present day the common Arab has a proverb in his mouth for every occasion.[4] On the custom of proposing riddles, comp. Rosenm. A. u. N. Morgenl. iii. No. 464.

Vv. 2 and 3. With a great train—camels bearing the products of her land, gold, spices, and precious stones, intended for presents to Solomon—came the queen of Jerusalem, (חַיִל denotes the whole following of men [עבדיה, v. 13] and camels), and spake to him of all that she had in her heart. These words we are not with the ancients to refer to *gravissimas et sacras quæstiones*: they only denote all the discourses, by which she wished to prove the wisdom of Solomon, especially, as we are to conclude from v. 13, the questions which she proposed to him for solution. Nor are we to understand the words: "there was not any thing hid from the king, that he told her not," of the mysteries of religion and of the worship of God, but only of questions, the meaning of which lay not on the surface, but was deeply hidden; for

[1] Comp. Weil, the Poetical Literature of the Arabs before and immediately after Mohammed. Stuttg. 1837. p. 41.

[2] See *Monumenta antiquiss. historiae Arabum ed. J. G. Eichhorn, Gothae* 1775. *pag.* 14 *sqq.*

[3] Let a man only read the Makamat of Hariri distinguished by an endless profusion of puns and riddles, which is made accessible to all by the masterly German translation of Fr. Rückert.

[4] See "Arabic proverbs, or the customs and usages of the modern Egyptians explained from the (Arabic) proverbs prevalent at Cairo," translated and illustrated by J. L. Burkhardt, published by W. Ouseley, German by Kirmss, Weimar 1834.—Comp. also the "Collection of some Arabic proverbs, which are taken from sticks and staves, by Reiske," mostly extracted from Meidani, Lpz. 1758, in which among others one is given, on which Reiske remarks: "From this we may learn the wit of the Arabs and see an example of the riddles, with which the wit of the Orientals is so much occupied. The queen from the kingdom of Arabia may have proposed such to Solomon," (p. 23.)

it was not Solomon's religious character, but his wisdom, that brought her to Jerusalem.

Vv. 4, 5. הַבַּיִת is not the temple (Seb. Schm.), but the royal palace, for הבית is different from בית יהרה and the things mentioned, v. 5, point to the palace.—The meat of his table, that is, as well the varied fare, that came to the royal table (vv. 2, 3), as the costly equipage of the table (v. 21.) מוֹשַׁב עֲבָדָיו, the seat of his servants, and מַעֲמַד מְשָׁרְתָיו, the stand of his ministers, denote the places appointed in the palace for the ministers and servants of the king, which were probably wisely arranged and splendidly furnished. Seb. Schm. incorrectly explains: "the sitting of the ministers at the table," and de Wette: "the sitting of his servants and the standing of his ministers;" for מוֹשָׁב denotes only the place of sitting, not the sitting, and מַעֲמָד only the standing-place. מַלְבֻּשֵׁיהֶם, their clothing which they had from the king, and which was no doubt distinguished for its splendour. מַקְשָׁיו is mostly rendered according to the LXX.: *οἰνοχόους αὐτοῦ*, and the *Vulg. pincernas ejus*, but being named among mere things can only be understood with the Chald. שְׁקִוּיָתֵיהּ of *repotatoria*, as Gen. xl. 21, denoting not merely the drinks but the whole drinking apparatus. The writer of Chronicles has certainly understood it of drinking.—עֹלָתוֹ אֲשֶׁר יַעֲלֶה, the LXX.; Chald., Syr., *Vulg.* render; the burnt-offerings which he offered. But עֹלָה cannot have this meaning here. What could the queen of Sheba have seen to admire in the burnt-offerings? She saw also only the palace and its arrangements. עֹלָה means here *ascensus*, as in Ezek. xl. 26, עֹלוֹתָו, where 15 *Codd.* read in the *Sing.* עֹלָתוֹ, עוֹלָתוֹ. In 2 Chr. ix. 4, it is therefore correctly explained by עֲלִיָּתוֹ. No account remains of the nature of this ascent by which the king went to the house of God. From our text it can only be inferred, that it was a work of art, and from 2 Ki. xvi. 18, it appears that the king had a private entrance into the temple, which at all events is to be sought on the west side of the temple area. On this side is the gate Shallekheth, שַׁלֶכֶת in the ascending street, that is, the way going up to the temple from the ravine between Zion and Moriah, 1 Chr. xxvi. 16. The Rabbins hold this way to be identical

with the עֲלִיָּה of our passage, comp. Lightfoot *descr. templi Hieros. v.* 1 (*Opp.* i. *p.* 559), and combine the gate Shallekheth with a western gate mentioned by Josephus in the second temple (*ἡ μὲν εἰς βασίλεια τείνουσα, τῆς ἐν μέσῳ φάραγγος εἰς δίοδον ἀπειλημμένης.* *Antiq.* xv. 11, 5.)

V. 6—9. Beside herself from astonishment (לֹא הָיְתָה בָהּ עוֹד רוּחַ), she confesses to Solomon, that by the report brought to her of his affairs and his wisdom, which appeared to her incredible, she had not learned the half of that which her eyes now saw, and she not only declares his servants happy, who were able to hear his wisdom in his presence, but also praises Jehovah his God, that he, out of his everlasting love to his people Israel, had given them such a king to do judgment and justice.—This praising of Jehovah (v. 9), which presupposes faith in the true God, led the old theologians to the opinion that this queen turned to the worship of Jehovah, and conversed with Solomon on religious matters. But the remark above made with regard to Hiram finds its application here also, that a certain recognition of Jehovah as God of Israel was consistent with polytheism. How little ground there is for the notion of her conversion may be inferred from the circumstance that she never brings an offering to the temple.

Vv. 10—12. Among the presents which she brought with her is especially prominent the abundance of spices (בְּשָׂמִים), among which was certainly a quantity of real Arabic balsam, بَلَسَان, even if בֹּשֶׂם does not specially denote balsam.—V. 11. The mention of these costly presents gives occasion to the narrator to add here also, that the fleet of Ophir, besides gold, brought also precious stones and red sandal wood. On אַלְמֻגִּים, comp. my treatise on die Hiram-Salom. Schiffahrt, p. 51 ff.—Of this wood, the like of which never came to Judea afterwards, Solomon made מְסִלָּה, balustrades, or, according to 2 Chr. ix. 11 מְסִלּוֹת, stairs for the temple and his palace, and musical instruments; כִּנֹּרוֹת, *κινύραι*, *citharae*, guitar-like instruments, comp. Winer, bibl. R.W. ii. p. 174 f.; נְבָלִים, *νάβλα*, harps, comp. Winer i. p. q. i. p. 547.

V. 13. And King Solomon gave unto the Queen of Sheba all that she wished and desired, beside that which he gave her כְּיַד הַמֶּלֶךְ שְׁלֹמֹה, *pro potentia, i.e. opulentia regis*, what he otherwise presented to her after the royal manner of Solomon, that is, beside that which he must have given her as royal remuneration for the presents brought to him according to the oriental custom of sovereigns.[1]

V. 14 ff. Solomon's revenues and their expenditure. V. 14, 16. In gold, yearly, 666 talents = (1,900,875 Marks) £3,646,350, beside that which came in from the merchants, vassal-kings, and governors. תָּרִים and רֹכְלִים are merchants, but the difference between them is hard to determine. תּוּר means *circumire explorandi causa*, Num. xiii. 16, 17, and elsewhere, and רָכַל *circumire sive negotiandi, sive explorandi causa.* After the example of R. Levi, *Gussetius* understands תרים of the great merchants, רכלים of the small traders and dealers; but רֹכֵל denotes the wholesale merchant (Ezek. xxvii. 13, 15, etc.), as well as the retailer, Neh. iii. 31, 32.—תָּוּר and תָּר, except in our passage, and its parallel in Chronicles, nowhere denote a merchant; others, therefore, following the *Vulg.*, *viri qui super vectigalia erant*, have been disposed to understand it of the *publicani, qui merces in regnum invectas et redimendas inspiciebant et explorabant;* the Chald. and Syr. render it by אוּמָנַיָּא, ܐܘܡܢܐ, *artificer*, which at all events is only a conjecture. As arbitrarily Seb. Schm. explains: *exploratores metallorum in ipsis Palaestinae fodinis hic inde latitantium*, since תּוּר never means *explorare metalla.*—מַלְכֵי הָעֲרָב are vassal-kings, not, as Gesen. (Gesch. der hebr. Spr. p. 42 and *thes.* ii. 1064) with the Chald. assumes, מַלְכֵי סוּמְבָרָתָא kings of

[1] The same thought is expressed, 2 Chr. ix. 12, by the words, beside that which she had brought the king, which the Targum rightly explains, לבד די יהב לה חלופי מה דאיתיאדה לות מלכא *praeter id, quod reddidit ei mutua munera pro eis, quae attulit illa regi cf. Targ. in Chron. edid. Beck* p. 106. On the contrary Gesen. (Gesch. d. hebr. Spr. p. 42), de Wette, Einl. p. 250 (ed. 5), and others wish to find in the words of Chronicles a proof of the writer's unacquaintance with the Hebrew language, while Movers (Krit. Unters. p. 213) has recourse again to corruption of the text. Comp. Hävern. Einl. i. 1, p. 239.

auxiliary or allied nations. עֵרֶב is a mixed multitude of men, such especially as attach themselves to a nation, Ex. xii. 38, or dwell among a nation as aliens, Neh. xiii. 3, hence a multitude of hirelings, Ezek. xxx. 5, comp. Hävern. on the passage, Jer. xxv. 20, l. 37.—Accordingly מלכי הערב are kings over mixed races, and indeed particularly, according to Jer. xxv. 25, races belonging to Arabia Deserta הַשֹּׁכְנִים בַּמִּדְבָּר. In 2 Chr. ix. 14, therefore, is הָעֵרֶב is rightly explained by עֲרָב, by which is to be understood not the whole peninsula of Arabia, but *haud ita magnus terræ tractus ab oriente et austro Palestinæ (Ges. thes.* ii. 1066), comp. Hävern. on Ezek. p. 471, because all these races were tributary to Solomon.[1]—פַּחוֹת governor is of Persian origin, and is probably connected with the Sanscrit *paksha, socius, amicus,* in Pracrit *pakkha,* which in the old Persian will have been *pakha.* Comp. Benfey and Stern, die Monatsnamen p. 195.

V. 16 ff. Solomon made 500 state-shields, 200 larger or targets, צָנִים *θυρεοί, scuta,* and 300 smaller מָגִנִּים *ἀσπίδες, clypei.* As the shields of the ancients usually were (comp. Jahn, bibl. Archaeol. ii. 2, § 217, and Winer, bibl., R.W. ii. p. 482), these also were no doubt made of wood, but instead of leather were overlaid with fine gold. 600 shekels were used in the gilding of each target, and three manehs or 300 shekels for each shield, that is, 35 talents, as the shekel,= $\frac{1}{100}$-part of a maneh, is the royal shekel (2 Sam. xiv. 26), of which 6000 make a talent.[2]—These state-shields were hung up in the palace of Solomon, the house

[1] There is therefore no foundation for the charge of misunderstanding or total ignorance of Hebrew, brought against the writer of Chronicles on account of עֲרָב by Gesen. (Gesch. der hebr. Spr. p. 42), Gramberg (die Chronik p. 64), and de Wette (Einleit. p. 250.)

[2] Quite inconceivable is the conjecture of Movers (Krit. Unters. p. 90) concerning our passage and 2 Chr. ix. 15 f., when he denies the universally acknowledged fact, that in statements of weight the word שֶׁקֶל is often omitted, and 600 of gold is said for 600 shekels of gold (comp. Gesen. Lehrgeb. p. 700), and wishes to change מֵאוֹת v. 17 into מָנִים, and besides denies that שְׁלֹשֶׁת מָנִים is = שְׁלֹשׁ מֵאוֹת 2 Chr. ix. 16, which admits of no doubt, comp. Bertheau, Gesch. der Isr. p. 25 ff.

of the forest of Lebanon, but were plundered along with other treasures by the Egyptian king Shishak under Rehoboam, xiv. 26. Concerning other golden shields, comp. Winer bibl. R.W., ii. p. 483.—זָהָב שָׁחוּט. Of the different meanings proposed for שָׁחוּט that of Kimchi is the most probable; שָׁחוּט = שָׁטוּחַ *aurum diductum, i.e., quod facile ceræ instar expanditur malleove diducitur* (Fürst, *Concord. p.* 1130): for the explanation of Gesen. and Winer *aurum jugulatum, i.e., mixtum et alio metallo temperatum*, irrespective of this that Solomon would have used no alloyed but the finest possible gold for such state-shields, has no etymological ground. Then that the Arabs use the *verb.* ذبح, *jugulare*, of wine, as *jugulare Falernum Martial.* i. 19, for wine mixed with water (comp. Gesen. on Is. i. 22) proves nothing, because the wine is actually put to death, that is, robbed of its strength, by mixing with water which we are not at liberty at once to transfer to the alloying of gold, especially as the Hebrews employ not שָׁחַט but מָהַל, to cut off, for the mingling of wine.

Vv. 18—20. Solomon's great throne of ivory overlaid with gold. כִּסֵּא-שֵׁן is not a throne made entirely of ivory, but according to the analogy of הֵיכְלֵי שֵׁן Ps. xlv. 9, בֵּית הַשֵּׁן 1 Ki. xxii. 39, בָּתֵּי הַשֵּׁן Am. iii. 15, מִטּוֹת שֵׁן Am. vi. 4, a throne veneered with ivory. The gilding is to be so understood, that only the wood and other metals are covered with gold, and the ivory is inserted within the gilded parts. (מוּפָז *aurum depuratum, i.e., praestantissimum*, comp. *Gesen. thes.* ii. 1096 and *Fürstii Concord. p.* 895.) To the throne were six steps, the back above was rounded,[1] and there were arms on both sides of the seat (מְקוֹם הַשֶּׁבֶת), beside which stood two lions (probably of cast metal gilt. Besides, on both sides stood lions, two on every step.

[1] Instead of the curved back (רֹאשׁ עָגֹל) a golden footstool (כֶּבֶשׁ בָּזָהָב) is mentioned 2 Chr. ix. 18, which was fastened with the steps to the throne (the *plur.* מְאֻחָזִים refers to כֶּבֶשׁ and מַעֲלוֹת). Movers (Krit. Unters. p. 214) here also cuts the knot, as he proposes to trace the deviation to an error in transcription; for the words have no resemblance whatever, on account of which they could be exchanged for one another.

The lions were emblems of sovereignty. But the whole throne was a work of such splendour, that the historian remarks, that the like was not made in any kingdom.[1]

V. 21 f. All the drinking cups and vessels also in the forest-house of Lebanon were of the finest gold,[2] not of silver, because this was of no account; as Solomon had also a fleet of Tarshish at sea, which, sailing with the fleet of Hiram, returned once every three years laden with gold, silver, and other valuables.[3] בַּיָּם means on the Mediterranean Sea; הַיָּם never denotes the Red Sea, on which J. D. Michaelis founds the hypothesis, that the fleet circumnavigated Africa.—Tarshish is not to be sought

[1] In modern times certainly thrones are found, which are much more magnificent, comp. Rosenm. A. u. N. Morgenl. iii. p. 176 ff., where such are described.

[2] Harmer in Rosenm. i. p. q. p. 179 f. reports similar luxury of the modern Persian kings.

[3] Bredow (Untersuch. über einzelne Gegenstände der alten Gesch. Geogr. u. Chronol. ii. p. 252 ff.) has on very insufficient grounds identified the navigation to Tarshish with that to Ophir, of which mention is made v. 11 and ix. 26 f., whereas not only the name fleet of Tarshish speaks for the difference of the two, but also the length of the voyage was different,—the voyages to Ophir were made yearly, the fleet of Tarshish made only one voyage in three years,—and lastly, with the exception of gold, the fleet of Tarshish brought quite different commodities from those of Ophir, among the metals namely silver was the chief article, as appears from the mention of the Tarshish trade precisely in this connexion, whereas Arabia, where Ophir lay, had no silver, and therefore only by the voyages to Tartessus, which was rich in silver, could this metal become so common that it was of no account, or, according to the hyperbolical expression, was made as common as stones. See the farther discussion of this point in my treatise über die Hiram-Salom. Schiffahrt p. 32—36 and 71 ff. We might therefore wonder how so uncritical a work as that of Bredow could find so general acceptance among theologians (Gesen., Winer, de Wette, Gramb., Movers, etc.), were it not explained by a very uncritical motive, namely, that another reason might be found for the suspicion entertained by de Wette from dogmatical prejudices against Chronicles, which explains אֳנִיּוֹת הֹלְכוֹת תַּרְשִׁישׁ by אֳנִיּוֹת תַּרְשִׁישׁ (2 Chr. ix. 21.) Therefore still even now, after Movers has assented to the opposite party in his half defence of Chronicles, p. 254, not only de Wette (Einl. p. 250), but also Winer (bibl. R.W. ii., p. 702 f.) and Tuch (Hall. A. L. Z. 1835. No. 80) maintain this view, without refuting the grounds, which I have adduced in my treatise on this navigation, p. 71—106.

in India or Cilicia, but is the old celebrated Phœnician colony Tartessus in Spain.[1] To this agree also the products, which this fleet brought, beside gold and silver, in which all Spain abounded in ancient times (*Metallis plumbi, ferri, aeris*, argenti, auri *tota ferme Hispania scatet, Plin. hist. nat.* iii. 3, comp. also the many testimonies of the ancients to the abundance of silver in Spain in *Bocharti Phal. p.* 169 *sq.*), קוֹפִים, שֵׁנְהַבִּים and תֻּכִּיִּים, according to the current explanation, ivory, apes, and peacocks.[2]—שנהבים the Syr. and Arab. render by elephants, but LXX. ὀδοντες ἐλεφάντινοι, *Vulg. ebur*, and most expositors follow them. The word is unquestionably compounded of שֵׁן, *tooth*, generally used in the Old Testament for ivory, and הַבִּים, which, however, is not connected with the Sanscrit *ibhas*, elephant,[3] but is formed from the Coptic EBOY, *elephas*, with the *art.* הַ, and denotes elephant's teeth, comp. Lassen Ztschr. f. d. Kunde des Morgenl. iv. 1, p. 13.—קוֹפִים denotes, according to the old versions and the Rabbins, apes, and is probably connected with κῆπος, κῆβος, κεῖπος, *cephus*, a kind of longtailed ape, perhaps also with the Sanscrit *kapi*, without, however, being entitled to conclude with

[1] This is now universally acknowledged, and the hypothesis of Movers (Kölln. Zeitschr. für Theol. u. Philos. vol. xviii. p. 107), that תַּרְשִׁישׁ denotes partly *Thasus*, an island near Samothrace, partly *Tharsis* in Cyprus, has been rightly rejected as groundless by Winer i. p. q.

[2] How these products might all be brought by the fleet trading to Tartessus I have shown in my often cited treatise, p. 90 ff. What Spain itself had not might be purchased during the voyage out or back on the north coast of Africa, as this according to Strabo *l.* xvii. 5, Herodot. *l.* iv. 191 and 194, and Diodor. Sic. xx. 58, etc., was not only rich in elephants and apes, but in Lybia, as according to Herod. *l.* ii. 32, a great part of the African coast on the Mediterranean is called, peacocks also were to be found, and indeed were considered holy, comp. *Eustathius comm. in Iliad* xxii. *(tom.* iv. p. 225 *ed. Lips.)*

[3] Ag. Benary (Berl. Jahrb. f. wissensch. Krit. 1831 May, No. 96), has urged this connexion in favour of the hypothesis, that the Tarshish fleet traded to India. But it is decidedly against the derivation from the Indian that the elephant in all other Shemitic dialects and even in the Persian is called phil or pil; had the Hebrews therefore received the ivory from India, it would certainly have been by means of the mercantile Sabaeans, and we should either find Shenhabbim among the Arabs, or the Hebrews would have received the name phil for elephant along with the teeth of this animal.

Gesèn. (thes. iii. p. 1208), that the Greeks and Shemites received the name with the animal from the Indians. For according to all testimonies of the ancients (see my treatise ü. die Hiram. Salom. Schiffahrt, p. 96), the native country of the κῆπποι is not India, but Ethiopia, and the Arabs, who are also Shemites, call the ape usually קֹרְד, and have besides twelve terms for the different sorts or kinds of this animal, but not one has the slightest resemblance to *koph* or *kapi*.—תֻּכִּיִּים is usually explained according to the old versions by peacocks; others, however, understand also a kind of ape, but without any good ground. The word probably denotes *aves Numidicae*, a choice delicacy of the later Romans, which comes from *Tucca*, a town of Mauretania and Numidia.[1]

In vv. 23—25 all is comprised which was still to be related concerning the wisdom, riches, and revenues of Solomon.—Vv. 23 and 24 refer to vv. 9—14.—Attracted by his wisdom strangers year by year came and brought as presents gold and silver vessels, garments, armour, spices, horses and mules. V. 26 is only a repetition of v. 6, comp. also ix. 19. Vv. 26—29 stand word for word in 1 Chr. i. 14—18. On v. 27 comp. the remarks on v. 21, and what is said of the immense accumulation of cedars in Jerusalem finds its explication in the numerous buildings of Solomon. שִׁקְמִים, *sycomori*, mulberry trees. These have now become rare in Palestine, and grow in numbers only in Egypt about Cairo, but were anciently so common in the low grounds of Palestine, that the Israelites used them as common building

[1] See the farther demonstration in my oft-cited treatise, p. 104 ff. The Reviewer of it in the Jena L. Z. 1836. No. 194 p. 110 remarks, "that even in Spain itself, especially in *Hispania Baetica*, among the Turduli, the descendants of the Phenicians there, a town *Tucci* (*Ptol.* ii. *Plin. h. n.* 1), or, (according to Strabo iii. 141), *Tuccis* was found, from which the תֻּכִּיִּים might naturally have received their name." This is possible, but we must not on this account give up the attempt to assign the meaning of תֻּכִּיִּים. In favour of the usual interpretation of the word Ag. Benary i. p. q., and Gesen. in the *Lex. man.* urge the resemblance of תֻּכִּיִּים to the Malabaric togeï, peacock, mentioned by Adelung in the Mithridates, but this supposed togeï is not yet itself sufficiently ascertained, comp. Lassen i. p. q. p. 29.

timber; comp. Is. ix. 9, on which Theodoret remarks: τούτων (συκαμίνων) ἡ Παλαιστίνη πεπλήρωται. Comp. in general Warnekros, *histor. natur. Sycomori* in Eichhorn's Repertor. Bd. ii. p. 224 f., especially p. 232 f. and Winer bibl. R.W. ii. p. 75 ff.—The sycamore-forests in the low lands of Judah (בַּשְּׁפֵלָה) were moreover, according to 1 Chr. xxvii. 28, royal domains.

Vv. 28, 29. The understanding of these not very easy verses, concerning which the old expositors formed many guesses and conjectures (comp. Bochart. *hieroz.* i. *p.* 170 *sq.*, Beck, *paraphr. chald. libr. Chron.* ii. 7 *sq.* and *Lud. de Dieu, crit. sacr. p.* 76), depends on the meaning of the word מִקְוֵה, which some explain of fine linen, *byssus* (for example Seb. Schm., Cleric., etc.), others have considered the name of a country or town *Koa* (Chald., Jerome, Vulg., J. D. Mich., *Supplem. p.* 1271, and Mos. Recht iii. p. 331 ff., lastly Maurer), and others still have understood by it a tax. (So Dathe and Tychsen *de commerc. et navigat. Hebr.* in the *Commentat. Gotting. Vol.* xvi. *p.* 156.) The right sense has been made out by Gesen. (*thes.* iii. 1202), who, retaining here also the meaning of מִקְוֵה, ascertained from other passages, namely, *confluxus, congregatio* (comp. Gen. i. 10; Ex. vii. 19; Lev. xi. 36), v. 28 renders: *Adducebantur autem equi Salomonis ex Aegypto et agmen mercatorum regiorum petebant agmen (equorum) pretio certo* (a troop of royal merchants always fetched a troop of horses at a fixed price.) This exposition certainly connects מקוה with סֹחֲרֵי, contrary to the accents, but is justly to be preferred to the Masoretic interpunction,[1] as this is obviously connected with the erroneous explanation of מקוה by fine linen or tribute.—The first words of the verse, וּמוֹצָא . . . מִמִּצְרַיִם are *nominat. absol.* "As to the bringing of the horses of Solomon out of Egypt." מוֹצָא is here the manner and way of exit, the removal, export, not the place of exit, as Hengstenb. Christol. iii. p. 301 assumes.—The transport took

[1] Böttcher (Proben p. 170) has certainly endeavoured to explain the words according to the Hebrew accents, but his rendering and interpretation: "and a troop the king's merchants fetched, a troop at a price, that is, the king's traders fetched troop by troop always at a definite price; the horses were in every delivery fetched and counted," is too forced and unnatural to meet with general acceptance.

place in large troops like caravans, as the merchants in the East at the present day travel with their wares from place to place. They may also have been very numerous, as these merchants provided horses not only for Solomon but also for the Hittite and Syrian kings.[1] The price was a low one, 150 shekels for a horse, that is, reckoned according to the royal shekel, £8 or £9, and 600 shekels, about £35, for a chariot. מֶרְכָּבָה denotes here not the war chariot by itself, but as רֶכֶב, 2 Sam. viii. 4, 10, 18; Ezek. xxxix. 20, the chariot with the team of horses belonging to it,[2] probably three horses (comp. remarks on v. 6), not *quadriga* (Cler., Seb. Schm., etc.), as the conclusion that if a horse cost 150 shekels, a four-horse chariot would be got for 600, is by no means certain. מַלְכֵי הַחִתִּים are Canaanitish kings in general; חִתִּים stands here in the wider sense for Canaanites, as Jos. i. 4, 2 Ki. vii. 6, and Ezek. xvi. 3, comp. Gesen. *thes.* i. 541, and Hengstenb. Beitr. iii. p. 275 f. The Hittite and Syrian kings, who obtained horses from Egypt through the merchants of Solomon, were partly at least the vassals of Solomon, as his sovereignty extended over all the Canaanites, except the Phenicians, and over a part of Syria.

[1] This trade proves the great wealth of Egypt in horses, which is attested not only by the biblical accounts, as in the Pentateuch, according to which horses held the first place among the live stock of the Egyptians, Gen. xlvii. 17; Ex. ix. 3; Deut. xvii. 16, comp. Hengstenb. d. BB. Mos. u. Aeg. p. 4, and in the other books, according to which a large number of horse and merchants were always found in the Egyptian armies, Ex. xiv. 6, 7, 9, xv. 1; 2 Chr. xii. 3; 2 Ki. xviii. 24; Is. xxxi. 1, 3; Jer. xlvi. 4, 9; Ezek. xvii. 15, but also by the monuments, comp. Wilkinson in Hengstenb. i. p. q. p. 4, and the accounts of the Greeks and Romans. (See them collected in Bochart's *Hieroz.* i. p. 169 f.)

[2] Ἅρμα and *currus* also are used in this sense, comp. Gesen. *thes. s. v.* רֶכֶב and Winer *lexic. s. v.*

CHAPTER XI.

SOLOMON'S POLYGAMY AND IDOLATRY, VV. 1—13; HIS ADVERSARIES, VV. 14—40. HIS DEATH, VV. 41—43.

The idolatry, into which Solomon fell in his advanced age, appears, in so wise and god-fearing a king as Solomon proved himself to be in the dedication of the temple, so surprising, that many have conceived it impossible to reconcile the two things, and have either declared Solomon's idolatry psychologically impossible (Jarchi, Abarb., Heidegger, *dissert. sel.* ii. p. 255 sq., and especially Justi, On Solomon's supposed idolatry in Eichhorn's Repert. xvi. p. 120 ff.), or from this idolatry drawn the the conclusion, that Solomon could have had no such clear knowledge of God as traditional history ascribes to him (Gramberg. Religionsid. i. p. 502, Vatke, d. Relig. d. A. T. p. 309, 361.) "But against so violent a solution of the contradiction it is sufficient to intimate, that there are men in history of no less consequence, who were apostates." Thus Br. Bauer. d. Relig. d. A. T. ii. p. 210 justly replies to this averment, although we cannot adopt his farther explanation of the matter, because it rests on a philosophical construction of history, which we hold to be incorrect. In the first place as to the grounds, on which Justi endeavours to prove the impossibility of Solomon becoming an idolater, collectively taken they come to the following reasoning. "Solomon, the son of the most fervent and devout worshipper of the true God, the model and as it were standard of the pure worship of God for all future kings of Israel, and educated by him and the prophet Nathan, at the same time the wisest man of his age, this wise man, who, moreover, as a naturalist, so earnestly contemplated and studied the works of the Creator, an idolater! How is this credible? In so exalted wisdom the folly of idolatry is inconceivable!" Here three things are urged, descent from a pious father, religious education, and great wisdom. But the two former prove nothing, as experience knows a thousand cases where the children of pious parents, and of pure religious education, become evil and ungodly, and can here be the less manifested, as Solomon long walked in the

footsteps of his pious father, and was sincerely devoted to the true God and his service. But if exalted wisdom is declared to be incompatible with idolatry, the nature of idolatry is altogether misunderstood, and its origin is transferred to the head, whereas it is rooted in the heart and springs from the sensual propensities, impulses, and desires, from the lust of the flesh. Great wisdom does not guard from the folly of idolatry, as so many great philosophers prove. It is a consideration quite as external, when Justi especially urges the great wisdom of Solomon and his exalted notions of God, as when Winer (bibl. R.W. ii. p. 430) remarks on the contrary, that the wisdom of Solomon was more of a political than of a religious cast, against which at least the words of Solomon bear testimony. Vatke's objection (i. p. q. p. 309) is much more profound: "Had Solomon had so clear and thorough a knowledge of the truth, as tradition ascribes to him, especially in the prayer at the dedication of the temple, it would have been absolutely impossible for him to have afterwards sunk into idolatry, and led a licentious and ungodly life, especially as the contradiction of the theoretical knowledge and the practical life was much less manifest in the higher antiquity, and always presupposes that an individual either externally admits the truth already existing around him, or is attached to a one-sided contemplative tendency." If we abide by the history handed down to us, we can neither ascribe to Solomon in the first years of his reign a one-sided contemplative tendency, nor a merely external admission of the truth, because the contrary is decidedly testified by his prayers at Gibeon, and at the dedication of the temple. Even if we were freely to admit that there is no such glaring contradiction between his theoretical knowledge and practical life, as is to be found in many men at the present day, yet we cannot regard the conclusion of Vatke as well founded, because in the first place he presumes in the spiritual life of men an unchangeableness, which is contradicted by experience, and in the next place leaves altogether out of consideration the powerful influence, which the senses exercise on the knowledge and the general spiritual life. If Solomon were represented as an idolater at the very time when he dedicated the temple, then might this representation be psychologically inconceivable. But this is not

found in the Books of Kings, nor is a sudden immediate transition from the pure worship of God to the worship of idols asserted, nay not once a complete apostasy from Jehovah, not even in the last years of his reign, but only, that his heart was no longer entirely devoted to Jehovah (v. 4), but through his many strange wives was alienated from him, that he went after idols, and built altars to them (vv. 5—8.) Thus Solomon was charged with, not a total renunciation of Jehovah, but a syncretistic mixture of the service of Jehovah and the worship of idols. But this syncretistic theocrasy by no means excludes in him the proper service of idols, as Hävern. Einleit. i. 2, p. 583 thinks, but consisted directly in this, that he offered sacrifice three times a-year to Jehovah in the temple (ix. 25), and at the same time burned incense, and offered sacrifice on the high places of the idols of his wives. He wished to serve many Lords, whereby, however, the worship only and exclusively due to the true God was not only injured, but assimilated to idolatry.—The cause of this idolatry the historian finds in the many strange wives, who turned away the heart of the King in his old age from the Lord.[1] On the contrary Vatke p. 361 objects, that "the connexion with them includes an inclination to foreign customs, and a partial idolatry." Herein lies a certain amount of truth, and many accordingly have censured his connection with Pharaoh's daughter, which, however, is not authorised by the present historical nar-

[1] What Justi i. p. q. p. 133 ff. remarks to the contrary is so superficial, that the most it merits is to be mentioned in a note. If here, he thinks, the dim notion of the predominance of the wives is not to decide as it were dictatorially, it is utterly incredible, because, first, Solomon was in earnest about matters of religion, and was not accustomed to act the inamorato, as appears from this, that he did not allow the Egyptian princess to dwell in the house in which the ark was placed, and, next, no great temptation could have arisen from his wives, because they did not regard their own religion as alone conferring salvation, and in the restraint in which Oriental, and especially royal, wives lived, were unable to exercise much influence. But the first ground holds only for the time when Solomon adhered to the Lord with all his heart, and the second is contravened partly by the great charm, which sensuous heathenism has for the natural heart of man, partly by the often experimentally proved influence, which the Oriental wives even in their restraint exercise over their lords and husbands, who are not seldom entirely ruled and guided by the intrigues of the Seraglio.

rative, comp. vv. 1 and 2.—A certain inclination also to foreign customs may be conceived to be united with the true worship of God, as it is affirmed of Solomon in the early years of his reign; it is only a rock, on which the fidelity of the heart to the Lord may at last suffer shipwreck. But our narrative nowhere describes Solomon as a spotless saint; much more may we infer from the repeated warnings of God (comp. iii. 14, vi. 12, ix. 14 f.), that Solomon was long in danger of falling into idolatry. This danger was increased no doubt by the inclination to foreign customs, but this inclination itself was again occasioned by circumstances and relations of his reign, which must be regarded as remote concurring causes of his final fall. Among these is first to be reckoned the commerce carried on by Solomon, which on the one hand enhanced to a dangerous extent his love of splendour by the accumulation of great wealth, and produced a luxury scarcely to be reconciled with the simple manners of a pious theocrat, and on the other hand introduced a degree of tolerance toward heathen customs and religious views, which was scarcely consistent with the religion of Jehovah, while even the commerce itself was somewhat antitheocratic. Next the great wisdom of Solomon might become itself a perilous rock, not so much in the respect dwelt upon by J. J. Hess (Gesch. Dav. u. Tal. ii. p. 413), that an extravagant spirit of enquiry might easily entice him from the open and serene regions of the kingdom of truth into magic, the dark territory of the kingdom of lies, and so lead the way to superstition, as much more because the wide-spread fame of this wisdom brought a multitude of men to Jerusalem, and placed them in connexion with him, whose homage not only awakened vanity in his heart, but led him to a still greater tolerance, and approximation to the heathen world. None of these things, however, are censured in our narrative, because these could not necessarily lead to idolatry, but only be mediate occasions of it, inasmuch as they diminished the partition wall between the true worship of God and the heathen idolatry, and prepared the way for the possibility of the apostasy. The proper immediate cause of his fall was his connexion with many foreign heathen wives (v. 2.)

Vv. 1 and 2. After what has been remarked on iii. 1 the daughter of Pharaoh cannot here be put in the same category

with the other foreign wives of Solomon. Neither is this implied in the words, but rather by the expression וְאֶת־בַּת־פַּרְעֹה "*et quidem una cum filia Pharaonis, h. e. praeter filiam Ph. cf. v. 25*," as Maurer rightly expounds, the Egyptian king's daughter is separated from the other wives, so that the censure pronounced upon them does not apply to her.[1] And it is censured only, (*a*) that Solomon, contrary to the law (Deut. xvii. 17), took many (רַבּוֹת) strange wives, (*b*) that he took Moabite, Ammonite, Edomite, Sidonian, and Hittite women—from the nations with which Israel was to have no intercourse (v. 2.) Because the law expressly forbade marriage only with Canaanites (comp. Deut. v. 1—3 with Ex. xxxiv. 16), Mich. (Mos. R. ii. § 100) would refer the words, "Of the nations concerning which the Lord commanded," etc. only to the Sidonians and Hittites; but this restriction is arbitrary; on the contrary our verse extends that Divine prohibition to the nations collectively named in v. 1, as Ezr. ix. 2 ff., x. 3; Neh. xiii. 23, and in this there is no rigour extending beyond the law, as Winer (bibl. R.W. i. p. 353) asserts, but it is only an interpretation of that prohibition corresponding to the spirit of the law. For the law referring in the first instance only to the Canaanites, who were devoted to destruction, involved a reference to all nations, to whom the *ratio*: "*ne in idololatriam a superstitiosis mulieribus pellicerentur*," *Cler.*, annexed in both passages to the law applied.[2] The

[1] Only by a false view of אֵת as *nota Accus.* and of וְ as meaning *imprimis* could the old expositors have been led to the conclusion, that the historian censures this marriage in a special manner, as for example Calmet remarks: Scripture often insists on the marriage of the daughter of Pharaoh with Solomon, as if to mark, that it was the source and commencement of all his errors.

[2] If, according to Deut. xxiii. 4, the Ammonite and the Moabite were not to be received into the congregation of Israel, not even to the tenth generation, and even of the Edomites, according to v. 8, only the children in the third generation, much less was intermarriage with them permitted, if, as was the case with Solomon, they gave occasion to idolatry. In Deut. xxiii. 8, the Egyptians indeed are placed in the same category with the Edomites; according to which marriage with an Egyptian would be as objectionable as with an Edomite, if both were equally prejudicial to the faith of the Israelites; which, however, according to the above, was not the case with the daughter of Pharaoh.

words בָּהֶם . . . לֹא־תָבֹאוּ refer in form to Jos. xxiii. 12, in matter, as the like words of Joshua, they rest on Ex. xxxiv. 16, and Deut. vii. 1—3.—בָּהֶם דָּבַק Solomon clave to them.—דבק denotes first the attachment of the husband to his wife, Gen. ii. 24, but in Deut. iv. 4, x. 20, xiii. 5, xxx. 20, it is used of attachment to Jehovah. Our author designedly chooses this expression to show that Solomon rendered the devotion, which the Lord demanded, to the heathen nations and their women.

Vv. 3—8 give the historical vouchers for vv. 1 and 2; v. 3 for the נָשִׁים רַבּוֹת v. 1;—700 wives, princesses, and 300 concubines. Solomon was certainly not impelled to take so many wives and concubines by sensuality and lust, but by vanity, and the endeavour to resemble in this respect, if not quite to surpass, the sovereigns of other nations, a part of whose luxury was as numerous a harem as possible.[1]—V. 4. For a time he withstood the danger to his spiritual state arising from the multitude of his wives, but לְעֵת זִקְנָה towards the time of his old age, when the flesh gained the preponderance over the spirit, his wives turned his heart to other gods, so that he, who had prayed for his people at the dedication of the temple, "let your heart be undividedly given to the Lord" (viii. 61), now himself began to divide his heart, so that it was no longer שָׁלֵם with Jehovah his God, but went after the gods of the Sidonians and Ammonites. —Solomon, moreover, was not extremely old.—V. 5. The phrase: הָלַךְ אַחֲרֵי אֱלֹהִים אֲחֵרִים is already in the Pentateuch a standing description of idolatry, so that there can be no doubt that Solomon lapsed into actual idolatry, and not merely, as Justi asserts, allowed his foreign wives the exercise of their hereditary religion. It certainly is not expressly recorded that he sacrificed to idols, but if he built them altars the sacrifice will scarcely have been wanting. For if he could reconcile the building of the altars of idols before the eyes of the whole people, and in

[1] Thus for example Darius Codomannus in his expedition against Alexander, according to Athenæus (*Deipnos. lib.* iii. *c.* 1), and Curtius (*vit. Alex. l.* iii. *c.* 3), took with him, certainly more from vanity than to gratify his lust, *regiæ pellices trecentæ sexaginta;* and other Oriental sovereigns have so many wives, that they cannot possibly know them all, comp. Rosenm. A. u. N. Morgenl. iii. p. 181.

sight of the temple dedicated to the Lord with the worship of Jehovah, he might certainly do so with regard to the offering of sacrifice on these altars. And even if he should actually have offered no sacrifice to idols, yet the building of their altars that others might sacrifice is no less idolatrous than if he himself sacrificed to idols. And how far the idolatry committed on these altars was from remaining a mere private worship of the foreign wives of Solomon may be seen from xiv. 22—24.

Vv. 5—8. Only three of the gods are expressly mentioned, Astarte of the Sidonians, Milcom, the abomination of the Ammonites, and Chemosh, the abomination of Moab. Although it is said, v. 8: "thus did he for all his strange wives," that is, went after their gods and built them altars, yet it is not probable that Solomon built altars for more than these three gods. For not only are no other altars of idols built by Solomon mentioned either here or 2 Ki. xxiii. 13, but these altars were sufficient for all his wives to worship their gods. For the Hittites and Edomites, of whom besides those named Solomon had wives, appear to have had no distinct idols peculiar to themselves.[1] The Hittites probably worshipped Astarte with the Sidonians, and the Edomites Milcom or Molech. In the whole Old Testament the gods of the Edomites are only mentioned in 2 Chr. xxv. 20, but none are named.[2] The Astarte (עַשְׁתֹּרֶת) of the Sidonians has been hitherto pretty generally (by Creuzer [Symb. u. Myth.], Münter [Relig. d. Karth.], Gesen., Winer, Hitzig, and others), identified with Asherah, until Movers, by convincing reasons, demonstrated the contrary.[3] This goddess is mentioned in the Old Testament

[1] Vatke certainly asserts, p. 361, that Solomon will have also established a separate worship for the daughter of Pharaoh, but must at the same time confess that in the whole subsequent period no trace of Egyptian idolatry is found in Judah, whereby his assertion with all its appended consequences is refuted. Comp. also the remarks on iii. 1.

[2] Herodotus (iii. 8) calls the Διόνυσος of the Arabs dwelling in the south of Palestine on the boarders of Egypt, by whom probably are to be understood the Edomites, Οὐροτάλ or Οροτάλ, which name Mov. i. p. q. p. 337 interprets *ignis Dei*, and identifies the god with Moloch.

[3] The doubts which de Wette (Archaeol. p. 322 f.) has raised against the proof given by Mov. of the diversity of Astarte and Asherah, are of no importance. Even if the עַשְׁתָּרוֹת Judg. ii. 13 be not different from the אֲשֵׁרוֹת iii. 7, the identity of the Sidonian

beside this verse and v. 33, only in 2 Ki. xxiii. 13; in the other passages (Judg. ii. 13, x. 6; 1 Sam. vii. 3, xii. 10, xxxi. 10), stands the *plur.* עַשְׁתָּרוֹת, almost always in connection with בְּעָלִים, which points to several forms of Astarte, so that the proper meaning of the Sidonian Astarte could not be determined from these passages, even if they actually contained any thing more definite concerning Astarte. It is inferred from the constant designation Astarte (Ashtoreth) of the Sidonians, that she was the national and tutelary divinity of the Sidonian Phœnicians, and this is confirmed by later writers (*Lydus, Achilles Tatius*), comp. Mov. i. p. q. 602. This goddess, whose worship was transplanted from Tyre to Carthage and there flourished greatly, is called by the Greeks and Romans *Οὐρανία Σελήναια, Coelestis* and *Juno*, and is unquestionably the moon goddess, and not Venus, with whom *Cicero* (*de nat. Deor.* iii. 23), *Suidas*, and some others identify her, see Movers i. p. q.—Her name, עשתרת, for which the Shemitic tongues afford no suitable etymology (as the very unfortunate etymologies of the ancients in Selden [*de diis Syr. p.* 158] and Bochart [*Can. et Phal. p.* 709] prove), points to an Upper Asiatic origin, and her identity with the Assyrian Persian Tanais, for which many testimonies and reasons speak, has been completely demonstrated by several inscriptions lately found in the ruins of old Carthage, in which the Carthaginian Astarte is also called Tanais and connected with Baal (comp. the 3, 2, 1, and 5 Carth. inscrip. in *Gesen. Monum. Phœn.* i. p. 168—177.) But the derivation of the name עשתרת from the Pers. ستارہ, *ἀστήρ*, star, proposed by Ges. (*thes.* ii. 1083), and approved by Movers (p. 607), is still very doubtful, although later Greek scholiasts and writers derive Ἀστάρτη from *ἀστήρ* (see Mov. p. 606), because the initial letter ע cannot be thus explained, the identity of the Syr. ܥܫܬܪܬ with ܫܬܪ is neither certain nor probable, but the two words are related to each other as עשתרת to

Astarte with the Canaanitish Asherah does not follow because the *plur.* עשתרות is not to be at once identified with the Sidonian עשתרת. The אֲשֵׁרִים, 2 Ki. xxiii. 14, however, do not belong to this Astarte, comp. remarks on the passage. The remaining doubts are removed by the subsequent confusion of the Syrian Asherah with the Assyrian Sidonian Astarte, which is acknowledged by Movers himself.

אשרה, the diversity of which Movers rightly affirms, and because the designation of this goddess as queen of the stars Ἀστροάρχη in Sabaism (*Herod.* v. 6, § 10) proves certainly the identity of Astarte with *Luna*, but not the correctness of the etymology in question. Concerning the worship of the Sidonian Astarte we know nothing farther than that the same Carthaginian chief goddess passed as *virginale numen* (*Augustin. de civit. Dei* ii. 26) παρθένος Ἀστάρτη (*Sanchun.* p. 30), bore the bull's head (comp. *Gesen. thes.* ii. 1082), was worshipped as the pure holy fire, and that her service was conducted by unmarried priestesses (comp. Mov. i. p. q. p. 608 f.)

Milcom, the abomination of the Ammonites, is identified by most (see Winer, bibl. R.W. ii. p. 118 ff., Gesen. *thes.* ii. 794 f., de Wette, Archæol. § 235 a.) with the child-devouring Molech, to whom from the time of Ahaz a place of sacrifice was erected at Jerusalem in the valley of Ben-Hinnom. In favour certainly of this is the circumstance, that Milcom is in v. 7 called Molech. Notwithstanding this denomination, however, we must with Movers i. p. q. p. 324 f. distinguish the child-devouring Molech from Milcom the national god of the Ammonites; for *(a)* the names are different. The Molech worshipped by the sacrifice of children is in Hebrew always חמלך with the article; the idol of the Ammonites, in v. 7 indeed also מלך without the article,[1] and in all other places, where it is mentioned, either Milcom (מלכם, vv. 5—33, 2 Ki. xxiii. 13), or Malcam (מלכם, Jer. xlix. 1—3, Am. i. 15.)[2] *(b)* The two had different places of worship in Jerusalem; the Assyrian Molech was worshipped by the sacrifice of children in the valley of Ben-Hinnom, but the Ammonitish Milcom on a mountain situated east of Jerusalem, probably that afterwards called the Mount of Olives, and the places of worship of the two are also expressly distinguished in 2 Ki. xxiii. 10 and 13. Finally *(c)*, the sacrifices also were different. While Molech is

[1] Movers (die Phöniz. i. p. 325) regards מלך here as a gloss, and wishes to amend מלכם, but without being authorised by critical grounds.

[2] In the passage Zeph. i. 5, מלכם, for which Hitzig would read מלכם, denotes not specially the Ammonitish god, but Baal, who is called their king.

always named only in connexion with the sacrifice of children, not the slightest trace is found in the whole Old Testament of Milcom having been worshipped by the Israelites in this manner. —The abomination of the Moabites Camos (Chemosh) is at all events akin to Milcom. This may be inferred from the relationship of the two nations; it appears still more clearly from Judg. xi. 24, where Camos is even called the god of the Ammonites,[1] whereas in all other places (besides here, in vv. 3, 5, 7, and 33, only in Num. xi. 29; 2 Ki. xxiii. 13; Jer. xlviii. 7, 13, 46) god of the Moabites, and from this, that the two gods are regarded as the proper masters of these nations. In Num. xxi. 29 and Jer. xlviii. 46 the Moabites are called the people of Camos, and Jer. xlviii. 7, the nobles of Moab are designated as princes of Camos, as Am. i. 14; Jer. xlix. 3, the nobles of the Ammonites princes of Malcam; and according to Judg. ii. 24 Camos gave the Ammonites their land, as Jehovah the Israelites their inheritance, comp. Mov. i. p. q. p. 358 f.—Probably also the worship was in the main points alike. Of the worship of Milcom all accounts fail us, if we do not arbitrarily identify him with Molech. To Camos, also, the Israelites sacrificed no children, but he was certainly propitiated by the Moabites in times of great necessity with the sacrifice of children, 2 Ki. iii. 27, which in all probability the Ammonites did with their Milcom. Comp. still on 2 Ki. xvi.—Among the Greeks Camos is called, according to a notice of Eusebius,[2] Ariel, that is, lion of God as the war-god, not fire of God, as Mov. p. 334 and de Wette (Archæol. p. 328) erroneously explain.[3] As war-god he is repre-

[1] Not the Amorites, as Winer, bibl. R.W. i. p. 260, and de Wette, Archæol. p. 328, from a superficial view of this passage have concluded.

[2] *Καλοῦσιν εἰς ἔτι καὶ νῦν Ἀριὴλ τὸ εἴδωλον αὐτῶν οἱ τὴν Ἀρεόπολιν οἰκοῦντες ἀπὸ τοῦ σέβειν τὸν Ἄρεα, ἐξ οὗ καὶ τὴν πόλιν ὠνόμασεν.* *Onomast.* comp. Mov. i. p. q. p. 334.

[3] On this Movers i. p. q. mainly founds his view of the fire-nature of this god, which he then supports by Is. xxix. 1, 2, 7, where אֲרִיאֵל must denote Jerusalem as the hearth of God, as Hitzig, Ewald on the passage, and Steudel, Theol. d. A. T. p. 489, also teach; but Hävern. Comm. on Ezek. p. 698 ff. has here also defended the correct explanation. And the derivation of the name from בִּמֵּשׁ = בִּבֵּשׁ, which is never used of fire, while it is approved even by Movers, p. 337, is very unsuitable to the fire-nature of Camos.

sented on the coins of Areopolis, standing on a pillar, holding in the right hand the sword, in the left a spear and shield, with two burning torches beside him (comp. Eckhel, *doctr. num. vet. tom.* iii. p. 504.) His name also points to this, כְּמוֹשׁ *subactor, domitor*, from כָּמַשׁ equal to כבשׁ by a change of the labials מ and ב, which are often confounded with one another, comp. Gesen. *thes.* ii. p. 639.[1]

V. 6. מִלֵּא אַחֲרֵי יְהוָה a pregnant phrase taken from Deut. i. 36, xiv. 24, xxxii. 11 f., for מִלֵּא לְלֶכֶת א״ י״, to follow the Lord fully.—In v. 8 burning incense is mentioned before sacrifice, because it so far holds the first place in idolatry, that burning incense to the gods is often used for worshipping them, 2 Ki. xxii. 17, xxiii. 5, etc. "It agrees," as Bähr, Symbol. ii. p. 237 f. rightly remarks, "with the fundamental notion of the worship of nature, that here vegetable offerings, especially the burning of incense, occur in excess and much oftener than in other modes of worship, stand parallel with the bloody offerings, nay in some cases have even supplanted them." Incense only was burned on the altars of the celestial goddess at Paphos (Münter, der Temp. d. h. Gättin zu Paph. p. 20 f.)

Vv. 9, 10. By his fall Solomon brought the anger of the Lord upon him, who had appeared to him twice (iii. 5, and ix. 2) and warned him. *Εἰς ἐπίτασιν δὲ κατηγορίας τῆς θείας ἀποκαλύψεως, τῆς δὶς γενομένης ἐμνήσθη. οὐδὲ γὰρ δι' ἄλλου προφήτου, φησὶ, τὸ πρακτέον αὐτῷ ὑπέδειξεν· ἀλλ' αὐτὸς αὐτῷ πρὸ πάντων ἀπηγόρευσε τῶν ψευδωνύμων θεῶν τὴν λατρείαν· εἶτα καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους νόμους φυλάττειν ἐκέλευσεν.* Theodoret.

Vv. 11—13. In the Divine sentence, which was probably announced to Solomon by a prophet, perhaps Ahijah (v. 29), Theodoret has pointed to the Divine goodness (*δείκνυσι τὴν ἄμετρον ἀγαθότητα*), which manifests itself in this, that the announced separation of the kingdom *(a)* occurs not in Solomon's life-time, but only after his death, and *(b)* the separation also is to be no entire rending away of the whole kingdom, but one tribe is to remain to his son. But this is done, not from respect

[1] On the older attempts at explaining the word כְּמוֹשׁ comp. *Dithm. Hackmann, de Cemoscho Moabitarum idolo* in J. Oelrichs *collectio hist. phil. theol.* i. 1, p. 19 ff.

to Solomon, who forfeited the Divine grace by his idolatry, but only on account of David and of Jerusalem, which he had chosen (v. 13), that is, not from a partial preference of David and Jerusalem, but in order that the promise made to David (2 Sam. vii.) and the choice of Jerusalem connected with this promise, as the place of the manifestation of his name, may remain unchangeable as an act of grace, which no sin of man can reverse (v. 36.)—"One tribe will I give to thy son." According to vv. 13 and 35, xii. 20 f., ten tribes are separated from the house of David, and besides Judah Benjamin also remains to him. Yet it is constantly said, that only one tribe remained to the house of David, and ten tribes fell away. This difficulty cannot, with C. a Lap., J. D. Mich., and others, be solved by understanding the one tribe to be Benjamin, as one tribe beside Judah. For the head-tribe, which formed the substance of the kingdom, and so far surpassed the state of Benjamin in compass, magnitude, and population, that the whole kingdom was named after it, could not possibly be unmentioned. Not more satisfactory is the expedient of Seb. Schm.: *dicit unam tribum, quia duarum istarum tribuum haereditas mixta fere erat et Hierosolymis una habitabant*, to which Cler., Schulz, and others assent. For the prophet Ahijah rends, v. 31, in order to symbolize the separation, his mantle into twelve pieces, and gives Jeroboam ten, with the words: ten tribes will the Lord give to thee, but the one tribe shall belong to him (Rehoboam.) But here we should expect: two tribes shall remain to him, as the prophet retained two pieces of his mantle. Besides Jeroboam properly received only nine tribes, as the tribe of Simeon, who received his portion of land within the inheritance of the children of Judah (Jos. xix. 1—9), lay altogether within the territory of Judah, so that it could not possibly be incorporated with the kingdom of Israel.[1] We must

[1] With this agree Rosenm. (bibl. Althk. II. i. p. 306 f.) and de Wette (Archæol. § 139.) On the contrary Winer (bibl. R.W., i. p. 738) explains, that not the whole tribe, but only some towns of Simeon, as also 2 Chr. xi. 10, the Danite towns Zorah and Aijalon, fell to the kingdom of Judah, with the appended remark, that even before the division of the kingdom several modifications in the territorial relations of the tribes might have taken place. Such modifications are certainly now and then introduced. Hence probably it is to be explained, that the towns Bethel (xii. 29), and Jericho (xvi. 34) lying within the bor-

therefore explain the constant mention of ten tribes and one tribe (Judah) from the symbolical import of the two numbers. That ten tribes fall away, is designed, as ten signifies totality, comp. Bähr, Symb. i. p. 175, to indicate that all Israel fell away from the house of David, as is also asserted, xii. 20. One tribe remains to him, that is, of the Divine grace only a single part of the sovereignty over all Israel is left to him. This view is confirmed by the observation, that even the standing distribution in the Old Testament of Israel into twelve tribes has its most proper ground not in the fact that Jacob had exactly twelve sons, as after the recognition of Ephraim and Manasseh as separate tribes, the people properly formed thirteen tribes, but is to be sought in the import which this number had acquired in the remotest antiquity by the observation of the twelve months of the year and the twelve signs of the Zodiac, comp. Hengstenb. die Gesh. Bil. p. 72.

V. 14 ff. Even if Solomon was not to lose any part of the kingdom, yet he was, during his life time, to suffer punishment for his idolatry through several adversaries, who endangered the

ders of Ephraim, but assigned to Benjamin, fell to the kingdom of Israel, that Ziklag, belonging to Simeon, was in David's time incorporated with the tribe of Judah, because the Philistine king Achish presented it to David (1 Sam. xxvii. 6); Zorah and Ajalon also may have belonged to the tribe of Judah before the division of the kingdom, where, however, it is to be remembered, that Aijalon being transferred to the Levites, was never actually in possession of the Danites, and the strongest party of the inhabitants of Zorah emigrated in the time of the Judges to Laish in the north of Palestine (Judg. xviii.); but such assumptions do not apply in the case of the tribe of Simeon, because the whole territory allotted to them by Joshua, lying within that of Judah, was surrounded by it, so that the Simeonites must have emigrated, if they wished to attach themselves to the kingdom of Israel. Now 1 Chr. iv. 31, 39—53 certainly points to wanderings and territorial changes of the Simeonites, but yet no emigration is mentioned on the division of the kingdom, which would entitle us to such an assumption. For the statement, 2 Chr. xv. 9, "Asa gathered all Judah and Benjamin וְהַגֵּרִים עִמָּהֶם out of Ephraim, Manasseh, and *Simeon*, for many fell to him out of Israel" does not necessarily presuppose that the Simeonites actually belonged to the kingdom of Israel, for they were גֵּרִים, because on the one hand they had their residence within the territory of Judah, and on the other belonged in idea, even if never in reality, to the ten tribes. Herewith comp. also the remarks on xii. 17.

peace of his kingdom, and must have constantly reminded him that he owed the quiet possession of the throne, as well as the peaceful sovereignty of the whole kingdom inherited from his father, only to the grace, truth, and long-suffering of the Lord.

Vv. 14—22. The first of these adversaries was the Edomite Hadad or Adad (v. 17) of the royal race, who, when a boy in the slaughter which Joab, in the time of David, caused among the Edomites after their conquest, was saved, found favour in Egypt, was afterwards married to the sister of Pharoah's wife, and on the death of David and Joab returned to his native land. Our narrative furnishes a supplement, certainly not quite free from obscurities, to the very brief account, 2 Sam. viii. 13 f.; 1 Chr. xviii. 12 f., of the subjugation of the Edomites by David. V. 15. בִּהְיוֹת אֶת־אֱדוֹם, "when he was with Edom," that is, met him (in a hostile manner.) The connection of the *præp.* אֵת with הָיָה is explained by the phrase, to wage war with (אֵת) one, Gen. xiv. 9; Num. xx. 13, etc., so that there is no occasion for the emendation proposed by Maur., since the old expositors, to whom he refers, have possibly only given the sense.— עֲלֹה־בַעֲלוֹת denotes either the advance of the army (xv. 17, xx. 22, Is. vii. 1, etc.) or is explained by the mountainous character of Idumæa. "To bury the slain." By the slain cannot be understood the slain Edomites (*C. a Lap.*), but only the Israelites who fell in the battle given to the Edomites in the valley of Salt, *sepulturae enim Idumœorum magnam curam non gerebat. Cler.* As according to 1 Chr. xviii. 12 Abishai led the Israelites in this battle, we must imagine the progress of affairs so, that after this defeat, in which, as 18,000 Edomites fell, the Israelites must have lost not a few men, Joab with fresh troops marched into the country to inter the slain Israelites and complete the subjugation of Edom, for which purpose he remained in the country six months with the whole army and cut off every male (v. 16), J. J. Hess, Gesch. Dav. i. p. 373 f.— כָּל־זָכָר denotes all men bearing or able to bear arms, all the valiant, that might have rebelled, for *Hadadus et alii aufugerunt, nec gens Idumœa extincta est. Cler.*—V. 17 f. The young prince Hadad fled with some servants of his father, first to Midian, then to Paran. The situation of Midian cannot be exactly

determined. A branch of the Midianites had their residence in the neighbourhood of the Moabites eastward from Edom to the eastern shore of the Aelanitic gulf; the other within the Arabian peninsula between Egypt and Mount Sinai, comp. Rosenm. bibl. Althk. iii. p. 95 f., Gesen. *thes.* i. 336 f. and Winer, bibl. R.W. ii. p. 111 f. Here the district inhabited by the latter is certainly meant. Paran, commonly called the wilderness of Paran, borders on the east on Edom, on the north on the south extremity of Palestine, and is the most northern district of the Sinaitic peninsula, the wilderness lying between Idumaea and Egypt, in which lay, Num. xiii. 26, Kadesh,[1] comp. Rob. Pal. iii. p. 139 ff. 171 f.

V. 18. From Paran they took men with them, probably as guides through the wilderness, and came to Egypt, where Pharaoh welcomed the son of the Edomite king, gave him a house, appointed him maintenance, and allotted him land, probably to be cultivated for the subsistence of the fugitives who came with him, but not for the pasture of their flocks, as Schulz and Deres infer from this, that the Edomites were a pastoral people; for these fugitives would scarcely bring herds with them. Hadad also remained at the royal court, and (v. 19) gained such favour with Pharoah, that he gave him the sister of the queen (הַגְּבִירָה) his wife in marriage, who bare him a son, who was weaned in Pharaoh's house. V. 20. The weaning, which probably, as among the Hebrews (Gen. xxi. 8) and other ancient nations (comp. *Dougtaei anal.* i: 22 f.) was accompanied with a banquet, took place in the royal palace, because the child was thereby admitted among the royal children to be educated with them. Vv. 21, 22. As soon as Hadad receives intelligence of the death of David and Joab, he asks leave of Pharaoh to return to his country, and obtains it after a vain attempt of Pharaoh to dis-

[1] Paran is erroneously identified by Niebuhr (*Reise in Arab. i.* p. 240 f.), Rosenm. (bibl. Althk. iii. p. 106), and v. Raumer (Zug d. Israel. p. 38), with the Wady Feiran in the neighbourhood of Sinai, where in the first century of the Christian era a town existed with a Bishop's See (comp. Rob. Pal. i. p 207 f. 428.) See on the contrary Ranke, Untersuch. ü. d. Pentat. ii. p. 199 f. Winer is also in error, when he would recover (bibl. R.W. ii. p. 289) the biblical Paran in the *oppidum Pharan* mentioned by *Euseb.* and *Hieron.* situated three days' journey east of *Aelana*, comp. on the contrary Ges. *thes.* ii. 1090.

suade him from his purpose. The words of Pharaoh, "what hast thou lacked with me," are the language of pure love and attachment to Hadad, and involve the request to remain. This explains the answer, "No, but let me go." That the permission was granted, which follows from v. 25, must here be supplied by the reader. Thus Hadad returned to his native land, not because in consequence of the affinity of Solomon with Pharaoh he hoped to be able to reign meanwhile as Solomon's vassal, until he should feel himself strong enough to cast off the yoke of the Israelites (Deres.), but because after the death of the subjugator of his country he no longer feared for the safety of his life, and might already cherish plans for its deliverance. What he undertook against Solomon is not recorded. According to Josephus (*Antiq.* viii. 7, 6) he should have incited Idumaea to revolt against Solomon, and, when this did not succeed, joined himself to Rezon, and become king of Syria; but C. a Lap. observes, that this statement contradicts the Bible text, and Josephus has only compiled it after the defective rendering of the LXX.[1]

Vv. 23—25. A second adversary of Solomon was Rezon the son of Eliadah, who was in the service of Hadadezer king of Zobah, but fled from him, and became captain of a band, that gathered round him, when David completely routed the Syrians, 2 Sam. viii. 3, 4. Rezon probably fled from his master, when he was engaged in war with David, and escaped in this way with the band gathered around him in the complete overthrow of his master to the west, so that this band might afterwards go to Damascus, and reign there (יִמְלְכוּ.) The occupation of Damascus took place only towards the end of David's reign, if not after his death, at all events immediately in the beginning of that of Solomon, as Rezon was an adversary to him (כָּל־יְמֵי

[1] We are not entitled even to the assumption of Winer in the bibl. R.W. i. p. 346, that he effected a rebellion, but only partial and without permanent results; from vv. 14, 15, it can only be inferred, that he was occupied with plans of rebellion, so that Solomon had constantly to fear him as an adversary, who would seize the first fitting opportunity to wrest Edom from him. But his plans appear not to have been carried into execution, as Edom was dependent on the kingdom of Judah long after the death of Solomon, 1 Ki. xxii. 48 f. Hengstenb. Beitr. iii., p. 288 f.

שְׁלֹמֹה) during his whole reign.[1]—וַיָּקָץ בִּישְׂרָאֵל he abhorred Israel, that is, was wearied of the Israelitish sovereignty (comp. on קוּץ Hengstenb., die Gesch. Bil. p. 30 f.) and set up to be King of Aram (Syria.)—וְאֶת־הָרָעָה וגו׳, and indeed along with the evil, that Hadad did; comp. ואת v. 1.

Vv. 26—40. Hadad and Rezon are described only as שָׂטָן adversaries of Solomon; of the Ephraimite (comp. אֶפְרָתִי 1 Sam. i. 1; Judg. xii. 5) Jeroboam the son of Nebat, of Zereda or Zarthan (comp. vii. 46), Solomon's servant, it is said on the con-

[1] The view above given of vv. 23, 24, which are obscure on account of their brevity, corresponds perfectly with the words of the text, and does not require either the violent expedient of J. B. Köhler in Eichhorn's Repert. ii. p. 262 ff., who explains these verses as a gloss afterwards introduced into the text, or even the emendations he has proposed. The LXX., who have inserted the account of Rezon in v. 14, and make Hadad and Rezon to rebel jointly against Solomon, can give no valid authority for this, as it is evident that these translators have been led to their arbitrary alteration and mutilation of the text only by a misunderstanding of the words ואת־הרעה אשר הדד, v. 25. Had the old theologians considered this, they would not on the ground of the LXX., and of Josephus arbitrarily expounding the LXX. (*Antiq.* viii. 7—6) have formed conclusions, which obscured rather than explained the matter, comp. *des Vignoles, Chronol.* ii., p. 97 f.—Not less arbitrary is the alteration of the name *Rezon*, proposed by Köhler and adopted by Dathe, into Hezion, as the grandfather of Benhadad of Syria is called (xv. 18); for it is false, that the old versions confirm this rendering; LXX., *Chald.* and *Vulg.* agree quite with the Hebrew; the Syr. and the Arab. dependent on it certainly render רְזוֹן by هدرون, هدرون (*Hedrun*), but in xv. 18 they have also حزيون (*chezion*), as the Hebrew text, so that the two names are not identified.—But whether Rezon was only another name for Hezion (*Marsham, Can. chron.* p. 346) or Hezion the successor of Rezon, can neither be affirmed nor denied, because all accounts fail us, and hence Winer, bibl. R.W. i. p. 287, propounds the latter opinion, whereas ii. p. 381 he explains the former as probable.—If the account communicated by Josephus (Ant. vii. 5, 2) from the 4th book of *Nicolaus Damascenus*, that the King of Damascus subdued by David, whose name 2 Sam. viii. 5 f.; 1 Chr. xviii. 5 f. is not given, was called Hadad (Ἀδαδος), and his descendants through ten generations held the throne of Damascus, possess historical credit, Rezon cannot be the same with Hezion, but must be regarded with *des Vignoles l.c.* as a usurper. But the historical credibility of this account is liable to many doubts, the discussion of which, however, does not belong to this place.

trary: "he lifted up his hand against the king," that is, raised a sedition or rebelled (נָשָׂא יָד ב֑ is equivalent to הֵרִים יָד ב֑ 2 Sam. xviii. 28, xx. 21.) The particular circumstances of this revolt are not mentioned, but only implied, v. 27 f.—In the building of Millo, and the walls of Jerusalem (ix. 15) Jeroboam distinguished himself as an able man (גִּבּוֹר חַיִל); wherefore Solomon set him over all the burdens of the house of Joseph, that is, charged him with the oversight of the burdens to be borne by the tribe of Ephraim in this building. In this position he must have raised a sedition, for his situation as overseer of these works is mentioned as the occasion (דְּבַר, v. 27) of the lifting up of his hand against the king. The particulars may be gathered from the grievances, of which the ten tribes complained at Shechem before Rehoboam in the government of Solomon, xii. 4.—V. 29. בָּעֵת הַהִיא at that time, that is, either when Jeroboam was overseer, or when he had raised the sedition. For the latter alternative it might be alleged, that it is more natural to connect the וַיְהִי, v. 29, with the principal sentence in v. 26, than with the explanatory collateral thoughts, in vv. 27 and 28. But on closely examining the whole section, it appears that וַיִּבְרַח, v. 40, is connected with וְזֶה דְּבַר יָד בַּמֶּלֶךְ, v. 26 and vv. 27—39, therefore form a large explanatory parenthesis, in which case וַיְהִי, v. 29. can only refer to וַיַּסֵּב, v. 28. But thence it follows, that Jeroboam only raised the sedition, after the prophet Ahijah had announced to him, that after Solomon's death he would receive the sovereignty of ten tribes. But thereby the proceeding of Jeroboam is neither warranted nor even excused. For first Ahijah expressly announced to him, that the Lord intended to let Solomon remain king during his life, and not to take the sovereignty out of his hand (v. 34), whereby every pretext for rebellion was taken from Jeroboam; next the prophetic announcement, that the Lord would make him king over ten tribes, even if the above clause had not been added, still gave him no right by a self-devised attempt at rebellion to wrest to himself the sovereignty, which God intended to give him. How he ought to conduct himself, if he wished not to consult his own ambition, but to follow the will of the Lord, he might have learned from

David, who in human judgment had much more reason to rebel against Saul and yet did it not. For not only was the rejection of Saul made known to him, but he was anointed king over Israel by the prophet Samuel, and was even obliged very soon to bear the consequences of Saul's rejection in the most sensible manner, and to suffer many years' flight and repeated hazard of life; yet he did not venture, when his persecutor and mortal foe was twice given into his power, so that he might have put him to death, to lay hand on "the Lord's anointed," and thereby put an end to his own sufferings, but endured patiently every hardship with pious resignation to the guidance of the Lord, of whom he knew that he had the power to accomplish his word, whenever it was agreeable to his holy will. In contrast with this conduct of David, the behaviour of Jeroboam appears as the most criminal rebellion, whereby Solomon was fully warranted to put him to death, had he not escaped his hands by his flight into Egypt (v. 40), whereas Saul had no just reason for attempting the life of David.

Vv. 29—31. In order to give still more weight to his announcement, the prophet Ahijah of Shiloh (now Seilun, comp. Rob. Pal. iii. p. 302 ff.), discharges his commission to Jeroboam by a symbolical action followed by an explanatory statement, as the prophets were often accustomed to do, comp. Köster, die Proph. des A. u. N. T. p. 262 f.—The new upper garment (שַׂלְמָה) was probably, as the *Heik* of the Arabs (see the illustration in Niebuhr's Reisebeschr. i., p. 196, plate 29, and Faber, in Harmar's Beobacht. ii., p. 407), only a large square of cloth, which by day was cast over the shoulders covering almost the whole body, and by night was used for a coverlet. *Nova vestis fuisse dicitur ob factum sequens, ut intelligatur propheta non temere fecisse quod fecit. Cler.* On vv. 32 and 33 comp. the remark on vv. 11—13. —For the form עֲדָנִין comp. Gesen. Hebr. Gramm. § 86, 1 *a*.

Vv. 34—36 append to v. 32 the precise determination, that Solomon shall remain prince during life, and the separation of the ten tribes from his kingdom take place only under his son, both from regard to David, who was chosen to be prince and kept the commandments of God. For his sake also Solomon's son is to retain one tribe, that David may have a light alway

before the Lord in Jerusalem the chosen city, that is, that he may never fail in a successor to the throne in Jerusalem. The promise, that a light should remain to David, which is repeated xv. 4; 2 Ki. viii. 19; 2 Chr. xxi. 7, is explained by 2 Sam. xxi. 17, where David is called the light of Israel, which he was only through the Lord (Ps. cxxxii. 17), inasmuch as God himself was his light (2 Sam. xxii. 29), or, as it is in the parallel passage Ps. xviii. 29, the Lord had made his light clear and his darkness light, that is, had raised him from a state of humility and poverty to high honour and great prosperity, comp. Hengstenb. Psalmencomm. on the passage; for the lighting of the light is a figure of prosperity, as the extinguishing of it is a figure of adversity, Job xviii. 5, 6; Prov. xx. 20, etc.[1]

Vv. 37—39. The condition on which Jeroboam's prosperity is to rest is the same under which the continuance of his sovereignty was promised to Solomon also (iii. 14, vi. 12, ix. 4), namely true obedience to the commandments of God and upright walking in the ways of the Lord. Only on this condition will the Lord build him a sure, perpetually enduring house, that is, ensure the perpetuity of his family[2] (comp. on בָּנָה בַּיִת לְ Gesen. *thes.* i. 215), as he promised to David, whose seed is now to be degraded on account of Solomon's idolatry, but not for ever (לֹא כָל־הַיָּמִים v. 39), because the Lord has announced to him the perpetual continuance of his seed and kingdom.—Jeroboam did not fulfil this condition, and therefore his house was extirpated under his son, xv. 28 f.

[1] Hitzig (Heidelb. Jahrb. 1835 Febr. p. 131) without right wishes to claim for the word נִיר, in the passages collectively cited above, the meaning, *novale*, which the phrase נִיר נִיר *novellare novale*, s. *agrum* Hos. x. 12, Jer. iv. 3 has: "Jehovah promises David the fallow land of his children alway, that is, the ever renewed issue of one generation from another without ceasing." For נִיר moorland, arable land cannot possibly signify a newly issuing generation. The scruple, however, that a light is elsewhere usually called נֵר is removed by the forms נֵר Prov. xxi. 4 and נִיר 2 Sam. xxii. 29, which prove the identity of נִיר and נֵר.

[2] Not the continued duration of the מַמְלָכָה, which was ensured to David along with the בַּיִת, 2 Sam. vii. 16.

Vv. 41—43. Close of the history of Solomon. Reference to the sources, in which more concerning it may be found, comp. Introd.—Length of his reign, death, burial, and successor. On the question largely discussed by the old interpreters, C. a Lap., S. Schm., Calm., and others, whether Solomon was saved or not, comp. *Pfeifferi dub. vex.* p. 435 and *Buddei hist. eccles.* ii. p. 273 ff. From the Scripture his conversion before his death cannot be proved, though we have no right therefore to condemn him.

SECTION SECOND.

HISTORY OF THE SEPARATED KINGDOMS OF ISRAEL AND JUDAH TILL THE FALL OF THE FORMER.

The period in which the covenant people form two kingdoms standing side by side, falls into three epochs, which are clearly distinguished from one another in a religious and political respect. The first epoch comprises the interval from the separation of the two kingdoms to the beginning of Ahab's reign and the 38th year of the reign of Asa king of Judah, chap. xii.—xvi. The separate kingdoms stand in hostility to each other until it comes to an open and general war, which ends in a great defeat of Israel, while the hostile position of the two kingdoms is not changed. In a religious point of view the calf-worship introduced by Jeroboam is continued without interruption; in Judah the legal worship of Jehovah at Jerusalem has to contend at first with the Canaanitish idolatry, until the latter is exterminated by Asa.—The second epoch extends from Ahab in Israel and Jehoshaphat in Judah to the deaths of Joram, king of Israel, and Ahaziah, king of Judah, effected by Jehu chap. xvii.—2 Ki. x. During this period, very brief in its compass, but of vast importance for the internal history of the theocracy, Israel has to contend constantly with the Syrians, while at home the worship of Baal prevails: it is on friendly terms with Judah, so that the two royal houses form a matrimonial alliance, by which Judah is not only involved in the political strife of Israel with the Syrians, but also drawn into the Phœnician worship of Baal.—In the

third epoch finally (from 2 Ki. xi.—xvii.) the two kingdoms after they have recovered from the wounds inflicted by the worship of Baal and the Syrians, enter again into hostilities with one another. In consequence of this hostile feeling through the untheocratic policy of the ungodly Ahaz, the way is opened for the Assyrians into Canaan, who after repeated invasions overturn the kingdom of Israel, which had given up the service of Baal certainly, but not that of the calves, and bring even Judah, where the Levitical temple-worship continued to prevail till the time of Jotham, though under Ahaz idolatry of every kind was fostered and indulged, to the brink of ruin.

Among the most difficult parts of this portion of the history of the covenant people is the chronological computation of this period in whole and in part. As in our books not only the length of the reign of each king of Israel and Judah is given, but also each commencement of the reign of an Israelitish king is determined according to the year of the reign of the contemporary Jewish king and inversely; we obtain by these different statements a check certainly for the more exact fixing of the chronological dates, but this again is rendered extremely difficult by the fact that the sum of the years of the reign of several kings is commonly greater than they can have reigned according to the synchronistic statements of the contemporary sovereigns in the other kingdom. Chronologists have therefore at all times endeavoured to reconcile these diverging chronological data by means of the hypothesis of inexact statements of co-regencies and *interregna*.[1] But these hypotheses remain merely an arbitrary expedient as long as their necessity is not exhibited, and at the sametime a fixed principle for their application pointed out. Their necessity certainly follows with almost demonstrative certainty from the biblical text, inasmuch as without them the different numbers of years are absolutely irreconcilable; the principle lying at the foundation of the diverging chronological statements of the text, on the contrary, we find nowhere pro-

[1] Ferd. Wilh. Beer (Vereinigung der Regierungsjahre, welche die heil. Schrift den Königen von Juda u. Israel beigelegt, Lpz. 1751) has besides had recourse to the altogether groundless hypothesis, that the years of the Israelitish kings were lunar, those of the Jewish solar.

pounded, and therefore also it has been discovered by few chronologists, and consistently carried out by none, on which account all chronological computations are destitute of the necessary certainty and consistency, and deviate very widely from one another in details.[1] We believe, however, that not only the length of this whole period and its chief epochs, but also the duration of the several reigns may be determined with tolerable certainty from the biblical statements, as these are by no means so inexact or arbitrary as many chronologists have asserted.[2]

[1] Thus, for example, the duration of the kingdom of Israel (or our period), according to F. W. Beer, amounted to 219 years; according to Marsham, 235 years; according to Lilienthal, 251; according to J. G. Frank (Astron. Grundrechnung der bibl. Gesch. Gottes, Winer (bibl. R.W. i. p. 730), and de Wette (Archæol. p. 43, 3d ed.), 255; according to Bengel *(ordo temp.)* and R. v. Chr. Bennigsen (bibl. Zeitrechn. 1778), 259; according to J. Nic. Tiele, 260; according to *des Vignoles*, 245; according to *Archinard*, 265; and according to Joach. Hartmann *(system. chronol. bibl. Rostoch.* 1777), 266 years. Comp. also Offerhaus *spicil. hist. chron.* (Gröning. 1739) p. 38 f., and *Gibert* Mém. sur la chronol. etc. in Mém. de l'acad. des in script. xxxi. 1 *sqq.*

[2] Thus, for example, J. Nic. Tiele, Chronologie des A. Test., Bremen 1839, p. 59 f., says: "The chronological statements are not given with arithmetical accuracy, but with the looseness, which is found in common life. As we hear one, who, for example, is 30 years and some months old, sometimes say, I am in my 30th year, sometimes more accurately, I am in the 31st year, so also in the Books of Kings the 17th year, or the year 17 of a king, may sometimes mean the time after he has reigned 17 years and upwards, sometimes more exactly the time from the 16th to the 17th year of his reign. In the statements of the reigns of the kings only full years are usually mentioned, while naturally they have not reigned quite full years. Here then occurs great inexactness in the statements of time. The supernumerary months are sometimes not included at all in the computation, sometimes they are reckoned for a full year; and hence there is no definite rule; but one time perhaps a few months are reckoned for a full year, another time a greater number is not reckoned at all, just as is usual with us in ordinary life when we state how old any one is. But this inaccuracy is carried still farther than it is wont to be with us. For sometimes the years of a king are so computed, that only the full years (from the first of Nisan to the last of Adar) are stated, and the months which he reigned before and after that date are not taken into account, even if they should together make up almost a year, or

We assume in the kingdom of Judah no *interregnum* at all, but merely a co-regency (that of Joram with his father Jehoshaphat) pretty clearly indicated in the text (2 Ki. viii. 16), and in the kingdom of Israel no co-regency, but only two *interregna* (the one after Jeroboam II., the other between Pekah and Hoshea), and reconcile the differences arising from the synchronistic determinations of time according to the principle already propounded in the Talmud, that the years of the kings were counted only from Nisan to Nisan, and in such a manner that even a single day before or after the first of Nisan was reckoned equal to a year.[1] On this principle, in accordance with which a reign, for example that of Baasha, which lasted only twenty-two years and some months, may be stated at twenty-four years, since, namely, it began not long before the Nisan of the year twenty-three from the separation of the kingdoms, and ended soon after that of the year forty-five, is based the following chronological table from our period :—

even more than a year; sometimes, on the contrary, these months on both sides are set down for a full year." But in this extended sense the asserted inaccuracy is an unfounded assumption.

[1] Compare *Gemara Bab. tractat.* ראש השנה *cap.* i. *fol.* 3, *p.* 1 *ed. Amstelod:* אין מונין לחם למלכים אלא מניסן, "*non numerant in regibus nisi a Nisano*" *(i.e. regum annos non nisi a Nisano numerant)*; on this, after citing several authors in proof of it, אמר ר' חסדא לא שנו אלא למלכי ישראל "*dixit R. Chasda: hoc non docent nisi de regibus Israelitarum.*" *Ibid. fol.* 2. *p.* 2. ניסן ראש השנה למלכים ויום אחד בשנה חשוב שנה, "*Nisanus initium anni regibus, ac dies quidem unus in anno (videl. post calendas Nisani) instar anni computatur.*" *Ibid.* יום אחד בסוף שנה חשוב שנה, "*unus dies in fine anni pro anno computatur.*" With this comp. Wieseler, chronol. Synopse der vier Evang. Hamb. 1843, p. 52 ff., who has proved the existence of this mode of reckoning also in Josephus. In the New Testament also it is found, for example, in the statement that Jesus lay three days in the grave, and therefore cannot, with J. Hartmann i. p. q. p. 253 f., be represented as a mere invention of the Rabbins and later commentators, even if it were not carried out with the utmost consistency by the authors of the Bible, that a single day after Nisan or the beginning of the year was counted for a whole year, as appears to follow from 2 Ki. xv. 17 and 23.

Year of the Separation.	Kingdom of Judah.		Years.	Year of Jewish Kings.	Kingdom of Israel.		Years.	Year of Israelitish Kings.	Year before Christ.
1	Rehoboam	reigned	17	1st	Jeroboam	reigned	22	1st	975
18	Abijah	,,	3					18th	957
20	Asa	,,	41					20th	955
$2\frac{1}{3}$				2d	Nadab	,,	2		$954\frac{2}{3}$
23				3d	Baasha	,,	24		952
45				26th	Elah	,,	2		930
46				27th	Zimri, 7 days				929
46				27th	Tibni and Omri	,,	4		929
50				31st	Omri alone	,,	8	4th	925
57				38th	Ahab	,,	22		918
61	Jehoshaphat	,,	25					4th	914
78				17th	Ahaziah	,,	2		897
79				18th	Joram	,,	12		896
84	Joram, co-regent		2	(23d)				5th	891
86	Joram, alone	,,	6					7th	889
91	Ahaziah	,,	1					12th	884
92	Athaliah	,,	6		Jehu	,,	28		883
98	Joash	,,	40					7th	877
119				22d ?	Jehoahaz	,,	17		856
135				37th	Joash	,,	16		840
137	Amaziah	,,	29					2d	838
151				15th	Jeroboam II.	,,	41		824
165	Uzziah	,,	52					15th ?	810
192				(27th)	Anarchy	,,	$11\frac{1}{2}$		783
203				38th	Azariah, 6 ms.				772
204				39th	Shallum 1 m.				771
204				39th	Menahem	,,	10		771
215				50th	Pekahiah	,,	2		760
216				52d	Pekah	,,	20		759
217	Jotham	,,	16					2d	758
233	Ahaz	,,	16					17th	742
236				4th	Anarchy	,,	$8\frac{1}{2}$		739
245				12th	Hoshea	,,	9		730
248	Hezekiah	,,	29					3d	727
$25\frac{3}{4}$				6th	Fall of Kingdom				$72\frac{3}{4}$

This table corresponds in the determination of the length of this period with the usual assumption[1] as to the beginning and end of the kingdom of the ten tribes, but deviates from it in some details of the intervening determinations of years, as the retrenchment of the years of the reigns of the kings of Israel and

[1] Which has passed over from *Usserii annales Vet. et Novi Test.* into most compends of biblical history, and which, among others, Jahn, bibl. Archæol. ii. 1, p. 159, and de Wette, in the second edition of his hebr. jüd. Archæol. have followed, though the latter for two very insufficient reasons assigned against it by Winer (bibl. R.W. ii. p. 730 f.) has again departed from it.

Judah stated in whole numbers according to the above-mentioned principle, has been attempted to be carried out consistently with the closest possible adherence to the synchronistic statements of the text.[1]—The years B.C. annexed to the table rest on the one hand on this, that the end of the seventy years' Babylonish captivity of the Jews, which occurred in the first year of the sole sovereignty of Cyrus over the Medo-Babylonian empire, falls in the year 536 B.C.,[2] on the other hand, on the common assumption that from the fall of the kingdom of Israel to the destruction of Jerusalem in the 11th year of Zedekiah 133—134 years elapsed, which number is obtained by the simple addition of the years in the reigns of the Jewish kings during this period. But as we are fully entitled, according to the principle followed by the author of the Books of Kings in this period, to the presumption that the years of the sovereigns of Judah after the destruction of the kingdom of Israel, being given in whole numbers, were not always complete, this last period of the kingdom of Judah will have been in reality perhaps two or three years shorter than it is usually reckoned, according to which all the different chronological data must be set back by the same period. But as in the utter absence of accurate synchronistic statements of time in other nations or kingdoms, every standard for this reduction fails us, it seems advisable, in order to avoid anything arbitrary, to abide by the assumption founded on the simple biblical numbers

[1] The table deviates from them only in two points, to wit, the beginning of the reign of Jehoahaz of Israel is placed in the twenty-second, not as in 2 Ki. xiii. 1 the twenty-third, year of Jehoash of Judah, and that of Uzziah or Azariah of Judah in the fifteenth, not as in 2 Ki. xv. 1 the twenty-seventh, year of Jeroboam of Israel, the reasons for which will be unfolded in their proper places.

[2] This, which is the prevalent view, we ground on the fact, that the seventy years' Babylonish captivity of the Jews (Jer. xxv. 11) begins with the fourth year of Jehoiakim, in which Nebuchadnezzar, and, indeed, according to Berosus, still in the life time of his father Nabopolassar, smote the Egyptians at Circesium on the Euphrates (Jer. xlvi. 2); but this fourth year of Jehoiakim coincides with the twenty-first of Nabopolassar, in whose fifth year an eclipse of the moon noted in the Almagest was observed, which, according to the computation of Ideler in the Abhandl. der Berl. Acad. 1814 f. histor. Kl. p. 202 and 224, occurred on the twenty-second of April 621 B.C. If this be correct, the twenty-first year of Nabopolassar coincides with 606 B.C., and the Babylonish captivity of the Jews began 606 B.C., and ended 536 B.C.

First epoch; from the division of the kingdom to Ahab of Israel and Asa of Judah. This space of 57 years begins with the revolt of the ten tribes from the house of David, and the foundation of the kingdom of Israel by Jeroboam, and is completed in the kingdom of Israel by six sovereigns of four different families, and in that of Judah by the reigns of three kings.—After the account of the political and religious foundation of the kingdom of the ten tribes (ch. xii.) follows the prophecy *(a)* concerning the bull or calf worship introduced by Jeroboam (ch. xiii.), *(b)* concerning the house of Jeroboam and his dynasty (ch. xiv. 1—19.) Then are given the most important circumstances in the reigns of the Jewish kings Rehoboam, Ahijah, and Asa (ch. xiv. 20, xv. 24), on which finally the history of Israel from the accession of Nadab to the death of Omri (ch. xv. 25, xvi. 28), is summarily stated.

CHAPTER XII.

REVOLT OF THE TEN TRIBES FROM THE HOUSE OF DAVID, VV. 1—24, COMP. 2 CHR. X.—XI. 4; FOUNDATION OF THE KINGDOM OF ISRAEL, VV. 25—33.

After J. D. Michaelis had attempted,[1] if not quite to justify, yet as far as possible to excuse the revolt of the ten tribes from the royal house of David, de Wette (Beitr. i. p. 129) comes forward with the assertion: "according to 1 Ki. xii.

[1] In the Mos. Recht. i. § 55 Mich. finds in the narrative of our chapter nothing but "an electoral contract of a people exercising their freedom." But what Mich. here adduces to prove, that the Israelitish kings were restricted on the part of the people by terms of election, rests upon modern theories of constitutional governments of which the Bible knows nothing. For the covenant, which David (2 Sam. v. 6) concludes before the Lord with the tribes on their doing homage to him, is as far from a contract of election, in which limitations of the royal power were imposed on the king by the people, as the covenant which Jehoiada the high priest (2 Ki. xi. 17) at the anointing of King Jehoash made with Jehovah, the king and the people.

these tribes acted with perfect propriety, they made just and fair demands, and the blame could be attributed only to the imprudence of Rehoboam." How far this assertion boldly contravenes all history has been already shown in my apolog. Vers. p. 445 ff. The separation of these tribes from the sovereignty of the royal family of David was certainly determined of God for Israel as a punishment for the idolatry of Solomon, and it was not only predicted in general terms by the prophet Ahijah, but the sovereignty over it was also promised to Jeroboam: but neither the conduct of these tribes is thereby justified, nor the way and manner in which Jeroboam violently seized upon the sovereignty, which the Lord designed to give him. But why did the tribes send to Egypt to bring back Jeroboam, who had already rebelled against Solomon, but because they were previously meditating plans of rebellion, for the execution of which Jeroboam seemed to them to be the proper man. That they altogether selfishly effected the separation designed of God, and thereby made it a criminal revolt, is shown by the whole progress of the affair, as it is described in our chapter.

V. 1. In order to receive the homage of the ten tribes, who under the influence of the powerful tribes of Ephraim were long since jealous of Judah,[1] Rehoboam proceeded to Shechem, where these tribes were assembled, in order, as it is said, לְהַמְלִיךְ אֹתוֹ, "to make him king." On a superficial view it might certainly appear, that these tribes here only "made use again of their old right of election" (Gramberg, Relig. id. ii. p. 162); but irrespective of this, that they actually had no unconditional free right of election, and, on the contrary, after the Lord had promised to the posterity of David the perpetual sovereignty, obedience to God demanded the willing recognition of the rightful heir to the throne, we have only impartially to compare our narrative with the homage described, 2 Sam., which all the tribes of Israel rendered to David at Hebron, to be convinced of this, that the definite intention to rebel lay at the foundation of the conduct of the ten tribes related in this passage. The tribes came to David at Hebron, his residence, and came with the con-

[1] Comp. *J. H. Verschuir, diss. de aemulatione Israelitarum mutua, tanquam vera causa scissæ ac debilitatae Judaeorum reipublicae,* printed in his *dissertationes* 1773. p. 66 f.

fession, "We are thy bone and thy flesh; Jehovah has said to thee, thou shalt feed my people Israel, and shalt be prince over Israel" (2 Sam. v. 1, 2.) Here, on the contrary, they come not to Jerusalem, where Rehoboam had ascended the throne, but assemble at Shechem, whither Rehoboam must come, and propose conditions to him, which he cannot accept without setting arbitrary limits to the royal prerogative. In the choice of Shechem as the place of doing homage Kimchi has already recognized the definite intention to revolt: *Quaesiverunt occasionem transferendi regni in Jarobeamum ideoque noluerunt venire Hierosolyma, sed venerunt Sichemum, quae est Ephraimi et Jarobeam fuit Ephraimita (cf. Not. in bibl. Hal. ed. J. H. Mich.)* Then (vv. 2, 3)[1] the whole affair of the return of Jeroboam from Egypt is effected, who is rightly characterized by H. Witsius, *Δεκαφυλον* p. 307, as *vir sagax, inquietus et dominandi avidus atque ab ineunte aetate iis eruditus artibus, quibus ingenia ad magnae fortunae cultum incitantur.* He it was also, who suggested to them their demand, v. 4. *Proculdubio iste praetextus populo a Jarobeamo fuit subministratus: qui cum prius fuisset praefectus operum super Ephraim, ex iis quae prae aliis noverat, potuit astutissime calumniari.* Seb. Schm.—v. 4. The tribes desire a lightening of the burdens, which Solomon had laid on them. Expositors are divided in opinion as to whether Solomon laid too heavy burdens on the people or not. The truth seems to lie in an intermediate view, as Ephraim Syr. has already shown. Solomon required of his people certainly greater ser-

[1] Regarding the construction of vv. 2 and 3 Seb. Schmidt observed, that the apodosis to וַיְהִי כְשָׁמְעַ only begins with וַיִּבְאוּ v. 3 and the words from וְהוּא to וַיִּקְרְאוּ־לוֹ are a parenthesis. The difference also, that in our verse Jeroboam is recalled from Egypt, whereas in the parallel passage 2 Ch. x. 2 he himself came, and was then only invited to Shechem, he has thus satisfactorily explained: *Utrumque verum sed diversae sunt vocationes. Nam ubi Salomo mortuus est, miserunt fautores Jarobeami in Aegyptum et nuntiata Salomonis morte invitarunt ut ex Aegypto in patriam rediret; quod et fecit. Cumque conveniendum esset in Sichem, totus Israel decem tribuum misit ad ipsum, ut simul veniret, imo dux et consiliarius esset.* There is no necessity therefore for the change proposed by Dathe of וַיֵּשֶׁב בְּמִצְרַיִם into וַיָּשָׁב במצרים, which Maurer has with justice rejected.

vices than they were hitherto accustomed to render, partly to meet the expenses of his splendid court, partly to execute the numerous and extensive buildings undertaken by him. But on the other hand, the nation enjoyed under his sceptre not only an undisturbed peace with all its consequent blessings, but must have also attained to general prosperity through the wealth which flowed into the country from the trade carried on by him, and the large taxes of several tributary nations, so that there could be no reasonable occasion for any real complaint or grievance. But if men, as is often done, overlooked the advantages and blessings, which they owed to the government, and turned the eye solely to that which Solomon required for these, it might easily appear as if he had laid on the nation a heavy yoke, and a grievous service.

Vv. 5—15. In order to take the desire of the people into mature consideration, Rehoboam announces that he would give them an answer in three days, and lays the matter first before the older counsellors, who had served under Solomon, who advise him to yield at present to the will of the people, and give them good words, and they will serve him for ever (v. 7.) Not contented with this advice, Rehoboam submits the affair to the younger advisers, who had grown up with him, who decide for intimidating the people by severe threatening. V. 10. "My smallest limb is thicker than my father's loins." קְטַנִּי from קטן *parvitas, i.e. membrum minimum;* most expositors explain it after the *Vulg.* of the little finger, whereas LXX. and *Chald.* give the abstract ἡ μικρότης, חַלָּשׁוּתִי *debilitas mea.* The phrase is a proverbial one in the sense: "I have much greater power than my father, I will lay on you a still heavier yoke." "My father hath chastised you with whips, I will chastise you with scorpions." עַקְרָב, scorpion—*flagelli genus globulis plumbeis cum aculeis incurvis munitum, a scorpii similitudine dictum (Ges. thes.* 11, 1062.)[1] This counsel was not only very imprudent *consideratis circumstantiis negotii* (Seb. Schm.), but in and of itself unwise and perverse. It was the speech of a despotic tyrant, not of a

[1] *Virga, si est nodosa vel aculeata, scorpio . . vocatur, quia arcuato vulnere in corpus infigitur. Isidor. Hispal. Orig. l. v. in Dougtaei anal. ss.* i. p. 175.

shepherd and ruler appointed by God over his people, which of necessity must issue in the revolt of the seditious tribes. This is also (v. 15) indicated by the remark, that Rehoboam did not follow the counsel of the old experienced advisers, but that of the young men, who had grown up with him, and therefore knew his haughty ambitious character and wished to flatter him.[1] But whether the advice of the old men would have had a favourable issue is certainly another question. Probably for the moment, but not for a continuance. For to become a עֶבֶד of the people, to serve the people the king was unable, without forgetting the right and power granted to him by God. Had he, however, agreed to such a concession, he would have taken from the tribes every pretext for separation, and had no share in the guilt of the revolt. But Rehoboam followed the haughty counsel of the young men, for it was סִבָּה מֵעִם יְהוָה "a turn from the Lord," that is, a dispensation of God, "that he might perform his saying," v. 15. Here the author points to the higher causality of the event. *Ipsa Rehabeami stolida imprudentia consilio Dei inservivit, ut quod accidit etiam merito accidisse videretur.* Wits. i. p. q. p. 308.

V. 16 f. The haughty and harsh answer of Rehoboam gives the discontented tribes apparently just cause for separation. With the answer: "What portion have we in David? neither have we inheritance in the son of Jesse. To your tents, O Israel: now see to thine own house, David," they returned to their homes. In these words, with which the Benjamite Sheba had proclaimed sedition and rebellion against David in the land (2 Sam. xx. 1), is expressed the deep-rooted aversion to the royal house of David so strongly, that it is manifest the revolt had a deeper cause than the pretended oppression of Solomon, since it had its proper ground only in the old jealousy of Judah, suppressed indeed under Solomon, but still not utterly extinguished, which resulted again from the untheocratic disposition of these

[1] *Juvenes nimirum existimabant indignum facinus esse Salomonis filio, Davidis nepoti, leges regnandi a populo Hebraeo imponi, majestatemque regiam viliorem posthac futuram nisi ab initio regni eam revereri adsuesceret populus.* Cler.

tribes, from their disloyalty to Jehovah.—V. 17 contains the important historical notice: "but the children of Israel, who dwelt in the cities of Judah, over them Rehoboam reigned." As in this chapter Israel always means the ten tribes (comp. vv. 1 3, 16, 18, 19, 20, etc.), by the Israelites dwelling in the cities of Judah are not to be understood members of the tribe of Judah, but only of the ten tribes. Hence the older expositors, for example Witsius i. p. q. p. 317, thought of the Simeonites, who from the situation of their territory (comp. on xi. 13) must have remained in the kingdom of Judah, and might have been designated Israelites dwelling in the cities of Judah, inasmuch as their whole territory was originally given to the tribe of Judah, of whom they afterwards received a portion, Jos. xix. 9. Moreover, some members of the other tribes may in the course of time have settled in the cities of Judah, who also remained under Rehoboam.

V. 18 f. In order to treat with the tribes, who were disaffected and complaining of too heavy burdens, and appease them, Rehoboam sends to them Adoram who was over the socagers (comp. iv. 6), who was the least adapted for such a commission. The result, therefore, of his mission is, that he is stoned to death, and Rehoboam is compelled to summon all his energies (הִתְאַמֵּץ) by speedy flight in his chariot to escape a similar fate. Thus the ten tribes revolted from the royal house of David and made Jeroboam their king, v. 19.

Vv. 20—24. That v. 20 begins like v. 2, Theodoret has remarked but incorrectly explained: *Δὶς μὲν τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ πολλάκις ἀναγκάζεται λέγειν· ἐπειδὴ περὶ δύο βασιλειῶν διῃρημένων συγγράφει· καὶ ἔστιν ὅτε πολλὰ περὶ θατέρας τιθεὶς διηγήματα, εἶτα εἰς τὴν ἑτέραν διαβαίνων ἀναγκάζεται ἀναλαβεῖν τὰ ἤδη προειρημένα, ὥστε τὴν ἀκολουθίαν φυλάξαι.* But here is no transition from the history of one kingdom to that of the other; the similar beginning of the two verses is much rather explained by this, that v. 20 concludes the narrative begun with v. 2. The following vv. 21—24 correspond to v. 1 of our chapter, and therefore belong to the first section of the chapter.—The revolt of the ten tribes is only completed when Rehoboam desists from his purpose to subdue them by force of war, after the prophet Shemaiah has

shown that the thing is from the Lord,[1] and in the name of the Lord forbidden the Jews to make war on their brethren. וַיָּשׁוּבוּ לָלֶכֶת "and returned to go," that is, they desisted from the intended war and returned to their homes; וַיָּשׁוּבוּ מִלֶּכֶת 2 Chr. xi. 4 is explanatory.

Vv. 25—33. *Founding of the kingdom of Israel.* After Jeroboam was made king, he built Shechem for his residence. This city (שְׁכֶם) situated on the mountains of Ephraim, between Mount Ebal and Gerizzim, mentioned even in the times of Abraham and Jacob, after the conquest of Canaan by the Israelites assigned to the tribe of Ephraim, but transferred to the Levites and declared a free city, where Joshua held his last imperial diet, was destroyed in the time of the Judges by Abimelech (comp. Rob. Pal. iii., p. 336 ff.), and therefore rebuilt by Jeroboam, and probably also fortified, but did not long remain a royal residence, as we find Jeroboam xiv. 17 residing in Tirzah. After the captivity Shechem became the capital of the Samaritans, who have there survived to the present day, and still exists as an inconsiderable town under the name *Nablus* or *Nabulus*, corrupted from *Flavia Neapolis*, comp. Rob. i. p. q. p. 315 ff. and von Raumer, Pal. p. 158 ff.—Moreover Jeroboam built, that is, fortified the city Penuel, beyond Jordan, north-east of Succoth (Jud. viii. 6—8), on the north side of the Jabbok (Wady Zerka), comp. von Raumer, p. 246, and Winer (bibl. R. W. ii., p. 314.)[2] This city had formerly a tower (castle), which Gideon destroyed (Judg. viii. 17.) Jeroboam therefore fortifies it for the security of his kingdom against the conquerors of Upper Asia, for as may be inferred from Gen. xxxii. 22 ff., and Judg. viii. 8 ff., it lay on the great caravan-road, which led over Gilead to Damascus and farther by Palmyra across the Euphrates to Mesopotamia.

Vv. 26—29. In order to secure permanence to the political

[1] הַדָּבָר הַזֶּה, Seb. Schm. correctly explains: *privatio regni super decem tribus, non autem rebellio earum.* Comp. remarks on v. 15.

[2] Not on the south side of the Jabbok, as Rosenm. bibl. Althk. ii. 2 p. 31, assumes after Euseb. and Hieron. Tuch also, Comm. on Gen. p. 469, incorrectly remarks, that "the place must have been situated near the conflux of the Jabbok with the Jordan not far from Scythopolis."

separation, Jeroboam endeavours to provide his subjects with a substitute for the temple-worship at Jerusalem by the institution of the new *sacra*, that they might have no occasion to travel to Jerusalem to the feasts, from which he apprehended not without reason a return of the people to the house of David, and thence again danger to his own life. In this new arrangement the view of the narrative, according to which Jeroboam made all his arrangement with conscious intention, is regarded by Br. Bauer as improbable.[1] "For Jeroboam could not stand so exclusively above

[1] The Hegelian Vatke in his Relig. de. A. T. p. 398, goes much farther. With him the worship instituted by Jeroboam is neither an apostasy from the true service of Jehovah, because the two golden calves are symbolical representations of Jehovah, and as such had been already in use, and this image-worship was in fact (?) a refinement of an older form of worship, which had been still retained, nor an opposition to the Jewish temple-worship, for the family of Jeroboam was more truly devoted to the service of Jehovah than Solomon and his immediate successors; and the temple had not yet obtained universally the character of a central or national sanctuary, because otherwise Jeroboam could not have founded a similar temple in the kingdom of Israel. Jeroboam only sanctioned the sensual worship and fixed it for ages; which, however, must be regarded rather as the necessary consequence of the collective condition of the people, than the act and guilt of the individual, and in another respect again acted with beneficent effect, as the religion of Jehovah was generally preserved in Israel, etc. These assertions, drawn purely from the fancy, and in crying contradiction with the historical books and prophets of the Old Testament, Hengstenb. Beitr. ii. p. 150 ff. has deemed worthy of a refutation so fundamental and complete, that we do not require to dwell upon them. There is no foundation for Vatke's assumption, that the worship of Jehovah under the symbols of bulls was in use at an earlier period. Except the golden calf, which Aaron cast for the people at Sinai, there is not a shadow of proof for it, comp. Hengstenb. i. p. q. p. 151 f. Therewith falls at the same time the farther fiction of this critic, that this worship was an improvement of an older worship previously in use. But the no less unhistorical assertion, that Jeroboam's family was more truly devoted to the service of Jehovah than Solomon and his successors, is strikingly refuted on the one hand by Solomon's piety in the early part of his reign, which even in his subsequent declension so far held its ground, that he continued uninterrupted the legal worship of Jehovah in the temple along with the idolatry of his wives (comp. ix. 25), on the other hand by the narrative in ch. xiii. on which Vatke in vain endeavours to cast suspicion, comp. Hengstenb. i. p. q. p. 166 ff. Finally, what Vatke dreams about the salutary effects of the calf-worship, has been long since corrected by history itself, which has actually shown that the kingdom of Israel had the germ of corruption in

and apart from the people in his plans, that from his own thoughts and deliberations, even if he had consulted with several, he should have given the people an entirely new form of religion, which had been hitherto quite foreign to them. The people could not have taken up so eagerly as they did, or followed so constantly and obstinately this new form, if they had not been already inclined to it, and if the basis of it had not been already laid in their life. Neither could he displace the priests of the tribe of Levi and the Levites in general, if there had not been always an aversion to them among the people" (Relig. des A. T. ii., p. 177 ff.) In this reasoning the true and the false are intermingled, as also in the conclusions drawn from it, that "the separation of the people into two parts was an act of the general consciousness, and Jeroboam only employed for this purpose the principles inherent in the popular mind." Certain principles tending to separation no doubt existed among the people in the above-mentioned old jealousy of Ephraim towards Judah, which again originated in the want of genuine loyalty towards the Lord and his law; but the religious institutions of Jeroboam are and continue to be his own work, which he devised with a party like-minded with himself and forced upon the people, for which reason also they encountered great opposition not only on the part of the priests and Levites, but also from a large section of the people, and many emigrated sooner than take part in this unlawful worship (2 Chr. xi. 16.) That this new form of religion was eagerly adopted by the people is a fancy of Bauer, which is contradicted by the history; but that, after it was forced upon the people, they firmly adhered to it, is explained by the spirit of opposition to Judah, which the despotism of Jeroboam and his successors was able to keep alive. This despotism, with which Jeroboam conducted himself, as founder and lord of the new worship, and not the aversion of the people to them, compelled the priests and Levites also to emigrate. For as he tolerated only his own worship in his kingdom, they were compelled, as with the Levitical temple-worship their income was withdrawn

it from the very beginning, and therefore also perished 134 years before the kingdom of Judah. The remaining fancies of our critic will be discussed underneath.

from them, to emigrate of necessity, even if they had not done so from opposition to Jeroboam's unlawful proceedings.

Thus Jeroboam caused two golden calves to be made, and the one to be set up at Bethel and the other at Dan. This measure J. D. Mich. (Mos. R. iv. p. 162 ff.) takes to be "very politic," but certainly contrary to the Divine law. The judgment of C. a Lap., however, was much more correct: *Videbatur hoc ejus consilium politice prudens et ad regnum suum statumque politicum tuendum salutare: sed re vera fuit imprudens et perniciosum statumque et regnum ejus prorsus labefactavit et evertit.* Only a short-sighted superficial policy can see high statesmanship in a measure arising from mere unbelief in the word and promise[1] of God, which thinks to be able to compensate for a Divine by a self-devised human institution. Jeroboam shows indeed a certain degree of earthly prudence in endeavouring[2] to adhere to old traditions that were sacred among the people in the form of worship to be introduced by him. He gives the people symbols of Jehovah, and such, indeed, as their fathers had once caused to be made by Aaron on Sinai, wherein he wisely gave special prominence to the advantage which the people would have from not being obliged any more to undertake a long journey to Jerusalem. רַב־לָכֶם וגו׳, "it is too much[3] for you to go to Jerusalem," that is, *nimis molestum est, ut e tam remotis locis ascendatis Hierosolymam.* Seb. Schm. By transferring the words, Ex. xxxii. 4, "Behold thy gods, O Israel, which brought thee up out of the land of

[1] *Non enim confidebat promisso Dei per vatem facto, fore ut solium sibi posterisque stabiliretur modo pia animi inclinatione Deo adhaereret.* Wits. i. p. q. p. 309.

[2] *Prudentia ergo Jerobeamus populum ab eo quod avitum erat et imbibitum alienare noluit. Locum duntaxit mutavit, ritusque colendi, tum ministros etiam et tempus cultus, idque tam astute ut revocare potius ad omnium antiquissimos mores, quam novitiis initiari institutis Israelitae viderentur.* Wits. p. 310.

[3] De Wette, after Bochart *(Hieroz.* i. p. 355 f.), *sufficit vobis hactenus ascendisse*, falsely translates: "long enough have ye gone up to Jerusalem." Maurer also falsely explains: *satis est τοῦ ἀναβαίνειν.* For even if רב with an infinitive following has this meaning, yet מִן cannot here be understood partitively, because the *ἀναβαίνειν* admits of no partition. The passages cited by Maurer, Ex. ix. 28, Ezek. xliv. 6, even if מִן is there to be taken partitively, prove nothing, because מִן in both stands before the *nom. plur.*

Egypt," to his calves he intended to intimate: *non est nova religio; hoc cultu jam olim patres nostri in deserto usi sunt auctore ipso Aharone.* Seb. Schm. From this verbal reference to that fact it appears on the one hand, that the worship of the calves was no proper idolatry, from which also it is always distinguished in our books as in the prophets Hosea and Amos, but that under the symbol of the calves Jehovah was worshipped, on the other hand the Egyptian origin of this worship is thereby proved, for which Jeroboam was determined by his sojourn in Egypt.[1] Hence is explained also the setting up of two calves in imitation of the images of Apis and Mnevis; the connection with the golden calf worshipped at Sinai was partly suggested by the fact itself, inasmuch as this was only a copy of the Egyptian Apis, partly a stroke of policy in order to remove from this worship the objection of novelty, and attach to it greater sacredness. But did Jeroboam not know that even the worship of Jehovah by images was as strictly forbidden in the law as the worship of false gods? Was the fate of the golden calf cast by Aaron unknown to him? Did he not reflect, that at that time the people by the worship of it brought on themselves the wrath of God, and that only through the earnest intercession of Moses the punishment of extermination could be averted from the whole people? No doubt all this was known to him, but how little the natural heart

[1] How clearly the whole representation points to this connection has been already shown by Bochart, p. q. p. 354. Vatke, on the contrary, denies, indeed, the Egyptian origin of calf-worship (p. q. p. 398); but what he advances only affords evidence of the boundless audacity with which this criticism resolves to ignore all historical testimonies in order to defend its philosophical presuppositions of an original bull-worship of the Israelites, from which the worship of Jehovah developed itself only by degrees in a natural manner. Without even mentioning, much less refuting, the numerous testimonies of the ancients, collected by Bochart p. q. p. 345 ff. as to the worship of images of animals among the Egyptians, Vatke refers to a passage from Creuzer's Symbolik (i. 480 ff.), by no means confirming his view, in proof of this, that the Egyptians held only living animals sacred, but employed images of animals only as masks or in bas reliefs. But notwithstanding that Hengstenb. (Beitr. ii. p. 155 ff.) exposed the view of Vatke in all its nakedness, and again expressly cited the most conclusive passages of the ancients for the Egyptian origin of calf-worship, yet Br. Bauer (Relig. des A.T. ii. p. 180 f.) two years after ventured again to deny it, without even saying a word in refutation of Hengstenberg.

of man regards the word of God, if it forbid the object of his inclination, experience and history furnish a thousand examples, as in such cases the clearest and most explicit prohibition by good or bad reasons is put to silence or so explained and distorted that men think they may disregard it.[1] Thus Jeroboam also will have discovered explanations of this prohibition and of the historical facts testifying against the sin prohibited, by which he thought himself able to justify his proceedings, though they are not transmitted to us. The locality in which he placed the golden calves might appear to him a palliating circumstance. He did not select his own residence for this purpose, but Bethel and Dan. Bethel, on the boarders of Benjamin and Ephraim, see the particulars on 2 Ki. ii. 2, was a most holy place in the tradition of the people. There Jehovah appeared to the patriarch Jacob, from which the town got the name of "house of God" (Gen. xxxii.) Should not Jehovah, Jeroboam might imagine and endeavour to persuade others, manifest himself in this holy place to the posterity of Jacob as well as to their ancestor?—Dan, in the north of Palestine, at one of the sources of the Jordan, formerly called Laish, Judg. xviii. 26 ff., comp. Robins. iii. p. 617 f. and 626, was through the idols set up there by the Danites, to which even a grandson of Moses officiated as priest, likewise already consecrated as a seat of worship, to which might he added in the case of this place also a reference to the convenience of the people, that the Israelites dwelling in the north might not have a long way to go for the exercise of their worship.

Vv. 30, 31. The institution of this worship became a sin to Jeroboam, because it was contrary to the command of God, which not only forbade all worshipping of Jehovah by images and symbols, but also had not left the choice of the place of worship to the will of the people. The seats of worship, moreover, wanted the principal thing, by which alone they could have

[1] It testifies therefore of slight knowledge of men and small philological experience, when Paulus, Comm. z. N.T. iv. p. 230, de Wette Beitr. i. p. 204, and Gesen. *de Pentat. Samar.* p. 6, infer from the introduction of the calf-worship, that at that time the Mosaic law was not yet in existence. See the refutation of this futile argument in Hengstenb. i. p. q. p. 174 ff.

become sanctuaries of Jehovah, namely, the ark with the real presence of God connected with it, which Jeroboam with all his ingenuity could represent by no corresponding symbol,[1] so that the sanctuary he erected for each of the golden calves, because it wanted the *praesentia numinis*, became בֵּית־בָּמוֹת "a house of high places."—The singular בית במות, which LXX., οἴκους ἐφ' ὑψηλῶν, and *Vulg.*, "*fana in excelsis*" have arbitrarily changed into the plural, is explained by the tacit opposition to בֵּית יְהוָה. Instead of the house of God he made a house of high places. That this was done in both places, in which the golden calves were set up, is understood of itself, as they could not stand under the open heaven, but must have been set up in a house or temple, in which a sacrificial altar must have been erected. There is some obscurity in the words: וַיֵּלְכוּ הָעָם וגו׳ "and the people went before the one even to Dan," v. 30, which Seb. Schm. explains: *ea se contulit pars populi, quae in vicinia Danis erat.* Scarcely correct, for the עַד־דָּן does not accord with this. We are rather to understand by הָאֶחָד the golden calf set up at Bethel, and so must conceive the sense to be, that the people even to Dan, that is, the greater part of the people frequented the sanctuary at Bethel, as the majority gave this the preference, so that the other at Dan was worshipped only by a few. It is easy to perceive the reason of this. Bethel, on account of the manifestation of God to Jacob there, was regarded as a holy place, whereas Dan in past times could only point to an idol. "And

[1] When therefore Vatke i. p. q. p. 400 thus expresses himself: "Had the temple worship at that time actually had the character of a central and normal divine service, yet it was in the power of Jeroboam to found a similar one for the kingdom of Israel, especially as Jerusalem had not long been the centre of the kingdom, and prophetical decisions, if we regard them as historical and as the divine preparation and confirmation of the temple worship, might as well sanction the institution of an Israelitish central worship, as ratify the independent establishment of the kingdom (1 Ki. xi. 29 ff., xiv. 7 ff.)" he has entirely ignored the fact, that a temple only became a sanctuary to Israel on condition that Jehovah really manifested his presence in it in a symbolical way. But Jeroboam wanted not merely the ark, but also the divine commission for the foundation of another temple beside that of Jerusalem, and no prophet of the Lord could sanction it, after the Lord himself had chosen Jerusalem and the temple of Solomon for the sole place of the revelation of his name.

he made priests of all the people, who were not of the sons of Levi." This innovation appears very surprising, especially when we reflect, that even an Ephraimite (Judg. xvii. 10 ff.) rejoiced at this, that he had a Levite as priest for his idolatrous worship. If, therefore, Jeroboam makes those who are not Levites priests, this can only have been done, because the Levites wished to be priests לַיהוָה, not לָעֲגָלִים. This he could not concede to them, and therefore they were obliged to leave their district cities and their property in Israel, and emigrate into the kingdom of Judah (2 Chr. xi. 13 f.), and he was compelled to choose out of the whole people those to be priests for his בָּמוֹת and עֲגָלִים, who had the inclination to such a service (הַחֹפֵץ xiii. 33.) מִקְצוֹת הָעָם means not: *ex infima plebe* (Schulz), but *ex universo populo, quia extrema pertinent ad complementum rei*, as Bochart, *hieroz.* i. p. 356, *Lud. de Dieu ad Ezech.* xxxiii. 1, and Witsius p. q. p. 315, have rightly expounded.

V. 32 f. The feast of tabernacles also to be observed in the seventh month (Lev. xxiii. 34 ff.), Jeroboam transferred to the eighth month. A plausible occasion for this arbitrary deviation from the law, which repeatedly names (Lev. xxiii. 34, 39, 41) the seventh month as the time appointed of the Lord, might be found in the circumstance that in the northern districts of his kingdom the grain ripened at least a month later than in the southern Judah, as this festival was to be kept at the ingathering of the fruit of the land (the grain), Lev. xxiii. 39; the proper ground, however, lay in the design to make the separation also in a religious respect as complete as possible, although he adhered to the day of the month (the 15th) on account of the weak, who might take offence at the innovations. For that there were many besides the priests and Levites who were highly dissatisfied with these illegal proceedings, appears from the notice 2 Chr. xiii. 16, that Israelites out of all the tribes devoted in heart to the Lord went to Jerusalem to sacrifice there to the God of their fathers. Still not content with all this, with erecting sanctuaries and places of worship, instituting priests and changing feasts, Jeroboam himself offered sacrifice at the altar at Bethel in order to prove himself to be the spiritual head of his kingdom. V. 33 closes this section and introduces the fol-

lowing. Here the narrator again with emphasis puts forth the fact, that Jeroboam had of himself[1] devised the feast to be kept by the Israelites. The less ground there was for such a change, the more arbitrary and culpable it was. For his other religious innovations he might at least plead the necessity of giving to his kingdom a permanent unity and independence of the kingdom of Judah, but no such necessity existed for the change of the feast of tabernacles, as the already mentioned plausible occasion for it applied by no means to the whole kingdom, but at most to a small part of it, as the grain ripened about Bethel at the same time as in the environs of Jerusalem, since Bethel was only twelve Roman miles from Jerusalem.

CHAPTER XIII.

PROPHECY AGAINST THE CALF-WORSHIP INTRODUCED BY JEROBOAM.

Vv. 1 and 2. While Jeroboam is still engaged in burning incense upon the altar comes a prophet[2] in the word of the Lord to Bethel, and proclaims by Divine revelation the coming destruction of the altar there. בִּדְבַר יְהוָה here means not, *jussu Jehovae* (Cler., Schulz), nor, "at the word of Jehovah" (de Wette); as this does not suit vv. 2, 9, and 17, but "in the word of the Lord," being as it were in it. The word of the Lord is conceived as a power, which comes over the prophet and impels him to utter the revelation made to him. Comp. 1 Sam. iii. 21, Jehovah revealed himself to Samuel בדבר יהוה. Besides

[1] מִלִּבַּד means *seorsum*, so that there is no occasion for the reading of Keri מִלִּבּוֹ preferred by Hitzig, Begr. d. Krit. p. 128, comp. Maurer on this passage.

[2] The name of this prophet is unknown. An account of the statements, destitute of historical foundation, concerning him made by Josephus and some old ecclesiastical writers is given by Knobel, der Prophetism. d. Hebr. ii. p. 64, Not. 2.

this passage the phrase occurs in this sense only in our chapter repeatedly (vv. 2, 5, 9, 17, 18, 32) and xx. 35; elsewhere always in the derivative sense, on the word, according to the word of the Lord, comp. 2 Chr. xxx. 12; Num. xxxi. 16; 1 Chr. xxi. 19.—V. 2. "Behold a child shall be born unto the house of David, Josiah by name, who will offer upon thee (the altar) the priests of the high places, that burn incense upon thee, and men's bones shall be burned upon thee." In this prophecy, which was literally fulfilled according to 2 Ki. xxiii. 15 ff., the old theologians found an evident proof of the Divine inspiration of the prophecies. Even Grotius recognizes therein *ingens divinae gubernationis ac praescientiae indicium, quod et nomen ejus, qui rem praesignificatam effecturus erat, praedicitur. Simile Esai.* 44, 28. *Ad haec nihil sunt onmnuim gentium oracula.* The rationalists, on the contrary, who reject the Divine origin of prophecy and deny every definite prediction of future events, assert that this prediction was only defined after the event, while they find in the naming of Koresh, in the second part of Isaiah, the strongest ground for rejecting its genuineness. Even the modern believing theology cannot yet agree to recognize special predictions of things future in the prophets, much less the revelation of the name of an individual about to exist hereafter, and remove predictions of this kind into the department of soothsaying (Wahrsagung), from which prophecy (Weissagung) is distinguished by this, that the latter alone prognosticates in general the future, resulting from the connection of the Divine revelation with necessity. But this limitation of prophecy to general facts, resulting by inherent necessity from the historical present, is an arbitrary determination. The difference between soothsaying and prophecy consists in this, that soothsaying foretells details purely accidental, standing in no rational connection with the Divine plan of the world and of salvation; prophecy, on the contrary, attests its Divine origin by this, that, standing in the most intimate connection with the revelation of grace, it prognosticates the future of the kingdom of God and all that is connected with its development, not only in general, but also in particular. The predictions of the prophets, entering into the detail of concrete visions, are, therefore, not mere poetic delineations and individualisings of general ideas, but real pictures pre-

sented to the spirit of the prophet by the Spirit of God, which are certainly governed and penetrated by the general idea of salvation, but so that this idea presents itself in the most concrete determinations, often even of names and numbers, which are even taken from the department of the accidental, because they are concrete determinations of the general idea of salvation. Such concrete predictions of special facts of salvation are no doubt rarer than the general visions of the whole complex of the future development of the kingdom of God, so that of the prognostication of a name, besides Koresh in Isaiah, the genuineness of which, notwithstanding all assaults, maintains its ground, only the example in our verse is found. The prediction of this name would only stand in the category of divination, if it were merely accidental and stood in no essential connection with the determination of the person. It is so neither with the name Koresh[1] nor with our name Josiah.—יאשיהו from אשה, אשי signifies: *quem Jehova fulcivit, quem Jeh. adjuvit* (comp. Ges. *thes.* i. 158), so that by the prediction the idea only is expressed, that to the house of David will be born a son, whom the Lord will support, establish, that he may execute judgment on the priests of the high places at Bethel.[2] At the ground of this judgment, as of the whole theocratic law, lies the *jus talionis*. On the same altar on which these priests offered are they themselves to be offered and their bones burned. The general expression, men's bones (עַצְמוֹת אָדָם) stands not for, their (the priests') bones, but is intentionally selected to denote men's corpses, as Josiah burned the bones, not merely of the priests slain by him, but at the same time of those long dead, which were taken out of their graves

[1] On the appellative meaning of the word Koresh, sun, comp. Hengstenb. Christol. i. 2, p. 192 f., Ges. *thes.* ii. p. 717, and Hävern. Einl. ii. 2, p. 165 f.

[2] The fulfilment of this and similar prophecies we are to regard so that the special events of the future, even to the names of individuals, were brought about and so realised at the proper time by the same Spirit of God, who had previously revealed them to the prophets, that the faithful could not mistake the hand of God. But they were not therefore fulfilled, because they were predicted, but they were predicted and previously revealed, because they were in future to enter into realization according to the counsel of the Lord.

(2 Ki. xxiii. 16), in order to desecrate the altar for ever by a double pollution, since to the abomination of human offering was added the pollution of human bones (Num. xix. 16.)

V. 3. For the confirmation of this prophecy the man of God gives also a miraculous sign[1]—the altar shall, by a miracle, be rent, and the ashes upon it shall be poured out—which took place immediately before the eyes of the king. V. 5. מוֹפֵת a miraculous appearance, τέρας, from the *rad.* أفت *avertit, amovit,* hence أفت *camela excellens,* then, in general, *res mira, portentum,* comp. Kamus in Freitag, *lex. arab.* i. p. 43. Thus correctly, after A. Schultens *ad Job.* i. p. 423, J. D. Mich., and others, Hengstenb. Christol. ii. p. 45 ff., and Hävern. on Ezek. p. 160 ff. contrary to the incorrect explanation and derivation of Gesen. in *thes.* i. 143, and ii. 612 f. Only afterwards did מופת appropriate the idea of the אות, σημεῖον, so that in this passage, as in Ezek. and Zech., it has the signification, miraculous sign.—דֶּשֶׁן not = אֵפֶר ashes in general, but ashes of animal offerings, as *Gussetius* has remarked. As the ashes of the offerings were to be removed from the altar, collected on the ash-heaps beside the altar, and then conveyed to a clean place without the camp (Lev. xvi. 3, 4); the pouring out of the ashes must be regarded as a sign of punishment, and not merely the natural consequence of the rending of the altar.

Vv. 4, 5. The importance of the authentication of the man of God by a miraculous sign appears from the conduct of Jeroboam towards him. Without waiting for the confirmation of his word by the announced miraculous sign, the king stretches his hand towards him with the words, Lay hold on him, but must now experience in the hand, with which he would set aside the prophet who was disagreeable to him, the omnipotence of the Lord, who has power to protect his servants. The outstretched hand is withered by a miracle, that is, stiffened, deprived of vital juice, so that he cannot draw it in again. On this follows the miraculous sign announced, and Jeroboam's wicked arrogance is broken down by the double miracle; he is constrained to entreat

[1] *Tunc adjicit signum, quo probaret, sua verba non esse ficta, sed se a Deo esse missum, et quod quæ dixerat eventura essent.* Vatablus.

the prophet to intercede for him with the Lord his God that his hand may be restored. חִלָּה אֶת־פְּנֵי פל, to make weak, soften the face of any one, that is, to entreat so imploringly, that the other cannot refuse that which is sought or behave with rigour, comp. Hengstenb. Comm. ü. d. Ps. ii. p. 425.

Vv. 7—10. After his hand was restored by the prophet's intercession, Jeroboam wishes to gain by civility the man of God, whom he could not crush by his power, in order to render harmless his vexatious message, at least in the eyes of the people. For this purpose, and not to honour him, and prove himself thankful for the restoration of his hand, he invites him to his house to refresh himself with food (comp. on סעד Gen. xviii. 5; Judg. xix. 5) and give him a present. But this design also is defeated, and the rejection of his worship on the part of God only manifested the more. "If thou wilt give me half thine house, I will not go in with thee, nor eat or drink in this place—for the Lord has forbidden me." The subject of צִוָּה is יהוה to be supplied from the connexion of thought, comp. Ew. heb. Gr. § 551. God forbade him to do this *ad detestationem idololatriae, ut ipso facto ostenderet Bethelitas idololatras adeo esse detestabiles et a Deo quasi excommunicatos, ut nullum fidelium cum iis cibi vel potus communionem habere velit.* Thus correctly *C. a Lapide;* but when he endeavours to explain in the same way the command not to return the same way he came, the unsatisfactoriness of the remark, *quasi via in Bethel ob ejus idola esset polluta et execranda nec ullo modo revisenda,* is immediately apparent. The remark, also of Seb. Schm., *ne occurreret ulli, qui eum prius vidisset adeoque de novo cum eo in colloqium veniret et moras necteret; noverat enim Deus prophetae hujus animum, quod libenter mansurus esset,* is not satisfactory. For irrespective of the circumstance, that in this case the prohibition was insufficient, as if he wished to delay, he could enter into conversation also with any one he met on the other way, the object of this prohibition must be essentially the same with that regarding eating and drinking. The correct answer is that of Buddeus, *hist. eccl. V. T.* ii. p. 282: *ne forte a Jerobeamo retractus in ejus gratiam aliquid faceret, quod propheta indignum esset, aut ex quo colligi posset, gratiam quandam numinis idololatras sperare posse.*

Vv. 11—19. The man of God had resisted the offers of Jero-

boam; but when an old prophet of Bethel, who hastened after him when he learned his story, invited him to return to his house and refresh himself with food and drink, and appealed for his invitation to a Divine revelation, he became unfaithful to the Divine command, and allowed himself to be induced, by the lying pretence of the old prophet, that an angel, by the word of the Lord, had charged him with the invitation, to turn back, and stop with the old prophet. It is not easy to comprehend the conduct of this old prophet at Bethel. Was he a true prophet, as, after Ephraim. Syr., and Theodoret, Herm. Witsius (*miscell. ss.* i. p. 116. *ed. nov.* 1736), Knobel i. p. q. p. 66 f., and Köster i. p. q. p. 68 suppose, or a false prophet, for which, with the Chald., Josephus, Procop. of Gaza, most of the Rabbins, and older Catholic as well as Protestant expositors declare themselves? Our judgment of this depends on the answer to the farther question, did he seduce the Jewish prophet to transgress the Divine command? As the man of God from Judah had abundantly proved himself by a double miracle to be a true prophet of the Lord, the invitation of the prophet of Bethel could only spring either from the intention to tempt him, that is, to bring him to ruin, and to take from his prediction its effect on the king and people, or the desire to refresh himself by intercourse with him, and derive profit from his prophetical gift for his own spiritual life. No third case is conceivable. But if we consider the first view correct, we may either suppose with *Alph. Tostatus* in Seb. Schm., *hunc prophetam esse factum sacerdotem a Jerobeamo timuisseque pro commodo, si Jerobeam abrogaret cultum idololatricum: ideoque cogitasse de rege in impietate confirmando, detracta per seductionem prophetae divino vaticinio fide*, or with Josephus (*Antiq.* viii. 9) say, δείσας μὴ παρευδοκιμήσειεν αὐτὸν ὁ ξένος παρὰ τῷ βασιλεῖ, καὶ πλείονος ἀπολάβοι τιμῆς. But the farther course of the affair agrees neither with the one nor with the other of these assumptions; neither the Divine revelation communicated to the old prophet at table concerning the punishment awaiting the man of God for his disobedience to the express command of God; nor the honour of burial conferred on the dead by the old prophet after the infliction of this punishment, and his being accredited by the confirmation of his prediction uttered against the altar at Bethel. Had the old prophet

intended to exalt himself to the prejudice of the other in the eyes of Jeroboam and the people, or to involve in ruin the man of God from Judah, he would not have again elevated and justified him by the confirmation of his prophecy. God the Lord would also have imparted no revelation to such a character.[1]

[1] Theodoret and Witsius, though far from excusing the lie, as Knobel i. p. q. does, adduce in proof that the old prophet was a true prophet, 1. *quia Deus prædixit per eum viro Dei id quod ei eventurum erat;* 2. *quia propheta neque aliter in scriptura vocatur;* 3. *quia credidit prædictis de Josia. Sed nec pietati omni destitutus fuisse videtur, quum agnoverit in viro isthoc aequitatem divini judicii ipseque justa ei fecerit eodemque voluerit condi loculo* (Wits. l. c.). But if Buddeus (*hist. eccl.* ii., p. 283) objects to 1. : *et alias impiis hominibus Deum quaedam revelasse*, all historical proof of this fails, unless we wish arbitrarily to weaken the term *impiis.* Buddeus had probably Balaam in view, as J. J. Hess. Gesch. d. Könige v. Jud. i., p. 36, calls the prophet of Bethel in character and history a counterpart of Balaam; but Balaam's character is altogether different. Balaam shows himself selfish indeed, but he did not permit himself to forge a Divine revelation in order to deceive; he wished no doubt to prophesy to please Balak, but he unconditionally adhered to the Divine communication, although he afterwards fell back again into his old carnal mind. Thus if Balaam was no pious man or true prophet, yet we cannot deny to him all fear of God or number him among ordinary false prophets, comp. Hengstenb. d. Gesch. Bib. p. 6, ff. On the other hand had the old prophet of Bethel actually had the bad intention attributed to him, to ruin the prophetical character of the man of God from Judah, God would not have employed him as his organ. This feeling has forced itself even on the advocates of this opinion, so that Josephus changes the history and makes not the old prophet pronounce concerning the man of God from Judah, but the latter to utter the revelation himself, and even Hess, p. 34, would willingly declare the prophecy "a cunning artifice of the old prophet, still more to disconcert him from Judah, if the threatening had not been fulfilled immediately after in so remarkable a manner." We must therefore explain the subsequent conduct of the old prophet towards the man of God from Judah either with Hess as a new act of hypocrisy, or with Buddeus derive it from a previous conversion, which the text in no way warrants. Buddeus and the old expositors have been misled partly by 2 Ki. xxiii., 18, to an unfair judgment as to the prophet of Bethel, since they conclude from the remark there אֲשֶׁר־ בָּא מִשֹּׁמְרוֹן : *eum antea habitasse in Samaria et inde rerum suarum sedem Bethelem transtulisse, non aliam ob causam, quam ut Jerobeami captaret benevolentiam.* But he could not have come from the city of Samaria, as it was not then in existence, (comp. chap. xvi. 24). שֹׁמְרוֹן denotes the land of Israel in opposition to Judah (v. 17), and the whole statement conveys nothing but the Israelitish origin of the prophet.

There remains then only the other supposition, that the design of the old prophet in compelling his associate in office from Judah to stop at his house was good and well meant, that it sprang from the desire to enter into closer acquaintance with him, thus as Theodoret expresses himself *οὐχ ἵνα τοῦτον βλάψῃ, ἀλλ' ἵνα αὐτὸς μεταλάβῃ τῆς εὐλογίας.* But that in order to make sure of his wish he availed himself of a sinful expedient, a lie, Hengstenb. i. p. q. p. 149 has thus correctly explained: "In the innovations of Jeroboam he had committed sin by silence. What the Jewish prophet did brought him to the consciousness of what he himself should have done. Seized with shame for his fall, he wishes to raise himself again to respect from himself and from others by intercourse with the witness of the Lord." By this it is determined at the sametime, that he was no false, but a true prophet of the Lord, who was weak indeed for a time, and in consequence of this weakness fell into the sin of lying; but by the consequences, which his sin brought on the Jewish prophet, was brought again to the full consciousness of his prophetic call, and then proved this consciousness by the honour conferred on his brother in office when punished with death as well as by the corroborative assent to his prophetic sentence.—The *plur.* וַיְסַפְּרוּם v. 11 after the foregoing *sing.* וַיְסַפֵּר may be explained either with Münster, Clarius, and others by this, that the remaining sons agreed with the narrative of the first, or with Vatabl. so that one related the matter in the name of all, and thus the relation might be attributed to all.—"And he found him sitting under the terebinth" (v. 14), probably to rest himself. By the definite article the terebinth is rendered prominent as having been distinguished from others, and generally known by some event (comp. Ew. Gr. § 533.) The older expositors find here *peccati initium, moras utique nectere non debuit.* But as God did not expressly recommend him to make haste on his return, there was no transgression of the Divine command in sitting down, although the delay thence arising became an occasion of sin to him, inasmuch as the prophet of Bethel might now overtake him. Moreover the man of God from Judah might easily have detected the lie of the prophet of Bethel, for 1. *cum ipso locutus est ipse Deus: at senex mentitur angeli sermonem. Atqui si Deus loquitur, non est credendum contrarium, si vel angelus e cœlo*

venerit (Gal. i.) 2. *Verbum Dei sibi ipsi non contrariatur. Seb. Schm.*

Vv. 20—25. Most expositors consider the guilt of the old prophet who tempted to be greater than that of the man of God from Judah, who was misled by his lie to the transgression of the express command of God; but if we consider the circumstances carefully, the guilt appears at least equally great on both sides. The old prophet of Bethel chose a sinful objectionable means to a good end; he wished to rise again by fellowship with a true prophet, and by no means to injure the other, the Jewish prophet had no ground for transgressing the Divine command, but the sensual desire of bodily refreshment by food and drink. From the mouth therefore of him whose pretended communication from an angel he thoughtlessly believed he must soon receive a true revelation of God, the prediction of punishment for his disobedience to the command of God: "Forasmuch as thou hast disobeyed the mouth of the Lord and hast not kept his commandment, thy carcase shall not come unto the sepulchre of thy fathers," that is, *morte violenta, antequam in patriam redeas, peribis* (J. H. Mich). And only too soon was the prediction verified. On his way back a lion met him and slew him. In order however that no one might see in this only a misfortune happening to him by accident, but might plainly recognize the punitive hand of the Lord, the lion, contrary to his nature, neither rends the body nor slays the ass, on which the prophet rode, but stands by the body cast on the ground and the ass standing beside it, so that those passing by saw the miracle and reported it in Bethel.

Vv. 26—32. As soon as the old prophet heard what had occurred, he explained to the people the miracle, and thereby confirmed the Divine mission of the Jewish prophet, who was thus punished for his disobedience to the command of God; he then went for his body, which he found still unmutilated with the lion and the ass standing quietly by it, as the passers by reported, who brought the news to Bethel, interred him with all honour in his own grave, and finally charges his sons after his death, to bury him in the same grave beside his bones, because the word of the Lord which he cried against the altar in Bethel and against all the houses of the high places of Samaria, will surely be ful-

filled.—שִׁבֵּר (vv. 26, 28) *frangere*, of the lion, who crushes his prey. In the same sense the Latins use *frangere* and *confringere*, and the Arabs كسر, comp. Bochart. *hieroz.* i., p. 740.—הוֹי אָחִי alas my brother! is an expression of the usual lamentation over a departed friend, Jer. xxii. 18.—The words: "And against all the houses of the high places in the cities of Samaria" are partly prophetical; for at that time, beside that of Bethel, there was only a high place erected at Dan, but after such a beginning their speedy multiplication might be anticipated with certainty. שֹׁמְרוֹן stands *per prolepsin* for the designation of the kingdom of the ten tribes, for this name could only come into use after the building of the city Samaria (xvi. 24.) The Divine intention in this miraculous history Theodoret has rightly discerned: ἐκ δὲ τούτου διηγήματος διδασκόμεθα, ὡς δυνατοὶ δυνατῶς ἐτασθήσονται. οὐ γὰρ ἔδει τὸν τῆς θείας ἀκηκοότα φωνῆς ἀνθρωπίνῃ πιστεῦσαι τἀναντία λεγούσῃ, ἀλλ' ἀναμεῖναι τὸν προστεταχότα λῦσαι ὅπερ γενέσθαι προσέταξεν. ἐγὼ δὲ οἶμαι καὶ εἰς βεβαίωσιν τῆς περὶ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου προρρήσεως τήνδε λενέσθαι τὴν τιμωρίαν. οὐ γὰρ οἷόν τε ἦν λαθεῖν ἀνδρὸς τοσούτου διήγημα· τοῖς δὲ ἀκούουσι ἱκανὸν ἦν τοῦτο δέος ἐνθεῖναι. εἰ γὰρ τροφῆς μετάληψις παρὰ τὴν θείαν ἐντολὴν γενομένη, καὶ οὐκ ἐξ ἡδονῆς ἀλλ' ἐξ ἀπάτης, γεγενημένη, τοσαύτην ἀνδρὶ δικαίῳ τιμωρίαν ἐπήνεγκεν, ὁποίαις περιπεσοῦνται κολάσεσιν οἱ τὸν μέν πεποιηκότα καταλελοιπότες Θεὸν, τὰ δὲ τῶν ἀλόγων προσκυνοῦντες ἐνδάλματα.[1]

[1] Add to this the appropriate remark of Witsius p. q. i. p. 118: *Denique tot admiranda in unum concurrentia effecerunt, ut vaticinium adversus aram Betheliticam in omnium ore atque memoria versaretur, et legatio hujus prophetae multo redderetur conspectior et illustrior. Ita senis Bethelitici mendacium ipsi quidem infamiam inussit, soli viro Dei nimis credulo nocuit; at veritati confirmandae et publicandae, Divina faciente providentia, insigniter inservivit.* The accumulation, so offensive to the rationalists, of the miraculous in our chapter corresponds with the great object of the mission of the man of God, by which the Lord intended at the very introduction of the idolatrous practices of Jeroboam to enter a strong protest against them, in order to guard the god-fearing in Israel, of whom there were still not a few (2 Chr. xi. 16; 1 Ki. xviii. 3, xix. 12), against apostasy by taking part in the worship of the calves, but to render the godless, who joined in it, ἀναπολογήτους at the day of judgment. Even if Jeroboam, therefore, the author of this idolatry with those like-minded with him, notwithstanding this emphatic warning, did not turn from his evil ways, yet

Vv. 33, 34. This event however made no particular impression on Jeroboam. He continued his sinful course, and made of the whole people priests of the high places, whoever would, comp. xii. 31. הֶחָפֵץ יְמַלֵּא וגו cannot be rendered with the Chald.: *qui volebant, offerebant munus et erant sacerdotes*; for מִלֵּא אֶת־יָדוֹ denotes in the language of the law, Ex. xxviii. 41, xxix. 9—35, consecration to the priesthood, according to the *ritus* usual in this consecration; to lay the parts of the sacrifice, which were to come upon the altar, and thus properly belonged to Jehovah, in the hands of the party to be consecrated, thereby to fill the hands, by which, according to Bähr's correct explanation (Symbol. ii. p. 426), a presenting therewith on the part of Jehovah might be indicated; as the phrase מִלֵּא יָד לַיהוָה, Ex. xxxii. 29; 1 Chr. xxix. 5; 2 Chr. xxix. 31, signifies to "present gifts to the Lord." V. 34. And there was in this thing (through it) cause of sinning to the house of Jeroboam, and of its extirpation and destruction from the face of the earth; that is, this obstinate perseverance in his illegal ungodly course, notwithstanding the warning expressly given to him, brought his house into sin, and became the cause of its extirpation, which also was soon after announced to him.

it was no more purposeless and unprofitable on this account than the narrative of this miracle is unhistorical, because Vatke i. p. q. p. 400 is pleased to call it "marvellous." As long as the rationalism and pantheism of our day can do nothing more with these and similar miracles than either with Eichhorn (Allg. Biblioth. der bibl. Litt. iv. 210 ff.), explain them as natural and distort them, or with G. L. Bauer (hebr. Mythol. ii. p. 130), pronounce them to be myths and assert their impossibility without any rational ground, merely from certain fixed presuppositions of the finite understanding, no particular refutation of their views is needed. As fixed ideas and pure fancies of unbelief they will not escape their destiny after a short period to fall into total oblivion.

CHAPTER XIV. 1—20.

PROPHECY AGAINST THE HOUSE OF JEROBOAM AND THE KINGDOM OF ISRAEL, VV. 1—18. JEROBOAM'S DEATH, VV. 19, 20.

Vv. 1—3. The first visitation which befel Jeroboam, was the sickness of his son Abijah. To ask advice concerning him he sends his wife to Ahijah in Shiloh, to the prophet who had predicted to him the kingdom over the ten tribes, but disguised, that she might not be recognised by the prophet as the king's wife. He did not wish by this disguise to conceal from the people, that he acknowledged Jehovah still as the true God, and was compelled to consult him concerning the future (Seb. Schm.), for he had the less need to be afraid of the people on this account, because the worship introduced by him, although illegal, was yet dedicated to Jehovah, but he wished to deceive in this way the old prophet Ahijah, of whom he expected otherwise no favourable answer, because he was acting directly contrary to his advice (xi. 38.) וְהִשְׁתַּנֵּה, to change herself, change her appearance, that is, disguise herself.—"Who spake of me for king (לְמֶלֶךְ), that is, to be king over this people." The connexion of לְמֶלֶךְ with דְּבַר עָלַי arises from this, that the word uttered by the prophet as a word of God includes its own realization in itself, the prediction that he would be king involves the appointment to be king, comp. 1 Sam. xxv. 30, xiii. 14.—V. 3. "And take in thine hand ten loaves and cakes and a cruse of honey." These gifts were to be an honorary present for the prophet (comp. 1 Sam. ix. 8, and Winer, bibl. R. W. i. p. 482), but were designedly small, because the queen wished to pass for a common citizen's wife. נְקֻדִּים denotes here unquestionably some kind of cake; with this agree the old versions, LXX., κολλυρίδες, *Vulg. crustula*, Pesh. ܦܬܝܬܐ, *Targ.* כְּסָנִין, comp. Buxtorf, *lex. chald. rabb. talm. p.* 1064. But the particular kind cannot be ascertained. In Josh. ix. 5—12, where also the word occurs, it probably denotes crumbs of bread, not musty bread, comp. Gesen. *thes.* ii. 909.

Vv. 4, 5. Jerobŏam supposed he could deceive the old prophet in this way, because his eyes were blind from age, but the Lord revealed to the old man the whole matter before the queen arrived, and charged him what he was to announce to her.—קָמוּ עֵינָיו, "his eyes stood," that is, were stiff, so that he could not see, comp. 1 Sam. iv. 15, a description of the so-called drop serene, *amaurosis*, which in extreme age is wont to arise from decay of the optic nerve.—כָּזֹה וְכָזֶה, so and so. Concerning the form זֹה only occurring in connexion with זֶה, Judg. xviii. 4; 2 Sam. xi. 26, comp. Hupfeld in the Ztschr. f. d. Kunde des Morgenl. ii. 3, p. 431.—וְיִהְיִי בְּבֹאָהּ וגו' "and it shall be, when she comes and makes herself strange," that is, when on her coming she makes herself strange, thou shalt speak to her so and so. On the ו of consecution before the *fut. apoc.*, comp. Ew. Gramm. § 618.

Vv. 6—11. As soon, therefore, as she entered the door of his house, the blind Ahijah addresses her by name, charges her with dissimulation, and announces to her that he is sent (charged) to her with a hard word (message.) קָשָׁה (comp. xii. 13) here in substance the same as חֲזוּת קָשָׁה, Is. xxi. 2. Hereupon he opens to her the hard message, with the direction annexed to deliver it to Jeroboam: "because Jeroboam had not answered the Divine purpose in elevating him to be prince of his people Israel, had not, as David, followed the commandments of God with all his heart to do only that which is right in the eyes of God, but had done worse than all who were before him (*judices nimirum et duces Jisraelis. Cler.*), made himself strange gods and molten images (that is, the golden calves) contrary to the express command of God, Ex. xx. 2, 3 (whence their designation as אֱלֹהִים אֲחֵרִים is taken) and rejected the Lord; therefore his whole house is to be exterminated." The expression, occurring again only in Ezek. xxiii. 35, to cast God behind his back, denotes in the strongest manner wilful disregard of God, the direct opposite of the phrase, to have God before the eyes and in the heart, and is stronger than the expression, to cast the law behind the back, Neh. ix. 26. In Is. xxxviii. 17 the phrase, to cast behind the back, is used of God not regarding, that is, forgiving sins.—

V. 10. מַשְׁתִּין בְּקִיר *mingens in parietem*, denotes neither the dog (Ephr. Syr. *Oper.* i. p. 542, Kimchi, Jarchi, Judah ben Karish, Abul., Michael., Dathe, etc.) nor *abjectissimum et vilissimum quemque hominem* (Winer, Maur., Thenius on 1 Sam. xxv. 22, and Jahn, bibl. Archæol. i. 2, p. 77), but according to R. Levi, Elias, Bochart *hieroz.* i. p. 675 f. etc., *marem* or *virum* as appears from the explanatory apposition עָצוּר וְעָזוּב here and xxi. 21, 2 Ki. ix. 8, or וְגֹאֲלָיו וְרֹעֵהוּ xvi. 11.[1] The words עצור ועזוב which our author in the passage quoted, and 2 Ki. xiv. 26, has taken from Deut. xxxii. 36 are also variously explained. As the old interpretations in Rosenm. (*Schol. in Deut.* p. q.) are mostly arbitrary, the only question can be, whether they signify with Gesen. (*thes.* ii. 1008) and Winer (*lex. man.* p. 706) *mancipium et manumissum s. liberum*, or with *Lud. de Dieu* in Deut. xxxii. 36, *connubio junctum s. patrem familias et caelibem.* Of these two interpretations the first is unfounded, the other is confirmed by the Arabic usage as well as the context. For עָצַר to hold back, confine, does not suit for designating the slave, as the slaves of Israel were not treated as slaves, and עָזַב to leave, let go, is never used of the manumission of slaves. But even if the two words actually had the assigned

[1] Beside the present passage this phrase occurs only in 1 Sam. xxv. 22 and 34, and indeed in the same phrase, of the extirpation of a family to the last man. Thenius on the passage infers from the (v. 22) added מִכָּל־אֲשֶׁר לוֹ, that the expression may have been originally understood of the dog and only afterwards of the lowest class of men. But this is not conclusive; כל אשר לו may very well denote all the males belonging to the house of Nabal. The objection raised against the most obvious explanation of the male gender, *quod homines bene morati in oriente nonnisi sedentes, neque facile in aliorum conspectu mingere solent* is shown by Herodot. ii. 35, Xenoph., Cyrop. i. 2, § 16, Ammian. Marcell. 23, 6, only to be an Egyptian and Persian custom, and even by the testimonies of travellers adduced by Jahn i. p. q. not a general custom of all Orientals, and therefore not of the Hebrews, while Bochart *l. c.* has quoted testimonies for the contrary. Therewith fall to the ground (*a*), the assumption, that the words denote the lowest class of men, which suits none of the biblical passages and is by no means proved by the Syrian usage (comp. *Assemani biblioth. orient.* ii. p. 260), and (*b*) the opinion adopted by Gesenius in the *lex. man.* from *L. de Dieu, animadv. in* 1 Sam. xxv. 22, that the phrase signifies *parvulum s. puerum contemtim fere.*

meanings, the *clausi et manumissi* could not include *omnes omnino homines*, because the Israelites were not a nation of slaves. On the contrary, עָזוּב from עזב may very well signify him who is left to himself or single, for in Arab. عزيب عزب means *is qui familia caret, caelebs*, comp. Freytag's *lex.* iii. p. 150. The opposite of this is עָצוּר bound to the house, the family, for which the passage cited by *L. de Dieu* from the *Kamus* اعصر *idem quod* ابو قبيلة *pater familias*, is decisive. Both words connected denote all the individual males found in a house. That this signification suits all the passages needs no farther proof.—These words, moreover, are not, as *L. de Dieu* thinks, to be added as another class to the מַשְׁתִּין בְּקִיר, but are an explanatory description of this phrase, as we see from the absence of the *cop.* ו. This ו stands indeed in xxi. 21, and 2 Ki. ix. 8, but there ו—ו is to be understood in the sense of *et—et*.—The words: "I will sweep out after the house of Jeroboam, as one sweepeth out dirt till it is gone," express its ignominious and utter extermination.—This thought is again carried out v. 11: none of the exterminated are to come to the grave, but their bodies are to be consumed by the dogs and the fowls of the air, comp. xvi. 4, xxi. 24. A very painful punishment already in the law, Deut. xxviii. 6, threatened to transgressors, there to lie unburied, was to the Israelites and other ancient nations a horrible thought, and the greatest insult that could be done to a slaughtered foe, comp. 1 Sam. xvii. 44, 46, and Winer bibl. R.W. i. p. 170, Hävern. Comm. on Ezek. p. 620. From the law this threat is often repeated by Jeremiah in particular (vii. 33, viii. 2, ix. 22, xii. 9, xiv. 16, xvi. 4, xix. 7, xxv. 33, etc.), but also by the other prophets (Ezek. xxix. 5, xxxix. 17, etc.), against the ungodly.—The dogs in the East run about the towns without owners, and are so wild and greedy of flesh that they even consume a carcase, xxi. 19, comp. Harmar Beob. i. p. 198, Rosenm. A. u. N. Morgenl. iii. p. 207, and iv. p. 36 ff., and the documents quoted in Winer's bibl. R.W. i. 611.

Vv. 12—14. Hereupon Ahijah gives Jeroboam's wife an answer concerning her sick son. He will die when she enters

the city, and alone of all the male members of Jeroboam's house will receive the honour of a solemn burial, because there is found in him some good thing towards Jehovah. See the fulfilment, vv. 17, 18. But the Lord will raise up a king over Israel, who will cut off the house of Jeroboam, namely Baasha, xv. 27 f. From this turn in the prophet's discourse connecting the death of the child with the raising up of another king over Israel, as well as from the general lamentation of the people at his death, we may infer with great probability, that the sick son of Jeroboam was heir presumptive to the throne, on whom the people and the king placed great hopes. There is a difficulty in the last words of v. 14 זֶה הַיּוֹם וּמָה גַּם־עַתָּה. The explanations of the ancients are mostly so arbitrary that we may omit them. They generally take זה היום for הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה, against which *L. de Dieu*, and recently again Maurer have justly declared. Maur. explains from Judg. iv. 14 זה היום *hic est dies, scil. quo prædicatio mea eventum habebit*, but this supplement is not warranted by the passage quoted. זה היום can only mean, this to-day, that is, this will happen to-day, namely Jeroboam's son will die and be generally lamented.[1] This is followed by ומה גם עתה as the reflection of the prophet, the meaning of which Maur. seems to have rightly apprehended: *et quid jam nunc sc. fit, i.e. imo jam hoc ipsō temporis momento Jerobeami spes optima generis in eo est ut extinguatur.* This view is at least more satisfactory than that proposed by Ges. *thes.* i. 294.

Vv. 15, 16. But in order that Jeroboam may understand the whole severity of the Divine judgment for his sins, the same prophet, who predicted to him the sovereignty of the ten tribes, must even now announce to him the banishment of Israel from the land given to their fathers beyond the Euphrates. "The Lord will smite Israel as the reed is shaken in the water," that is, will hang such penal judgments over Israel, that it will shake as a reed agitated by a strong wind in the water, that has no firm hold in order to resist the force of the wind and the waves,— "and shall root them out of this good land, which he gave to

[1] To this view the grammatical objection cannot be made, that זאת ought to be found, as not seldom, where a thing is spoken of indefinitely, the more easy *masc.* זֶה is placed, com. Ew. Gramm. § 364.

their fathers," as Moses Deut xxix. 27 had threatened to the transgressors, "and shall scatter them beyond the river (Euphrates)" among the heathen, out of whom God had chosen and called their ancestor, Jos. xxiv. 3. See the fulfilment of this threat 2 Ki. xv. 29, xvii. 23, and xviii. 11.—אֲשֵׁרִים denotes here idols in general; from v. 16 the golden calves set up by Jeroboam are specially meant. Comp. on v. 23.—וְיִתֵּן that he may give up; the ו *relat.* stands before the *fut. apoc.* in the sense of the Latin *ut* with the conjunctive, Ew. Gramm. § 618.

Vv. 19, 20. Close of the reign of Jeroboam. Of his wars, which were recorded in the annals of the kings of Israel, we know nothing; but comp. v. 30.—On the סֵפֶר דִּבְרֵי הַיָּמִים וגו׳ comp. the Introduction.

CHAPTER XIV. 21—31.

REIGN OF REHOBOAM OF JUDAH. COMP. 2 CHR. XI. 5—XII. 16.

V. 21. Rehoboam was forty-one years old, when he came to the sovereignty, and therefore was born a year before Solomon ascended the throne, comp. ii. 24 and iii. 1. This statement, which is confirmed by 2 Chr. xii. 13, has been on insufficient grounds declared false by Ludw. Capell., Grotius, Cleric., J. D. Mich., and others: for it is not proved either by the passages iii. 7, 1 Chr. xxxii. 5, 2 Chr. x. 8, 11, or even by the LXX. in the addition to xii. 24, that Rehoboam was sixteen years old when he became king, and reigned twelve years, as the arbitrary character of this version is known.—By the description of Jerusalem, as the city which the Lord chose out of all the tribes to put his name there (xi. 36) is expressed a disapproval of the apostasy of the ten tribes.—The name of his mother, Naamah the Ammonitess, is mentioned here and v. 31, not *quia ea filio idololatriæ ansam dedisse videtur* (Schulz), although this was the case with the mother of Asa (xv. 13), but because she appears to have had as queen mother considerable influence in the go-

vernment, as the sultana Walide in the Turkish empire, comp. Jos. v. Hammer, des osmanischen Reichs Staatsverf. ii. p. 68 and 71 ff. Hence in the successive accounts of every Jewish king the name of his mother is mentioned, xv. 2, 13, xxii. 42, etc.

Vv. 22, 23. While in Chronicles are given several details of the reign of Rehoboam, as the fortification of several cities, the account of his wives, his sons and their distribution in the kingdom (2 Chr. xi. 5—22), our author contents himself with a very brief summary description of the spirit of his reign. By the apostasy of the ten tribes and the announcement of the prophet, that the thing proceeded from the Lord as a punishment of the idolatry of Solomon (xii. 23 ff. and 2 Chr. xi. 2 ff.) Rehoboam seems to have been brought to reflection, so that in the first years of his reign he endeavoured earnestly to follow the law of God. But this reformation, in which king and people were moreover confirmed by the Israelites who (2 Chr. xi. 16 f.) immigrated from Israel to Judah and Jerusalem, was not lasting; only three years did he walk in the ways of David and Solomon (2 Chr. xi. 17.) After he thought his kingdom sufficiently fortified, and himself strong enough to be secure, he forsook the law of the Lord and all Israel with him (2 Chr. xii. 1.) The external worship of Jehovah remained indeed undisturbed: the king himself in royal state went to the house of the Lord (v. 28), but in heart had they (king and people) became unfaithful to the Lord, so that high places, monumental stones and idols were erected in the whole land, and the apostasy was more grievous than ever before. "Judah did evil in the sight of the Lord, and they provoked him to jealousy above all that their fathers had done with their sins."—The expression קִנְּאוּ to provoke to jealousy (Num. v. 14) is explained by the view of the relation of God to his people running through the whole of scripture under the figure of a marriage, in which God is the husband of his people, who is provoked to jealousy by the unfaithfulness of this his wife. From this view the Lord is called, Ex. xx. 5; Deut. iv. 24, אֵל קַנָּא, who suffers the worship of no other god, Ex. xxxiv. 14 f.—V. 23. "And they also (as the Israelites) built them בָּמוֹת high places (comp. on iii. 3), מַצֵּבוֹת monumental pillars

and אֲשֵׁרִים wooden idols.—מַצֵּבוֹת are not idols,[1] but מַצֵּבָה is a stone set up for a monument, either as a monument of a manifestation of God, Gen. xxviii. 18—22, xxxv. 14, or of a covenant made, Gen. xxxi. 13; Ex. xxiv. 4 (the twelve stones that Moses set up at the making of the covenant around the altar erected on Mount Sinai according to the number of the twelve tribes of Israel) or of any other important event, as the מצבה at Rachel's grave, Gen. xxxv. 20. Such stones, as Jacob erected at Bethel, the Canaanites raised in honour of their gods. Moses therefore commands, "thou shalt not worship their (the Canaanites') gods, nor serve them, nor do after their works, but shalt overthrow them, and break down their מַצֵּבוֹת," Ex. xxiii. 24, and "ye shall not make you idols (אֱלִילִם nothings) nor פֶּסֶל (graven image), nor rear you up מַצֵּבָה nor set up an image of stone (אֶבֶן מַשְׂכִּית) in your land to worship it: for I am the Lord your god," Lev. xxvi. 1. Then the מצבות are very often mentioned in connection partly with אשרים alone, partly also with altars and idols, thus Ex. xxxiv. 13, "their (the Canaanites') altars ye shall destroy, break their מצבות and cut down their אשרים:" thus also Deut. vii. 5, with the addition, "and burn their פְּסִילִים with fire," and Deut. xii. 3, only with the difference, "and burn their אשרים with fire, and hew down the graven images of their gods;" finally, Deut. xvi. 21 f., "Thou shalt not plant thee אֲשֵׁרָה of any wood near unto the altar of thy God, which thou shalt make thee. Neither shalt thou set thee up מצבה, which the Lord thy God hateth." Accordingly in the Books of Kings and Chronicles now the erection of מצבות and אשרים, now their destruction is mentioned, so here and 2 Chr. xiv. 2; 2 Ki. xvii. 10, xviii. 4; and 2 Chr. xxxi. 1; 2 Ki. xxiii. 14. From all these passages it appears, that the מצבות

[1] Altogether unfounded is the assertion of Winer, bibl. R.W. i. p. 510, that "the idols מצבות were partly molten נֶסֶךְ, מַסֵּכָה, partly carved פֶּסֶל, פְּסִיל," for פסל and פסילים are distinct from מצבה and מצבות, comp. Lev. xxvi. 1; Deut. vii. 5, xii. 3; Mic. v. 12.—But with נסך and מצבה מסכה comes into connection in no conceivable way, because a stone monument and a molten image are quite heterogeneous.

were no proper idols, but stone monuments, to which idolatry attached itself as to the במות; but from the frequent connection of the מצבות with the אשרים it may be farther concluded that where reverence for these images degenerated into idolatry, the worship of Baal was attached to the מצבות, that of Asherah or Astarte to the אשרים. The opinion, therefore, frequently brought forward by Movers, that the מצבות were always monumental columns of Baal, is in this universality false.[1] The מצבות belong to the same category as the במות. Both were originally dedicated by the Israelites to Jehovah, the במות as places of sacrifice, the מצבות as monuments of some manifestation of Divine grace, but were, after the giving of the law by Moses, generally classed with idolatry as unlawful places and indications of worship, not only because in all self-devised Divine worship Jehovah was made to be a Baal, but because by these images also the worship of Jehovah was often mingled with the formal service of Baal, and hence the prophets Hosea and Amos speak so much of Baal-worship at a time when the calf-worship only prevailed in the kingdom of Israel, comp. Hengstenb. Christol. iii. p. 9—11.—The proper worship of Baal was first introduced into Samaria by Ahab (xvi. 31 f.), whence it was also transplanted into Judah.

Movers i. p. q. p. 560 ff. first opened the way to a correct view of the אֲשֵׁרִים but did not pursue it to its close. By striking arguments he refuted the current opinion, brought into repute chiefly by the authority of Gesenius, that the אשרה is perfectly identical with the Sidonian Astarte, and denotes the goddess of fortune or the planet Venus, and at the same time proved, that the name Asherah in the Old Testament was not

[1] Comp. die Phöniz. i. p. 563 f., 673 etc. Movers therefore contradicts his own correct remark p. 178: "From the extirpation of the old Canaanitish Baal-worship by Samuel, 1 Sam. xvii. 4, no more mention is made of it in the historical books of the Old Testament for several centuries; it was quite expelled from Israel, from the greater as well as from the lesser kingdom, and even in the idolatry of Solomon no Baal is found, 1 Ki. xi. 15 ff.; 2 Ki. xxiii. 13 ff. There was also among the kings of Judah the worship of many gods, 1 Ki. xiv. 22 ff., xv. 12 ff., but not that of Baal, and among the Samaritans the worship of the calves only, 'the sin of Jeroboam,' was always censured, 1 Ki. xii. 28, xv. 26, 30, 34, xvi. 2, 7, 26."

derived from the nature of this Divinity, but denoted it as an idol, and indeed an idol of wood, because words are always used of its removal and destruction, that signify burning, hewing, felling (שָׂרַף, כָּרַת, גָּדַע), p. 562 ff.—"a towering pillar of wood or a straight trunk of a tree, the boughs and top of which were lopped off, and which, planted on the heights and other idolatrous places of worship of the ancient Israelites always or at least usually beside other deities, was worshipped as a symbol of the Canaanitish or Phœnician goddess of nature" (p. 568.) Then אשרה also often signified the *numen* itself, which was worshipped in the hewn tree (p. 573.) This reasoning is in the main correct. אשרים in the *plur.* never denotes deities, gods, or idols, but Canaanitish figures of wood, particularly towering wooden pillars, as clearly appears,[1] partly from the

[1] Very doubtful, on the contrary, is the second remark of Movers, that the אֲשֵׁרָה was sometimes also a green tree or a grove, or even a Phallus. Deut. xvi. 21 certainly seems to favour the first meaning: "thou shalt not plant thee אֲשֵׁרָה כָּל-עֵץ near unto the altar of Jehovah," where Movers, p. 572, renders, "an Asherah of all kinds of trees," but the *sing.* favours the other rendering, "of all kinds of wood." Farther, נטע to plant may also be used of the setting up of a pillar in the ground, as it occurs Eccl. xii. 11 of the driving of a pin, and Dan. xi. 45 of the pitching of a tent, the pins of which are fastened in the ground. For the figurative use of נטע in this place speaks also the comparison with תְּקִים מַצֵּבָה v. 22, according to which נטע in opposition to הקים signifies only the sinking into the earth, as the latter denotes the erecting on or over it. Decisive, however, is the circumstance that in all the other places of the Old Testament the אשרים are mentioned only as figures made, erected, built, set up by men, the proofs of which Gesen. has already given in the *thes.* i. 162, and nowhere is a trace to be found that they were growing trees planted by men. Movers certainly refers, p. 574, to the Asherah cut down by Gideon (Judg. vi.), which was the terebinth mentioned v. 11, because Gideon erected a new altar instead of the old in the place, where the angel sat, under the terebinth, after he with the ten servants had cut down the Asherah. But it is not found in the Biblical text, either that Gideon built the altar under the terebinth under which the angel sat—according to v. 26 he must have built it rather עַל-רֹאשׁ הַמַּעוֹז הַזֶּה probably on a rising ground which served for a stronghold—or that the altar of Baal, which Gideon destroyed, was under the terebinth, or finally that Gideon needed ten men to cut down the Asherah alone, but Gideon took ten men with him to be able to execute in one

expressions used for their removal, partly from their connection with the חַמָּנִים Is. xvii. 8, xxvii. 9; 2 Chr. xxxiv. 7, partly from other proofs adduced by Movers of their being usual among the Canaanites. In order, however, to be able to decide farther, to what deity these figures were consecrated, we must first determine the relation of the אֲשֵׁרִים to the עַשְׁתָּרוֹת. For even if the distinction of the אשרה from the Sidonian Astarte (עַשְׁתֹּרֶת) is well-founded (comp. on xi. 5); yet it cannot again be wrongly imagined that there is no difference between עַשְׁתָּרוֹת and אֲשֵׁרוֹת. For if we compare Judg. ii. 3 "the Israelites served Baal and Ashtaroth," with Judg. iii. 7, "the Israelites served Baalim and Asheroth," the identity of the two can admit of no doubt. But may we at once identify אֲשֵׁרוֹת with אֲשֵׁרִים? In favour of this, besides the two passages of Chronicles, appears to be the circumstance, that mention is made in the Pentateuch as in the books of Kings and Chronicles only of Asherim, never of Ashtaroth (as idols or gods), in the books of Judges and Samuel, on the contrary, only of Ashtaroth never of Asherim. But this fact has its ground not so much in a peculiar speech usage of these books as in the diversity of the thing itself. עַשְׁתָּרוֹת denotes never mere idols or figures of gods, but, as its constant connection with הַבַּעַל and הַבְּעָלִים in all the passages, Judg. ii. 13, x. 6, 1 Sam. vii. 3, 4, xii. 10, shows, the nature-goddess of the Canaanites, standing beside Baal and Baalim, in its different modifications. Nor is אֲשֵׁרוֹת used in Chronicles as altogether equivalent to אֲשֵׁרִים.[1] But as between אֲשֵׁרוֹת and

night the whole works committed to him by Jehovah, the destruction of the altar of Baal, the cutting down of the Asherah beside it, the building of a new altar to Jehovah, the slaying and making ready of the oxen for the burnt-offering, the cleaving of the felled Asherah into faggots for the offering, and the making of the offering itself, vv. 25—28. Thus every ground fails for the assumption, that the Asherah found at the altar of Baal was the terebinth, v. 11. As little can the opinion of Movers, that the Asherah sometime was a Phallus, be proved from the Old Testament, as מִפְלֶצֶת xv. 13, on which Movers grounds it, signifies neither *pudendum*, nor a Phallus, comp. the remarks on the passage.

[1] In 2 Chr. xxxiii. 3 Manasseh "reared up altars for Baalim and made אֲשֵׁרוֹת and worshipped all the host of heaven," etc. אשרות denotes not idols in general but a statue of Asherah, as appears incon-

אֲשֵׁרִים, so between אֲשֵׁרִים and the sing. אֲשֵׁרָה is a distinction to be made. אשרה in the sing. denotes (*a.*) the idol of the nature-goddess of the Canaanites, generally, indeed, consisting only of a pillar, thus Deut. xvi. 21; Judg. vi. 25, 26, 28, 30;[1] (*b.*) the goddess of the Tyrians or Phœnicians[2]

trovertibly from the parallel passage 2 Ki. xxi. 3, Manasseh "reared up altars for Baal and made an אֲשֵׁרָה as did Ahab king of Israel," etc., comp. with v. 7, "and he set the graven image (פֶּסֶל) of the Asherah that he made in the house" of the Lord. The plural אֲשֵׁרוֹת denotes after the analogy of the *plur.* בְּעָלִים the plurality of conceptions of the one Asherah, that were included in its image.—In the other passage 2 Chr. xix. 3 also, where the prophet Jehu says to Jehoshaphat, " . . . nevertheless there are good things found in thee, in that thou hast taken away (בִּעַרְתָּ) the אֲשֵׁרוֹת out of the land," we are not to be led by the apparently parallel 2 Chr. xvii. 6, Jehoshaphat "took away the Bamoth and the אֲשֵׁרִים out of Judah," into the mistake of explaining the two words as synonymous, for the two passages are not really parallel; in the words כִּי־בִעַרְתָּ הָאֲשֵׁרוֹת the prophet includes all that Jehoshaphat had done for the extirpation of idolatry out of Judah, whereas xvii. 6, the removal of the high places and altars only is mentioned, but Jehoshaphat had besides exterminated the קְדֵשִׁים out of his kingdom, xxii. 47. Accordingly אשרות stands here as *pars pro toto* for gods and objects of idolatry in general. In favour of this is the use of the verb בִּעֵר, which is never used of the destruction or annihilation of the Asherim, and must be understood in the meaning prevailing in the Pentateuch of the extermination of the ungodly from the theocracy (Deut. xiii. 6, xvii. 7, 12, xix. 19, xxi. 21, xxii. 21, 22, 24, xxiv. 7) in our passage, as well as in 2 Ki. xxii. 47, xxiii. 24, of the extermination of idols and idolaters.

[1] To this also probably belongs את האשרה 2 Ki. xviii. 4, for which in the parallel 2 Chr. xxxi. 1 stands the plur. אֲשֵׁרִים, so that האשרה is here to be taken *collective* (comp. Mov. 1. p. q. p. 563) and is synonymous with אֲשֵׁרִים, as it is not recorded, that Ahaz set up a pillar of the Tyrian Asherah in Jerusalem.

[2] This Tyrian goddess certainly bears the same name with the idol of the old Canaanitish nature-goddess, אֲשֵׁרָה *recta*, Ὀρθία from אָשַׁר to be straight (comp. Mov. p. 566), but must however be distinct from it, as the introduction of the worship of Baal and Ashera by Jezebel into Israel is represented as a new form of idolatry (comp. Mov. p. 9 and 178), even if it was closely related to the Canaanitish nature-goddess, as may be inferred partly from the consanguinity of the Tyrians and the Canaanites of Palestine, partly from this, that even before

standing beside Baal, 1 Ki. xv. 13; 2 Chr. xv. 19; 1 Ki. xviii. 19; 2 Ki. xxi. 7, xxiii. 4, 7; *(c.)* the image or statue of this goddess, 1 Ki. xvi. 33; 2 Ki. xiii. 6, xvii. 16, xxi. 3, xxiii. 6, 15. Of these three significations the first only is transferred from the sing. to the plur. אשרים which, with the exception of v. 15, where the word is used in the most general sense of idols of every sort, always denotes only the idols (pillars) of the nature-goddess of the Canaanites in its different modifications. The worship of these idols was practised by the Israelites, but mostly, as often that of Baal, in connection with the worship of Jehovah. The possibility of this connection is presupposed in the Pentateuch, and therefore it is forbidden, Deut. xvi. 21, to plant "an Asherah near unto the altar of Jehovah." Such a connection certainly appears not so easy as that of Baal with Jehovah, but is sufficiently explained on the one side by this, that the Asherah was nowhere worshipped in general for itself alone, but among all the Canaanites only in connection with Baal and subordinate to him, and thus followed from the Baal-worship almost of itself, and on the other side from this, that the people might have no clear preception for the most part of the ideas connected with the several idols.[1]

The phrase "on every high hill and under every green tree," by which the general propagation of these idols through the land is expressed (2 Ki. xvi. 4, xvii. 10), is borrowed from Deut. xii. 2, whence also Jeremiah has taken it, Jer. ii. 20, iii. 6, xvii. 2. The choice of hills for places of worship, of which traces are found in many heathen nations, comp. Gesenuis pref. to Gramberg's Religionsid. d. A.T. i. p. xiv. ff., had its ground in the widespread belief, that there man is nearer the deity and heaven. But the green trees are connected with the sacred groves so popular among heathen nations, comp. Winer, bibl. R.W. i. p. 534, which not only attune the heart to devout elevation by their solemn

Ahab some traces of the worship of the Tyrian goddess Asherah are found in the kingdom of Judah (xv. 13.) The worship of Asherah was also in the course of time confounded with that of the Sidonian Astarte, as appears from this, that the Israelites in the time of the Judges down to Samuel served Ashtaroth with Baalim, and Ashtaroth is identified with Asheroth.

[1] The older opinions concerning the Asherah are enumerated by Gesen. *Thes.* i. p. 162 f.

stillness, but also by their shady darkness withdrew the sinful practices of idolatry from the eyes of the multitude.—Movers p. 579 ff. wrongly applies these passages to prove, that the Asherah was sometimes a green tree or trunk.[1]

V. 24. "And there was also paramours in the land." קָדֵשׁ the consecrated, that is, the paramour. So are those called, who, in a fit of religious frenzy, made themselves eunuchs in honour of the Canaanitish nature-goddess, and were called *Galli* by the Romans,[2] comp. Movers i. p. q. p. 678 ff. and Gesen. *thes.* iii. 1196 f. The sojourn of such people in the land presupposes the wide propagation of the Canaanitish worship of nature, which is also indicated by the enhancing וְגַם. Moreover we are not so to understand the words as if the Israelites had taken part in this sin contrary to the law, Deut. xxiii. 18; the קדשים

[1] Movers certainly acknowledges, that here the Asherah is different from the green trees, but combines with these passages Is. lvii. 5, i. 29, and thence draws the proof above given, since he renders the words הַנֶּחָמִים בָּאֵלִים וגו׳ (lvii. 5), "who are kindled in the terebinths under every green tree," as if there had been terebinths under every green tree!! That terebinths were even worshipped as idols follows from neither of these passages; for even if אֵלִים (lvii. 5), as well as אילים (i. 29), must signify terebinths, these words can only be rendered, "who are hot beside the terebinths" (Ewald), or, "who are burnt in the terebinths under every green tree," that is, under every tree of their idol-groves (Knobel), or, *in lucis qui his arboribus constant* (Maur.), so that the words express nothing more than that the shady terebinths were regarded as favourite places for the practice of idolatry. It is evidently more correct, however, to understand אֵלִים of the gods "who are burnt for the gods" (Gesen., Hitz.) or, "beside the gods under every green tree" (Umbr.)

[2] Of the קדשים Jerome says in a passage quoted by Movers, p. 683: *Hi sunt quos hodie Romæ, matri non Deorum sed dæmoniorum servientes, Gallos vocant, eo quod de hac gente (?) Romani truncatos libidine in honorem Atyos, quem eunuchum dea meretrix fecerat, sacerdotes illius manciparint. . . . Sciendum autem quod in præsenti Cadesoth, meretrices,* ἱερεῖς, *id est, sacerdotes Priapo mancipatas vocet. In aliis autem locis viros exsectos libidine, Cadesim legimus. Aquila autem* ἐνηλλαγμένους *interpretans, id est, mutatos, hoc ostendere voluit, quod suam naturam mutaverint, et de viris facti sint feminæ: Symmachus* ἑταιρίδας, *proprie meretrices, appellavit; Septuaginta* τετελεσμένους, *id est, consecratos et initiatos, ut cultores idolorum ostenderent: Theodotion* κεχωρισμένους, *id est, a populo segregatos, qui sibi videbantur a vulgo aliquid plus habere. Comment. ad Hos. tom. iii. p.* 1261 *sq.*

were Canaanites, who appeared[1] in Judah with the prevalence of idolatry, and were tolerated until Asa and Jehoshphat cleansed the land of them as well as other abominations of idols, xv. 12, xxii. 47.

Vv. 25—28. The sinking into heathen abominations was soon followed by the punishment, that Judah was delivered into the power of the heathen. Shishak, king of Egypt, with a powerful host invades the land, conquers all the fenced cities, advances to Jerusalem, and would certainly have made an end of the kingdom of Judah, had not the Lord, in consequence of the humiliation of the king and rulers of the people before him, effected by the warning of the prophet Shemaiah, relented and averted this issue, so that Shishak, after taking the capital, contented himself with carrying off the treasures of the temple and the royal palace. Comp. 2 Chr. xii., where this military expedition is related at large.[2] Shishak (שִׁישַׁק) is in consequence of the recent discoveries in Egypt undoubtedly the first king of the twenty-second dynasty (the Bubastite) called *Sesonchis* by Jul. Afric., *Sesonchosis* by Euseb., Sheshonk on the monuments.[3] In

[1] "They appear here," Mov. p. 679, correctly remarks, "as strangers among the Israelites, and are those *cinaedi*, especially infamous from the times of the Roman empire, who went about everywhere begging for the Syrian goddess *(qui per plateas et oppida cymbalis et crotalis personantes, Deamque Syriam circumferentes mendicare compellunt Deam matrem. Apul. met.* viii. p. 182. *Mendicantes Deos vicatim ducunt. Min. Felix, Octavius* p. 355), and even to Augustine's time, as a remnant of the Phenician worship, wandered about the streets of Carthage for alms (*de civit Dei.* vii. 26)" etc.

[2] Rationalist criticism has certainly attacked the historical truth of this account, but in such a manner, that de Wette and Gramberg objects to the writer of Chronicles, that to save the honour of religion, he has passed over the accounts of the Books of Kings concerning the idolatry of Rehoboam, comp. my apolog. Vers. p. 381 f., while Winer (bibl. R.W. ii. p. 300) asserts the direct contrary, that in the Books of Kings nothing is said of Rehoboam's participation in idolatrous worship, for which he is blamed in Chronicles, whereby this criticism refutes itself.

[3] The opinion of Marsham, Clericus, and others, that Shishak is Sesostris has been refuted by Perizonius, *origg. Aeg. c.* 8, and Buddeus *hist. eccl. V. T.* i. 978 ff. Comp. also my apolog. Vers. p. 330 ff.— Since Champollion, precis du système hieroglyph. p. 204 f., read the name Shishonk on the bas relief at Karnak, which represents Sesonchis, as he drags to the feet of the Theban trinity the heads of more

plundering Jerusalem he also took with him the golden shields made by Solomon (x. 16), instead of which Rehoboam then caused brazen ones to be made for his body guard (v. 27.)—On תְּאָ guard room comp. Hävern. on Ezek. xl. 7.

V. 30. "And there was war between Rehoboam and Jeroboam all the days" (of their reign.) As nothing is said of open war, and Rehoboam is also warned by the prophet Shemaiah against fighting with the Israelites (xii. 22 ff.), this statement can only be understood of the warlike inclination and hostile position of the two sovereigns towards one another.

CHAPTER XV. 1—31.

REIGNS OF THE KINGS ABIJAM AND ASA OF JUDAH, VV. 1—24. AND OF NADAB OF ISRAEL, VV. 25—32.

Vv. 1—8. *Reign of Abijam.* Rehoboam's son and successor is called 2 Chr. xi. 22, xiii. 1 etc., אֲבִיָּה, xiii. 20 f., אֲבִיָּהוּ, in this book אֲבִיָּם with a ם attached to several proper names, to which *Simonis Onomast.* p. 257, assigns an intensive meaning. V. 2. "And his mother's name was Maachah, the daughter of Abishalom." So she is called also 2 Chr. xi. 20 f.; on the contrary, 2 Chr. xiii. 2, Michaiah, daughter of Uriel of Gibeah. If Abishalom (אֲבִישָׁלוֹם) or Absalom be the well known son of David, which can scarcely be doubted, as this name is a rare one, occurring again of no other person in the Old Testament, and Rehoboam chose his wives from the royal race, 2 Chr. xi. 18—20, Maachah must have been not a daughter but only a granddaughter of Absalom, that is, a daughter of Thamar, who alone of Absalom's children outlived her father (2 Sam. xviii. 18,

than thirty conquered nations, among whom is found a *Judahamalek* with a remarkably Jewish physiognomy, his identity with Sisak or Shishok can no longer lie under any doubt, and is therefore now universally admitted; comp. M. de Bovet, des dynasties Ægypt., Paris 1829. p. 89, Greppo, essai sur le syst. hierogl. p. 173 ff., Heeren. Ideen ii. 2, p. 325, Winer, bibl. R.W. ii. p. 368 and 547, de Wette, hebr. jüd. Archæol. p. 44 f. *Archinard, chronol.* p. 50 etc.

xiv. 27). Thamar married Uriel of Gibeah, and bare him this Maachah, who is also called Michaiah, whether it be that she assumed this name first as queen-mother, or had received it earlier from some cause to us unknown. Comp. on the great mutability and variation of names in the East, Hengstenb. Beitr. ii., p. 271 ff., Rosenm. A. u. N. Morgenl. i., p. 63, and Ranke, histor. Unters. üb. d. Pent. i. p 247 ff.

V. 3—5. As sovereign, Abijam resembled his father; although he, v. 15, made donations to the temple in compensation for those carried off by Shishak, yet his heart was divided between the worship of Jehovah and that of idols, it was not שָׁלֵם with the Lord, comp. xi. 4, xiv. 22, so that God only for the sake of David did not reject him, but allowed the throne to descend to his son, v. 4, comp. xi. 13—36. "Save only in the matter of Uriah the Hittite" (2 Sam. xi., xii.), in which David had grievously sinned, but sincerely repented and obtained forgiveness from the Lord, Ps. xxxi. lii. On v. 5, comp. farther xiv. 8.

V. 6. "And there was war between Rehoboam and Jeroboam all the days of his life," that is, the hostile relation existing between Rehoboam and Jeroboam (xiv. 30) continued also in the reign of Abijam. Thus understood, as the words כָּל־יְמֵי חַיָּיו (not כָּל־יְמֵיהֶם as in v. 16) demand, this notice loses all its strangeness and agrees well with the statement v. 7, that there was war also between Abijam and Jeroboam.[1] For under Abijam broke out a great open war, in which Jeroboam sustained a severe defeat, as is circumstantially related 2 Chr. xiii. 3—20.[2]

Vv. 9—24. *Asa's reign.* As Asa ascended the throne in the 20th year of Jeroboam, his father, who began to reign in his

[1] It is not necessary therefore either to change the name Rehoboam (v. 6) into Abijam, as Castal. and Dathe, referring to the Syr. version and 5 *codd.* in Kennicot propose, or to omit v. 6, for which the *cod. Vatic.* and the Arab. version are quoted, especially as these authorities are too weak to be able to stand as valid testimonies against the Masor. text and the other old versions.

[2] The grounds on which de Wette opposed the historical truth of this narrative in Chronicles, are refuted in my apolog. Vers. p. 444 ff. Only the numbers, given in vv. 3 and 17, of the troops on both sides, and of the Israelites slain, are too great, which arises however not in consequence of intentional exaggeration, but from a false resolution of he numerical letters into words. See my apol. Vers. § 37.

18th year, must have reigned, not full three years, but only two years and some months.—v. 10. וְשֵׁם אִמּוֹ וגו—Maachah was properly the grandmother of Asa, comp. v. 2, but is named queen mother, because in the first year of his reign she took her place as גְּבִירָה (v. 13), that is, Sultana Walide, comp. on xiv. 11.—Vv. 11—14. As king, Asa walked in the footsteps of his pious ancestor David; he removed the paramours, and all the idol-abominations introduced by his fathers, deposed even his grandmother from the dignity of queen, because she had made an idol of Asherah, and caused this idol to be cut down and burned in the valley of Kedron. He could not, however, completely carry out his reform, the high places were not removed,[1] although his heart was wholly given to the Lord, but only in the first fifteen years of his reign, comp. v. 16. מִפְלֶצֶת Jerome, *comm. ad Hos. c.* 4, explains by *simulacrum Priapi;* so Selden, *de diis Syr. syntagm.* ii., *c.* 5. Accordingly Movers i. p. q. p. 571 renders the word *pudendum,* obscene figure, and understands by it with several Rabbins a *phallus,* as a symbol of the productive and fructifying power of nature. But this signification cannot be proved from the *radix* of the word. מִפְלֶצֶת from פָּלַץ *terrere, timere,* signifies only an object of terror, and thus here *simulacrum timendum:* as to the peculiar nature of this figure, however, nothing farther can be determined than that, as יְרֻשָׁת indicates, it was of wood.

V. 15. Asa provided for the temple also, as he deposited in the treasury of the temple the dedicated gifts of his father and his own, probably the spoil in silver, gold and vessels, which his father had taken in the great discomfiture of Jeroboam, 2 Chr. xiii. 16 f., and he himself in the conquest of the Cushites, 2 Chr. xiv. 12 f. The *Keri* קָדְשֵׁי is a bad emendation for the above correct קדשו, which is to be read קָדְשׁוֹ or more correctly perhaps קָדְשָׁיו.

[1] That this is the meaning of the oft-recurring (xxii. 44, 2 Ki. xii. 4, xiv. 4, 35) phrase וְהַבָּמוֹת לֹא־סָרוּ, appears incontrovertibly from our passage and 2 Chr. xiv. 2, comp. with 2 Chr. xv. 17, and from 2 Chr. xvii. 6, comp. with xx. 33. Comp. also my apol. Vers. p. 290, where the seeming contradiction between our verse and 2 Chr. xiv. 2, is resolved, which the older writers, for ex. Seb. Schm., J. H. Mich., Schulz, and others, have erroneously attempted to remove by distinguishing between Bamoth dedicated to Jehovah and those to idols.

V. 16—22. The state of war between Israel and Judah continued also under Asa, although after the great victory gained by Abijam over Jeroboam the kingdom of Judah had rest ten years, which Asa employed in rooting out idolatry, fortifying several cities, and strengthening his army, 2 Chr. xiv. 1—7. In the eleventh year of his reign the Cushite Zerah, with an innumerable army, invaded his dominions, but by the help of the Lord, was totally defeated, 2 Chr. xiv. 8—14, whereupon Asa, encouraged by the prophet Azariah the son of Oded, proceeded with fresh zeal to the extirpation of the traces of idolatry still remaining in his kingdom, then renewed the altar of burnt-offering before the porch of the temple, and in the fifteenth year of his reign, kept a grand festival of thanksgiving and joy before the Lord with his whole people at Jerusalem, 2 Chr. xv. 1—15. In the following year, or the 36th year after the separation of the kingdoms, 2 Chr. xvi. 1, comp. my apol. Vers. p. 292, Baasha commenced hostilities by advancing towards Judah, and proceeding to fortify the town of Ramah, which was not more than six Roman miles from Jerusalem, and commanded the way to the capitol. הָרָמָה is, according to v. 22, the Ramah lying in the tribe of Benjamin not far from Gibeah (Jos. xviii. 25; Judg. xix. 3; Is. x. 29), different from the Ramah of Samuel on Mount Ephraim, with which it is erroneously confounded by Winer bibl. R.W. ii. p. 356, comp. v. Raum. Pal. p. 213, and Thenius in Käuffer's Studien ii. p. 134; now a wretched village *er Râm*, comp. Rob. Pal. ii. p. 566. Lying so entirely in the heart of the tribe of Benjamin, and in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, Ramah cannot have been either a border town or have belonged to the kingdom of Israel, as Rosenm. bibl. Althk. ii. 1. p. 305 supposes. Baasha, therefore, in occupying[1] and fortifying this place, must have had in view not merely to prevent his subjects from passing into the kingdom of Judah, but obviously intended to gain a firm footing in Judah, and cut off the free

[1] The occupying of Ramah is not indeed expressly mentioned, but we may infer it with certainty partly from the situation of the place, partly from the words וַיַּעַל . . . עַל־יְהוּדָה v. 17, which often denote a hostile invasion, for example Is. vii. 1. Thus also Josephus has correctly understood our passage.

communication of king Asa towards the north (לְבִלְתִּי תֵּת יֹצֵא וגו׳, v. 17.) To avert this danger Asa endeavours to move Benhadad the Syrian king at Damascus, by the transmission of the treasure found in the temple and the palace, to break the covenant made with Baasha and become his own confederate, in which he succeeds, so that Benhadad throws an army into the kingdom of Israel, and by the conquest of several cities in northern Galilee compels king Baasha to abandon the fortification of Ramah and retire to his own residence, Tirzah; whereupon Asa summoned all Judah and caused them to remove the materials in stone and wood laid down for the fortification of Ramah, and fortify therewith Geba and Mizpah.[1]—V. 18. Three kings of Damascus bear the name Benhadad; the here mentioned son of Tabrimmon and grandson of Hezion is the first of this name. According to v. 19 his father was also king and contemporary with Abijam; but whether his grandfather was king is at least not so certain as many believe; from the present passage at all events it does not appear with certainty, as מֶלֶךְ אֲרָם, v. 18, only applies to Benhadad. Comp. the note on xi. 24. בֶּן־הֲדַד is moreover only a royal title, and signifies son of the sun or sun-god. Hadad is, according to *Macrob. Saturn.* i. 24, the name of the supreme divinity of the Syrians, the sun, hence according to *Nicol. Damasc.*, ten Syrian kings bore this name, comp. Winer, bibl. R.W. i. p. 178, and Movers, Phöniz. i. p. 196. How long he reigned is unknown; his successor in Ahab's time bore the same name, xx. 34.—V. 20. Among the cities taken by Benhadad in the land of Naphtali is עִיּוֹן, Ijon, perhaps the same with Ajun, (عجون) in the vicinity of Abil and Dan (v. Raum. Pal. p. 128), or, according to Robinson's conjecture, to be sought in the district Merj 'Ayun (مرج عيون), Pal. iii. p. 611. Abel-beth-

[1] Before the powerful army of the Cushites Asa had sought and obtained help from the Lord; before the invasion of the Israelites, he seeks help from the Syrians. This change of conduct is perhaps partly explained by this, that his army was considerably weakened by the battle fought with the Cushites notwithstanding his victory (2 Chr. xiv. 9), though his want of confidence in the power of the Lord is by no means thereby justified, still less his harsh and unrighteous conduct towards the prophet Hanani, whom he cast into prison when he rebuked him for the confidence placed in the Syrians rather than in Jehovah (2 Chr. xvi. 7—10.)

maachah or Abel-maim, 2 Chr. xvi. 4, also called merely Abel, 2 Sam. xx. 14—18, is probably Abil (ابل), Abela of Euseb., lying to the north of Merom, comp. v. Raum. p. 117 f., and Winer bibl. R.W. i. p. 4.—כָּל־כִּנְרוֹת, all Cinneroth, that is, all the land of Cinnereth, as the LXX. have rendered. כִּנֶּרֶת is a town, Jos. xix. 35, from which the sea of Galilee and the region around it have obtained their name.[1]—V. 21. Tirzah, according to v. 15 and xiv. 17, the residence of the kings of Israel till the time of Omri, is perhaps to be sought in Tersa, which must have lain, according to Brocardus and Breytenbach, twelve miles east of Samaria, comp. Ysbr. v. Hamelsv. bibl. Geogr. iii. p. 254, and v. Raum. Pal. p. 164.—V. 22. The adverbial use of אֵין נָקִי, *nemine immuni i.e. nemine excepto* is peculiar to our passage, but follows from passages such as Deut. xxiv. 5; Num. xxxii. 22.—Geba of Benjamin and Mizpah were situated near Rama of Benjamin; but the situation of Geba is not fully ascertained, as the Jeba (جبع) lying east of er Ram (الرام) is in all probability the Gibeah of Saul, comp. Rob. ii. p. 325 f. Mizpah no doubt still exists in the present Neby Samwil (نبي سمويل) below Gibeon, two hours north of Jerusalem, comp. Rob. ii. p. 361 f.

Vv. 23, 24. Of the other acts of Asa, besides what has been already mentioned in Chronicles, nothing farther is recorded, except that, in addition to the harshness he displayed in his conduct towards the seer Hanani in the latter years of his reign, he oppressed some of his people, and that in the 39th year of his

[1] Movers in the Krit. Unters. ü. d. Chron. p. 93 renders: "all the Cinneroth in the whole land of Naphtali," according to which there had been several cities of this name in the land of Naphtali, and infers, because the topography of Palestine knows nothing of such, that the reading is corrupt, and that with the parallel passage 2 Chr. xvi. 4 כָּל־מִסְכְּנוֹת, all magazine cities, is to be read. But the supposition here made, that the plural form כִּנְרוֹת also is used of the city, cannot be proved; for Jos. xi. 2 כנרות may denote either the sea or the district of this name, and in Jos. xii. 3 יָם is expressed with it. The deviation of Chron. arises from the free use of older sources.—The עַל כָּל־אֶרֶץ נַפְתָּלִי, "in all the land of Naphtali," belongs not merely to כָּל־כִּנְרוֹת but to all the previously mentioned towns.

reign he was sorely diseased in his feet, applied for help, not to the Lord, but to the physicians, 2 Chr. xvi. 10—12, and thus became the longer the more estranged in heart from the true God.

V. 25—31. *Reign of Nadab of Israel,* of whom nothing is recorded, but that Nadab walked in the ways and sins of his father (comp. xii. 26—33), and in the second year of his reign was slain by Baasha of the tribe of Issachar, who conspired against him at the siege of Gibbethon, a town occupied by the Philistines. Gibbethon (גִּבְּתוֹן) assigned by Joshua to the tribe of Dan, but transferred to the Levites (Jos. xix. 44, xxi. 23), probably lay close upon the borders of the Philistines, and had soon therefore been again occupied by the Philistines, from whom the Israelites under Nadab and Elah (xvi. 16) endeavoured to wrest it by siege, but, as it appears, without effect.—V. 29 ff. As soon as Baasha ascended the throne, he destroyed the whole house of Jeroboam, and thereby fulfilled the saying of the prophet Ahijah concerning Jeroboam, xiv. 7 ff.—לֹא־הִשְׁאִיר כָּל־נְשָׁמָה, "he left not to Jeroboam any that had breath," denotes the extirpation of every soul, comp. Jos. xi. 11—14.—These verses moreover contain several proofs, that the incomplete years of the kings are always given in full; for if Nadab ascended the throne in the second year of (Asa v. 25), but Asa in the twentieth year of Jeroboam (v. 9), Jeroboam cannot have reigned full twenty-two years, but only twenty-one and some months; and if Baasha succeeded Nadab on the throne in the third year of Asa (vv. 28—33), Nadab also cannot have reigned two years (v. 25), but not much more than one and a half years, or perhaps even a shorter time.

CHAPTER XV. 32—XVI. 28.

REIGNS OF BAASHA, XV. 32—XVI. 7; ELAH, VV. 8—14; ZIMRI, VV. 15—22; AND OMRI, VV. 23—28, KINGS OF ISRAEL.

Vv. 32—34. Of the reign of Baasha are merely stated its relation to the kingdom of Judah, v. 32, its duration and its spirit,

vv. 33, 34. Now although the ground of scantiness of historical detail lies in the character of theocratic historical composition, which proposes to record only what is important for the development of the theocracy, yet here at the same time the excerptive character of our books again comes to view, partly in the notice already given v. 16 and here v. 32 repeated word for word, taken there from the annals of the kingdom of Judah, here from those of Israel, and indeed improperly placed before vv. 33 and 34, partly in the fixed forms for characterising the several reigns, vv. 33, 34, which are constantly repeated.

Chap. xvi. 1—4. The division of chapters is here regulated not according to the reign of the king, but according to the prophetic sentence, by which the fate of the reigning dynasty was decided.—The prophet Jehu, who announced its fall to the house of Baasha, was a son of Hanani, who acted under Asa in the kingdom of Judah, 2 Chr. xvi. 7 ff. His sentence on the race of Baasha (vv. 2—4) is *mutatis mutandis* copied after that of Ahijah on Jeroboam (xiv. 7—11.)[1]—הֲרִימוֹתִיךָ מִן־הֶעָפָר *erexi te in supremum gradum de statu infimo.* Vatabl.

Vv. 5—7. The notice v. 7 is at first sight so strange, that several Rabbins thought that a new prophecy is here conveyed. This is an error; v. 7 contains only a supplementary remark, as Seb. Schm. has rightly observed, and signifies: "And that word of the Lord concerning Baasha and his house came by Jehu not only on account of the evil that he did in the eyes of Jehovah, in provoking him by the work of his hands and being like the house of Jeroboam, as already said, but also because he had slain it (the house of Jeroboam)." To this last reason applies again the remark made on xi. 29, that Ahijah's prophecy concerning the extirpation of Jeroboam's house (xiv. 9 ff.) gave Baasha no

[1] Corn. a Lap. makes here the appropriate remark: *Mira fuit perversitas et stoliditas regum Israel, quod cum viderent jussu Dei plane everti familias regum præcedentium ob cultum vitulorum, imo ipsi easdem everterent, ipsi tamen eosdem vitulos colerent et colendos proponerent populo, ne ad templum et Asa regem Jerusalem rediret: esto reclamarent prophetæ et excidium eis minarentur. Nimirum diabolus et ambitio regnandi excœcabat et dementabat eos. Hinc justo Dei judicio factum est, ut omnes sibi invicem fuerint carnifices: Baasa enim fuit carnifex filiorum Jerobeam, Zambri fuit carnifex filiorum Baasæ, Zambri vero carnifex fuit Amri.*

right to take upon him of his own will to be its executioner. From the very fact that he continued the illegal worship of the calves and therefore the sin of Jeroboam, it is manifest, that in the extirpation of the family of Jeroboam he acted not by a commission from God but in compliance with his own sinful passions.

Vv. 8—14. *Reign of Elah.* As Elah became king in the 26th year of Asa, his father Baasha (xv. 33), who came to the throne in the third year of Asa, cannot have reigned twenty-four, but only a little more than twenty-three years. Elah also kept the throne not full two years; for in the 27th year of Asa, Zimri, the captain of half his chariots, conspired against him, and not only slew himself as he lay drunken in the house of Arza the prefect of his palace, but also, after he wrested the sovereignty to himself, rooted out his whole house to the last man. V. 11. "He left him not one . . . וְגֹאֲלָיו וְרֵעֵהוּ, "neither his kinsmen," who might have avenged his death, "nor his friend."—V. 13 אֶל כָּל־חַטֹּאוֹת וגו׳ "with respect to all the sins."—בְּהַבְלֵיהֶם with their vanities, that is, their idolatrous worship.

Vv. 15—20. Zimri also did not long enjoy the sovereignty; as soon as the army which besieged Gibbethon (xv. 27) learned his conspiracy and usurpation, it proclaimed in the camp Omri (עָמְרִי), the captain of the host, king over Israel, who also immediately with all the people broke up from Gibbethon to besiege Tirzah. But when Zimri saw that the town was taken, he betook himself to the royal palace and burned it and himself in it, like Sardanapalus *Justini hist.* i. 3.—V. 18. וַיִּשְׂרֹף עָלָיו וגו׳ "and burned the king's house over him with fire."—The 19th verse is connected with וַיָּמָת only; "and so he died on account of his sins," etc., that is, he met with this end in punishment of his sins.

Vv. 21, 22. With the death of Zimri, however, Omri did not yet attain to the sole sovereignty. The people divided into two parties, of which the one wished to make Tibni, the son of Ginath, king, the other Omri, until after four years (comp. v. 15 f. with v. 23) the party of Omri gained the superiority over the followers of Tibni, and the latter died, whereupon Omri became sole king in the 31st year of Asa. According to Josephus

Antiq. viii. 12, 5) Tibni was slain, but this is not definitely implied in וַיָּמֹת, and וירחזק is of too general an import to warrant us in concluding that Tibni with his followers was conquered by Omri and his party in an open battle. חָזַק is here construed with an *accus.* instead of על in the sense. to overpower, as in Jer. xx. 7.

Vv. 23—28. After Omri had attained to the undisputed possession of the sovereignty, he formed the resolution to change his residence from Tirza, where Zimri had burned the royal palace. He purchased therefore a "fair round swelling hill" north-west of mount Ebal for two talents of silver (3235 rixd., £684), of Shemer, and built on it the city, which from the former possessor of the hill obtained the name of שֹׁמְרוֹן Samaria, for the capital of the kingdom and the residence of the Israelitish monarchs, which it continued to be from the sixth year of the sole sovereignty of Omri to the overthrow of the kingdom. On the situation and history of this city comp. Rob. Pal. iii. p. 363 ff. In other respects the reign of Omri resembled that of his untheocratic predecessors, whose sins he only continued and exceeded. The twelve years of his reign are, according to v. 29, comp. with vv. 15 and 23, to be reckoned from his rebellion against Zimri, so that he possessed the sole sovereignty only eight years.

Second Epoch.—From the beginning of the reign of Ahab to the deaths of Joram of Israel, and Ahaziah of Judah. Chap. xvi. 29—2 Ki. x.

During this period, embracing only thirty-four years, the history of the kings of Judah retires so much into the back ground of that of the kingdom of Israel, as to be almost treated only as an appendix to it, and in the history the action of the prophets so far surpasses and prevails over the government of the kings, that we seem to have before us a history of the prophets rather than of the kings. The reason of this lies in the nature of the case. The kingdom of Judah, not only by the connection and alliance of Jehoshaphat with Ahab, as his son married Ahab's daughter, lost the greater part of the blessing, which the long theocratically righteous administration of this pious prince had brought on his country, but was also, by taking part in the external struggles of Israel with the Syrians, and by the inclina-

tion of Joram and Ahaziah to the worship of Baal, so implicated in the political and religious troubles of the kingdom of Israel, that its development during this period was almost entirely dependent on the history of Israel. But in this kingdom a fierce battle was fought between the theocratic principle and the idolatry introduced by Ahab and Jezebel, in which certainly the worship of idols finally sank, but still the lawful pure worship of Jehovah was not able to assert its sovereignty, so that this great spiritual conflict brought as little lasting blessing to the kingdom as such, as the several victories of Ahab and Joram over the Syrians secured to it external peace and rest from its oppressors. In order to prevent the apostasy that was spreading by the elevation of Baal-worship to be the predominant state-religion in Israel, the Lord raised up the most powerful and vigorous of all the prophets, the prophet Elijah, with his fiery zeal, who, personally under Ahab and Ahaziah (xvii.—2 Ki. ii.), and indirectly in the person of his successor Elisha under Joram (2 Ki. iii.—ix.), laboured so effectually for the progress of the theocracy, that the action of these two prophets forms as well the spiritual acme as externally the most important and influential period in the history of Israel.

Vv. 29—34. *Reign of Ahab.* With this commences the turning-point for the kingdom of Israel. While Ahab's predecessors contented themselves with continuing in the sin of Jeroboam, that is, the worship of Jehovah under the symbol of the ox, Ahab marries the daughter of Ethbaal king of Tyre,[1] the ungodly Jezebel, and to please her raises the Tyrian Baal-worship, and thus a formal idolatry, instead of the worship of Jehovah to the supremacy in his kingdom, builds in Samaria a temple and altar to Baal, erects an Asherah, and thus acts more wickedly than all his predecessors.—The הַ before בָּעַל is not the

[1] Ethbaal is unquestionably the Εἰθώβαλος (or Ιθόβαλος *Jos. Ant.* viii. 13, 1) mentioned by Menander in Joseph. c. Ap. i. 18, King of Tyre and Sidon, a priest of Astarte, who, after murdering the king Philetos, raised himself to the throne, and, as J. D. Mich. has remarked, in time and character—king-murderer and idol-priest—proves himself the father of Jezebel, who, as prophet-murderer and tyrant, introduces idolatry into Israel. When, therefore, v. 31, the marriage of Jezebel is reckoned among the grievous sins of Ahab, it is not so much because she was by birth, as by character a genuine Canaanitess (Ex. xxxiv. 16.)

article expressing the superlative (Storr, *observ. ad. anal. et synt. hebr.* p. 123), but ה interrogative; *num leve fuit hoc?* (J. H. Mich.) or: *num parum* ille habuit? (Maurer.)—Baal (הַבַּעַל with the def. art. *dominus κατ' ἐξοχήν*) denotes the chief male deity of the Canaanitish races, especially the Phœnicians and their descendants the Carthaginians, as well as the Babylonians, whose *Βῆλος* originally coincides with the Canaanitish Baal, a god of nature, which had its earthly substratum in the sun, not the planet Jupiter, as Gesenius, allg. Encycl. viii. 397 ff., Winer, R.W. *s.v.*, and others suppose. Baal signifies, "the sun-god, and this pre-eminently, as bearer and principle of the physical life, and of the productive propagating power of nature, which was regarded as an efflux of his essence" (Mov. Phöniz. i. p. 184), but because he bore in him the entire full idea of the deity in the nature-religions of hither Asia, men worshipped in him not merely the producing, but at the same time the preserving and destroying principle of nature, so that the idea connected with Baal was very comprehensive, and, on account of the pantheism lying at the root of polytheism, very influential, and, indeed, different at different times and in different places. Baals (in the plural number), therefore, are often mentioned in the Old Testament, and the Greeks identify Baal not only with the Olympian Zeus, but also with Saturn, as "the principle of order, unity, and necessity in the organism of the universe," and with Mars, "as the wild destructive fire, the origin of all disorder and discord in the process of nature" (Mov. i. p. q.), and often call the Tyrian Baal Hercules, but not merely on account of the similarity of representation, "with lion's skin and club" (de Wette Archæol. p. 314 f.) but as the mythical manifestation of the supreme God (Mov. p. 389.) Statues or images of Baal are not mentioned in the Old Testament, for the בְּעָלִים are not *statuae Baalis* (Gesen. *thes.* i. 224), but denote manifold conceptions of the one God (Mov. p. 175.) The older Tyrian Baal, also, was not represented by an image; two pillars only were found in his temple, the one of gold, which Hiram, the contemporary of Solomon and builder of the temple, is said to have erected to him (according to Dios and Menander in Joseph. *Antiq.* viii. 5, 3, and *c. Ap.* i. 18), the other of emerald (Herod. ii. 44.) Ahab also erected a pillar (מַצֵּבָה comp. on xiv. 23) to Baal in the temple of Baal built

by him in Samaria (2 Ki. iii. 2, x. 27.) In the later temple of Baal or Hercules at Tyre, however, was found *ex aere simalacrum ipsius Herculis, quo non facile quidquam dixerim me vidisse pulcrius (Cic. Verr.* iv. 43.) Of the worship of Baal in Israel we learn only that it was performed by a numerous priesthood, called prophets of Baal, at the head of whom stood a high-priest in Tyre, *cui honos secundus a rege erat (Justin. hist.* xviii. 4), with animal sacrifices, accompanied with enthusiastic dances, xviii. 19, 26 ff. Comp. on Baal and the Baalim, Mov. i. p. q. p. 169 ff., and de Wette, Archæol. § 232 *a.*—The phrase: "he did evil in the eyes of Jehovah more than all his predecessors," v. 30, is indeed used before, v. 25, of Omri, so that it might appear that it ought not to be too strictly urged; but if we reflect, that Ahab could scarcely have openly introduced the formal worship of Baal immediately into his kingdom, unless during the reign of his father, in the constantly increasing neglect of the worship of Jehovah the germs had been planted, which were brought to maturity by Ahab. A practical proof, nevertheless, how far all true fear of God in the mass of the people had vanished under Ahab, is furnished by the rebuilding of Jericho, attempted no doubt at the command of the king by Hiel, in whom, however, the Lord showed, that he was able to punish the despisers of his name. In the name of the Lord Joshua had laid a ban upon this city after its conquest and destruction, and pronounced a curse upon him, who should undertake to rebuild it. That this curse was literally fulfilled in Hiel is shown by v. 34, comp. with Josh. vi. 26, although it cannot be decided, how far the poetically conceived words of the curse are to be literally understood, whether so that Hiel lost only the first-born and youngest sons, the one at the beginning, and the other at the end of the erection, or with Rashi so that during the building all his sons from first to last perished. In no case, however, does the poetical character of the curse warrant us to explain it with the Rationalists, Maurer, Studer on Judg. iii. 13, Winer, R.W. i. 639, and others, as a mere *vaticinium ex eventu.* The rebuilding of Jericho consisted in the restoration of the place as a city by the erection of city walls; for the place was inhabited even in the time of the Judges, as may be inferred from Judg. iii. 13, and still more certainly from 2 Sam. x. 5. Jericho was

assigned by Joshua (xvi. 21) to the tribe of Benjamin, but lay close upon the border of Ephraim (Jos. xvi. 7), and probably belonged after the separation to the kingdom of Israel. At present only a wretched and dirty village stands on its site, with a castle and some traces of walls, which, however, furnish no clear evidence of the remains of an old city, comp. Rob. Pal. ii. p. 523 ff.

CHAPTER XVII.

FIRST APPEARANCE OF ELIJAH.

As in the reign of Ahab the worship of Baal was raised to the supremacy in the kingdom of Israel by means of Jezebel, his idolatrous wife, and a violent persecution threatened the prophets, and all the servants of God, who wished neither to identify nor exchange Jehovah and Baal; the Lord was obliged, if he wished any longer to be acknowledged and worshipped in Israel as God and king of his people, to vindicate his true Divinity, and invisible sovereignty in such a manner, that even the boldest adversaries of his majesty would be constrained to acknowledge, that not Baal, but Jehovah is God in Israel, whose arm is not too short to punish the godless despisers of his name. If ever at any time, certainly now was he bound to raise up prophets, who might hold up his law to the apostates and idolaters, and be able to command respect for their word by miraculous deeds. Thus the appearance of such men as Elijah and Elisha is antecedently warranted by the course, which the development of the theocracy had taken in the kingdom of the ten tribes, and the greatness as well as the multitude of the miracles, by which these men proved themselves to be the messengers of the Lord, is occasioned by the greatness and generality of the apostasy from the true God, the true and only King of his refractory people Israel. What was done at the first revolt of the ten tribes from Jehovah, their Divine King, at the introduction of the calf-worship by Jeroboam, on the part of the Lord to maintain the honour of his

name (xiii.), that must now be repeated in a more emphatic form, when the revolt has been carried to complete idolatry. To the rationalistic mode of viewing the biblical history, however, these miracles, because they take place in so mighty and astonishing a manner, are so offensive, that the appeal to the miraculous legends of Elijah and Elisha has become as it were a shibboleth, which neological criticism has continually in its mouth in rejecting the historical character of the Books of Kings. Besides the general grounds, however, on which rationalism opposes in general the possibility, suitableness, and necessity of the biblical miracles, and endeavours to establish their mythical character, the refutation of which neither belongs to a commentary on the Books of Kings, nor is necessary so long as the valid grounds opposed to this view by *Pareau, disputatio de mythica sacri Cod. interpretatione, Traj. ad Rhen.* 1824, are only ignored, not refuted, the only objection here urged is the unusual accumulation of the miraculous, and the surprising similarity of the legends of Elijah and Elisha.[1] With regard to the first point, namely, that in reading the history of Elijah and Elisha, to use the expression of Eichhorn (i. p. q. q. 202) we "seem to be transferred into a world that is not governed by eternal laws, but the course of which is perpetually interrupted by the intervention of the Deity," this correct remark is not in the least explained by the alternative, that the members of the prophetic order, especially Elijah and Elisha, were either jugglers and shamans, or their acts and fortunes coloured with miracle by the later legends, so that we can no longer with certainty disengage the pure historical element. The accumulation of the miraculous is explained much rather, as Hengstenb. Beitr. ii. p. 147 f., and Hävern. ii. 1 p. 166 f. have remarked, by the pecu-

[1] Thus Eichhorn on the legends of the prophets of the kingdom of Israel, in his allg. Bibl. d. bibl. Litt. iv. 2. p. 193 ff. and by W. Meyer, on the relation of the accounts of Elisha to those of Elijah, in Ammon's and Bertholdt's Krit. Journ. iv. 3, p. 223 ff. Moreover G. L. Bauer, hebr. Mythol. ii. p. 131 ff., Bertholdt, hist. krit. Einl. iii. p. 956, Winer, R.W. *s.v.* Elias and Elisa, Rödiger, allgem. Encycl. d. Wissensch. xxxiii. p. 330 ff. and 345 f., Gramberg, die Religionsid. ii. p. 456 ff., Vatke, die Relig. d. A.T. § 24, Knobel, der Prophetism. ii. p. 73 ff., Köster, die Proph. d. A. u. N. T. p. 70 ff., and many others, have declared themselves for the mythical character of these narratives.

liar position of the prophets in the kingdom of Israel, where they had not as in the kingdom of Judah a protection weighty and venerable from its antiquity in the legally established sanctuary and the Levitical priesthood, but found themselves in a hostile position to the kings as well as the priests of the calves. In this position the Israelitish prophets required, if they were to fulfil the end of their mission, a much greater support and more manifest attestation on the part of God by miracles than the prophets in the kingdom of Judah. Here also the prophetic element was obliged, if its agency was to have effect and durability, to form itself into a fixed internal organization in the schools of the prophets, as we find them in the chief seats of idolatry, at Bethel, 2 Ki. ii. 3; Jericho, ii. 5; Gilgal, iv. 38, which were founded and conducted by the most distinguished prophets as spiritual fathers, and were able to make amends to the people for that which the pious in Judah possessed in the temple and Levitical priesthood. In Israel, therefore, the prophets at the same time occupy the place of the priests of God, offer sacrifice on altars dedicated to the Lord, hold assemblies on the Sabbaths and new moons, and teach and counsel the faithful of the people who apply to them with their petitions.[1]—But with regard to the other point especially urged by Meyer, namely, "that the great similarity and almost entire identity of the accounts of the two prophets, which are discernible in their different annunciations of the future, in the performance of beneficent miracles, in the way and manner in which the respect due to the prophets is vindicated and its violation resented in both, and lastly, even in relation to that which happened to them after the earthly activity of the former and the death of the latter, is to this extent always unusual even

[1] Hävern. i. p. q. here aptly remarks: "When the temple was wanting, the worship of images took its place, and the priesthood constituted an unlawful caste, the spreading evil could only be remedied in an extraordinary way. In opposition to the illegality represented by the kingly and priestly offices appeared the prophetic element as the representative of the law, and therefore as a properly organized fixed whole in a proper corporation of considerable extent in its permanent membership. As the only authorized representative and continuation of the law, therefore, this prophetic order was furnished with the power and majesty of the law manifesting itself in miracles; as the spirit, so the wonder-working power of Moses devolved upon Elijah and his associates.

in persons of the same station, the same relations, and the same character, and can neither be explained by an accidental identity of events and facts, nor by the supposition that Elisha in his proceedings had taken the acts of Elijah for his model, and as it were copied them, but most probably by the circumstance that the later legend copied the accounts of Elisha from those of Elijah his predecessor," the thing to be proved, namely, the mythical character of these accounts, and their later formation by the "exaggerating, embellishing legend," is assumed to be established, so that with the assumption falls also the conclusion derived from it. Besides, as will be shown in the explication of the several chapters, the similarity of the two narratives is represented as much greater than it really is, while the diversities, which the acts directed to the same object as well as the prophecies of similar content along with their general resemblance still have in the several collateral circumstances, is entirely overlooked, so that what remains of general resemblance after the deduction of these diversities is sufficiently explained, partly by the common call of the two prophets and the similar circumstances in which they acted, partly by the fact that Elisha was the scholar and follower of Elijah, who, being embued with a double inherited portion of the spirit of his spiritual father, was called only for the continuation of the work of his predecessor and master. Not as mere imitator, but as scholar of Elijah, does Elisha continue the work of his master, and performs in number indeed more miracles than the former, but in regard to the spiritual power of his agency stands considerably behind the power and energy of his master. In the person of Elijah the prophetic power reaches its culminating point. As a second Moses he administers the law and is zealous for the honour of the Lord, in order to bring back to him his contemporaries who had fallen from God, to turn the heart of the fathers to the children and the heart of the children to their fathers (comp. Mal. iii. 24 and Hengstenb. Christol. on it.) The miracles of Moses are therefore partly repeated in his life and conduct (xviii. and xix.) But at the same time as prophet he is not merely the forerunner but partly the model of the great prophet promised by Moses, who should fulfil the law and the prophets, Matt. v. 17. His non-Israelitish extraction, his sojourn at Zarephath bringing a bless-

ing to the pious heathen woman, and several other things, point to the time when the Lord also will cause the heathen to partake in the blessings of the kingdom of God; and the raising of the dead child of the widow performed by him, as well as his ascent into heaven, are types of the raising of the dead and the ascendsion into heaven of Christ, before whose coming the spirit of Elijah was revived in John the Baptist.

V. 1. The first appearance of Elijah is somewhat mysterious. He is not introduced in the form usual on the appearance of the other prophets in our books: "the word of the Lord came to him," but comes forward all at once and announces a penal miracle to Ahab in the name of the Lord. This might be in some measure explained by the fact that only the leading events in this proceeding are communicated; for no doubt Elijah at the same time stated to Ahab the cause of the penal judgment to be inflicted by the Lord on him and his people, if he did not also administer to him a severe rebuke,[1] as not words but only deeds were calculated to break the obdurate heart of the king. But at the same time it is in harmony with the peculiar personality of our prophet, according to which the Divine spiritual power presents itself in him as it were personified, so that his conduct is to be regarded more as the immediate result of the personality granted to him from above, than as the mediate expression of momentary inspiration, in consequence of which the other prophets appear rather the instruments of the Lord.—But a wonderful darkness hangs over his origin. This is obviously indicated by the epithet הַתִּשְׁבִּי, the Tishbite; but a תִּשְׁבִּי or תִּשְׁבֶּה nowhere occurs as the name of a town or place in Palestine.[2]

[1] As for example C. a Lap. assumes: *non dubium est, Eliam zelo æstuantem prius Ahab regem monuisse de abdicando cultu Baal et colendo vero Deo; sed cum ille surdas adhiberet aures, Elias a verbis ad verbera venit ac totam terram percussit sterilitate, ut Ahab et idololatræ discerent, non Baal, ut ipsi putabant, sed Deum verum dare pluviam messem, ceteraque terræ bona, etc.*

[2] Hiller indeed in the *Onomast.* and Reland, *Pal. ill.* p. 1035, have concluded from Tob. i. 2, according to which the old Tobit was led captive out of Θίσβη in Galilee by the Assyrian king, that this town was the birth-place of Elijah; but this Θίσβη itself owes its origin to a false translation of the Hebrew מִתִּשְׁבִּי in the LXX., as the comparison of the Hebrew text edited by Münster in the 4th vol. of the London Polyglott shows. Also the Hebrew treatise of the book of Tobit

The phrase מִתּוֹשָׁבֵי גִלְעָד "from the residents of Gileads," also, proves not only that he was no native Gileadite but a sojourner there for a time, but points at the same time to a foreign origin. For if Elijah had been by birth a Galilean, as so many suppose, he would have been sufficiently indicated to every Israelite by the designation from his birth-place, and the remark, that he belonged to the residents of Gilead, would have been superfluous, as no biography in the form of annals was to be given of him. But on the contrary, if he was a foreigner, *ex nulla tribu Iisrael oriundus* (Seb. Schm.) the addition of the residents of Gilead was necessary to account for his appearance. תשבי must therefore denote the origin of Elijah from an unknown place not belonging to Israel. Not very improbable is the conjecture of J. D. Mich., that he might have been an Ishmaelite, as this people bordered on Gilead, and retained the knowledge of the one God inherited from the patriarch Abraham longer than other heathens.[1] The calling of a foreigner is in keeping with his destination. As he was no Israelite by birth, he was also to have no settled place of residence in Israel. By choosing for himself a minister from the heathen and calling him into his land, the Lord designed to show Israel to his shame, that, if he fell from his vocation by persevering in apostasy, he had the power to call the heathen to be the people of his covenant and adopt them into his kingdom.[2]

published by Fagius, which is a translation from the Greek (comp. de Wette, Einl. p. 424) has מִתִּשְׁבֵּי, and neither the *Vulgate* nor the Syriac version, which, however, was made from the Greek text, knows a Thisbe.

[1] Here we might also cite the tradition in *Pseudepiph. de proph.* c. 5, *Doroth. Tyr.* and *Isidor. Hispal.*, that he sprang from Arabia, see Knobel ii. p. 74, not. 3, if it were not proved unhistorical by the addition, that he was also of the tribe of Levi and a priest. Besides, γῆ Ἀράβων or Arabia in these later writers is to be understood in general of the country east of the Jordan.

[2] The non-Israelitish origin of Elijah has also been so offensive to expositors, that Josephus (*Antiq.* viii. 13, 2) invents a town Θεσβώνη in Gilead, and Clericus, who has so much penetration as to discern the true origin of the supposed town of Thisbe in Tob. i. 2, is yet more willing to assume the existence of a town or village Thisbe somewhere in the land of Israel than to admit, *tam eximium prophetam Proselytum aut ex Proselytis oriundum fuisse.* This repugnance has led the modern theologians also to give at once unconditional credit to the more than feeble authority of the book of Tobet for Thisbe.

The expression of Elijah, "As Jehovah God of Israel liveth, whom I serve, there shall not fall dew or rain these years but according to my word," in which at once the mighty spirit of this prophet appears in all its grandeur, is a special application of the warnings and threatenings of the law, Deut. xi. 16 f., Lev. xxvi. 19, Deut. xxviii. 23 f., to his own idolatrous times. On עָמַד לְפָנַי comp. remarks p. 3. The הַשָּׁנִים הָאֵלֶּה implies no definite period. The statement of the duration of the punishment announced would have only weakened the effect of his word, as a misfortune, the end of which is known, is more easy to bear. In the כִּי אִם־לְפִי דְבָרִי lies a striking contrast between Elijah and other prophets: *nisi ego et non alius vir, etiamsi propheta sit vel prophetam mentiatur, dixero.* Seb. Schm.

Vv. 2—6. After Elijah announces the punishment to Ahab, he must hide himself at God's command, until the time of punishment has reached its end. This concealment was not so much to secure Elijah from the anger and the persecution of Ahab and Jezebel, for Elijah afterwards appears before them both without fear, but to prevent; *quominus Achabus ab eo peteret pœnae remotionem. Quia enim propheta dixerat, ad verbum suum venturam pluviam, utique ursissent eum ut juberet venire.* Seb. Schm. The manner in which Elijah announced the cessation of rain must have produced the impression in Ahab's mind, that he had brought this plague on the country by a magic power obtained from God, with which was necessarily connected the belief, that he, as soon as he only wished, was able by the same magic power, which according to Jam. v. 17 f. was his prayer, to effect its return. In order therefore to cut off the possibility of any attempt to move the prophet to this, Elijah is withdrawn from his eyes and his enquiries, as he is to hide himself at the brook Cherith in a solitary desert east of Samaria. The situation of this brook is not known. From the ambiguity of the עַל־פְּנֵי, which may mean east of Jordan, comp. Gen. xxv. 18, but also in sight of Jordan, comp. Gen. xvi. 12, xviii. 16, xix. 28, it is even questionable, whether it is to be sought on the east side of Jordan, as v. Raumer, Pal. p. 67, after Euseb. and Jerome assumes, or with Reland, Pal. p. 293 and others, on the west. Tradition, to which however no weight is to be attached,

points it out in Phasaelis on this side the Jordan, see Rel. Pal. p. q. and Ges. *thes.* ii. 719.[1] At all events it must have flowed in a waste and scarcely accessible solitude; this is to be inferred not only from the design, with which it was appointed as the residence of Elijah, but also from this, that it presented no means of support but water, on which account the Lord commanded the ravens to bring him food. This miracle of the Divine power and providence for his own, by which the confidence of the prophet must have been strengthened for the approaching conflict with the idolaters and the sufferings and privations awaiting him in his vocation, gave many of the old theologians such offence, that they changed the troublesome ravens now into Arabians, now into Orebites, (inhabitants of an imaginary city Orbo, or dwellers on the rock Oreb), now into merchants,[2] not reflecting

[1] Many old theologians consider it identical with the brook Kanah, mentioned Jos. xvi. 8, xvii. 9, forming the boundary of Ephraim and Asher, comp. Boch. *Hieroz.* ii. p. 216, but without any ground. Lastly, Robinson (Pal. ii. p. 534) is inclined to seek it in the Wady el Kelt, which falls into the Jordan beside Jericho, and about two hours to the east of it, and formed the boundary of Judah and Israel, or between the tribes of Ephraim and Benjamin (Rob. ii. 326.) In favour of this conjecture would be the wild nature of this region, if the long valley of the Jordan did not contain several desert and uninhabited districts; but against it is the close proximity of Jericho then rebuilt by Hiel, which at this time made this exact spot scarcely fit for a secure place of concealment.

[2] These wonderful hypotheses are, indeed, all conclusively refuted by Boch. *hieroz.* ii. *l.* 2, *c.* 13, p. 214, but have been since again brought forward. Thus the assumption, that עֹרְבִים is to be changed into עֲרָבִים, by an anonymous writer in Beyer's allg. Mag. f. Pred. viii. 3, p. 278, by Jahn, Einl. ii. 1 p. 261, and Meyer, Hermeneut. d. A. T. ii. p. 261. The second, that עֹרְבִים were inhabitants of the city Orbo or of the rock Oreb, after R. Judah in *Beresch. rabb. c.* 33, has been renewed by Herm. v. d. Hardt, and more recently by Dathe, after Reland (Pal. p. 913 f.) had already proved the non-existence of a town of this name. The explanation of עֹרְבִים by merchants, has met with least favour, though it rests on Ezek. xxvii. 27, but erroneously, as עָרַב, to mingle, may certainly mean, to trade with one, but עֵרֶב never signifies by itself a merchant. J. D. Mich., indeed, concedes its right to the word ערבים, but endeavours to explain the wonder naturally, as he makes the prophet dwell in the vicinity of a great raven-pool, and then, referring to Döbel's Jagdprakt. Ch. 133, assumes, that Elijah

that by such assumptions, irrespective of all other grounds, the main object of the narrative is directly frustrated. For if men provided the prophet with food for several months, his abode must soon have become known to the king, especially if, according to v. 6, they brought him food every morning and evening, when it would have been sufficient to have furnished the necessary supply at one time for several days. Men might certainly have also brought water from the neighbouring Jordan, so that it would not have been necessary to change his hiding place after the drying up of the Cherith. Whosoever acknowledges the living God, will confide in his omnipotence, that he can cause his servants to be nourished even by ravens, although, according to the fine remark of Winer (R.W. i. 375) they are otherwise the most voracious of birds.

Vv. 7—9. After some time the brook Cherith dried up, and Elijah received a command from God to betake himself to the Sidonian Zarephath, and thus to the land of the godless father of the godless Jezebel, where he commanded a widow to provide for him. The fulfilment of this command required strong faith, to which the Lord had encouraged him by his miraculous pre-

took again from these birds the wildfowl and young hares, which they brought to their nests, perhaps also caught the rats, field mice, and hares, which, in the great drought, came to drink at the brook, when perhaps the ravens had pounced upon them and picked out their eyes, or, lastly, such ravens, as well as hawks, sparrow-hawks, and falcons, may have taught him to hunt. But ingeniously as this learned man had provided in this way for the flesh, his sagacity has forgotten the bread, which Elijah, according to the text, received likewise daily from the ravens! At the present day it is sufficient to have mentioned this hypothesis, to which even the venerable J. J. Hess (Gesh. i. p. 98) gave his approval. The text knows nothing of bird-catching and nest-robbing, but acknowledges the Lord and Creator of the creatures, who *commanded* the ravens to provide his servant Elijah with bread and flesh.—The modern rationalists, seeing the absurdity of this attempt at exposition, have abandoned the investigation of the matter of fact lying at the basis of this narrative, and contented themselves with representing it as a myth embellished by tradition, and uncritically comparing it with the heathen fables, that Cyrus was suckled by a bitch, Romulus and Remus by a she-wolf, Telephus was fed by a stag, Pelias by a horse, Semiramis by a dove (comp. *Aeliani var. hist.* xii. 42, *Liv.* i. 4, *Diod. Sic.* ii. 4, *Justini hist* i. 4, *Philostr. vit. Apoll.* i. 5), and other myths and legends, see Rödiger i. p. q. p. 322, Knobel i. p. q. p. 84, Winer, and others.

servation at the brook Cherith.—מִקֵּץ יָמִים is generally explained, *post annum*, after the interval of a year, as יָמִים has undoubtedly the meaning of a complete definite period, that is, a year, in cases where the period designated by it amounts to a year, either from the context, as Lev. xxv. 29, 1 Sam. xxvii. 7, or from the nature of the thing, as Judg. xvii. 10. Neither has place here, and יָמִים denotes an indefinite longer period, in v. 15, however, a period of at least two years, comp. the remarks on xviii. 1.—צָרְפַת *Σαρεπτα* (LXX.) lay on the Mediterranean Sea between Tyre and Sidon. Only the name of this city now exists, Surafend, which a large village on the heights adjacent to the former city now bears, see Rob. Pal. iii. p. 690 ff.

Vv. 10—16. At the gate of Zarephath Elijah meets a widow engaged in picking up wood. To ascertain whether she were the one to whom the Lord directed him, he asks of her water to drink and a morsel of bread to eat, whereupon she assures him with a solemn asseveration that she has nothing baken (מְעוֹג a cake baked in the ashes, which served for bread in the East) but only a handful of meal in a barrel and a little oil in a cruse, and is gathering wood to prepare it for herself and her son, as she wished to eat this last residue and then to die. From this speech of the widow it appears, on the one hand, that the drought and famine extended also over the Phœnician coast, as is attested also by Menander of Ephesus;[1] on the other hand the widow by the appeal חַי־יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ proves herself to be a worshipper of the true God, who, because she at the same time recognizes the prophet as an Israelite, designates Jehovah as his God; so that we are not entitled to conclude with J. D. Mich. from the אֱלֹהֶיךָ, that she must have previously known the prophet, which is obviously contrary to the spirit of the narrative as well as the Divine intention in the guidance of Eijah. To arrive at indubitable certainty, that this widow fears the true God, is the

[1] From the Phœnician history Josephus (*Antiq.* viii. 13, 2) communicates the notice: *ἀβροχία τε ἐπ' αυτοῦ* (sc. *Ιθοβάλου τοῦ Τυρίων βασιλέως*) *ἐγένετο ἀπὸ τοῦ Ὑπερβερεταίου μηνὸς ἕως τοῦ ἐχομένου ἔτους Ὑπερβερεταίου.* Hyperberetaeus corresponds to Tisri of the Hebrews, comp. Benfey and Stern on the names of the months of some ancient nations, Berl. 1836. p. 18.

provider appointed for him by the Lord, Elijah comforts her, but at the same time asks her to bake a little cake of the last remnant of her meal and oil for him first, and afterwards to make for herself and her son, with the added promise, that Jehovah the God of Israel will not let the meal in the barrel and the oil in the cruise fail, until he again sends rain on the ground. And the widow did according to the word of the prophet; she gave up the certain for the uncertain, because she trusted in the word of the Lord, and received the reward of her genuine faith, as she suffered no want of meal or oil during the whole time of the drought. This act of the believing heathen, who had in simplicity of heart received the knowledge of the true God which she had derived from Israel, must have tended to strengthen the faith of Elijah in the hour of temptation, when it was inclined to waver on account of the multitude of idolaters in Israel. If the Lord had preserved even among the heathen true confessors of his name, his work in Israel could not be altogether in vain. But the widow herself received from Elijah not merely corporeal but spiritual blessing; for he was sent to this widow, as Christ in the gospel, Luke iv. 25 f., declared to the shame of his unbelieving contemporaries, not merely that he might be safely concealed with her, although this object was thereby better attained than by a longer residence in the land of Israel, but on account of her faith, for the strengthening and promoting of which he was sent to her and not to any of the many widows in Israel, many of whom would doubtless have received the prophet, if they had through him been delivered from the pressing famine. The miraculous increase also of the meal and the oil served not merely for sustaining the prophet and the widow, but the relief of their bodily need was to become at the same time preparatory means of remedying their spiritual defects. On the form וְתִתֵּן, which the Masoretes would change into וְתֵת, comp. the remarks on vi. 19. And in v. 15 the Masoretic change of הוּא־וְהָיָא into הָיָא־וְהוּא has been rightly rejected by Maur. as arbitrary. The *masc.* חָסַךְ v. 16 is explained by this, that the gender of the verb is sometimes regulated not by the *nom. regens*, but by that of the *nom. rectum*, as far as this contains the main idea, see Ewald, Gramm. § 570.

Vv. 17—24. Some time after Elijah took up his abode in the upper room of this widow's house, her son became so ill that he died. Herein she sees a punishment of God for her sins, which has been brought upon her by the presence of the man of God, and says to Elijah, "What have I to do with thee, O thou man of God? Art thou come unto me to call my sin to remembrance, and to slay my son?" V. 18. Although these words contain the superstitious idea that God only through the presence of his prophet took notice of her fault, which he would otherwise have overlooked, and was led to its punishment, yet they indicate at the same time a mind susceptible of the truth and conscious of its sins, that needed purification from error. But as the blindness of the man that was born blind in John ix., so the death of her son was not inflicted on her as the punishment of her particular sins, but was designed to be a means of revealing the work of God in her (John ix. 3), that turned to the salvation of her soul.—Elijah brings the dead child to his upper chamber, complains to the Lord of his distress, stretches himself three times upon the body, and cries to the Lord, let the soul of this child come into his inmost part again, whereupon God the Lord hearing his prayer restored the life of the child. The words: "Hast thou also brought evil upon the widow, with whom I sojourn, by slaying her son?" v. 20, are not a reproach against God, but an expression of the heartfelt sympathy which the prophet felt for the affliction of his benefactress, and of the deep grief that, springing from the most lively faith in the hour of need, pours out the whole heart to God, in order the more earnestly to implore his aid. Such words give utterance to a childlike confidence of faith, that does not cease to pray until the Lord hears the petition. Their meaning is: Thou canst not possibly, O Lord my God, according to thy mercy and truth, leave the son of this widow in death. And because such faith bears within it the certainty of being heard, the prophet immediately proceeds to the act of awakening the child again. וַיִּתְמֹדֵד he measured himself, that is, stretched himself three times upon him, in order not, as Dereser thinks, partly to learn if there was still any life in him, as Paul did, Acts xx. 10, partly to warm the body of the child and bring his juices into motion, as Elisha treated a dead child, 2 Ki. iv. 34, for the conduct of Elijah is quite differently

described, and the youth, in Acts xx., was only apparently dead, not really deceased, as the son of our widow,—but to convey the quickening power of God to the dead body, and thereby support his word and prayer. *Factum est, ut corpus prophetae esset instrumentum miraculi, quemadmodum alias in miraculo manus imposita.* Seb. Schm.[1]—V. 24. By this miracle of the raising of the dead, in which Elijah proved himself the forerunner of the raiser of all the dead, the believing heathen is greatly confirmed in her confidence, that Elijah is a man of God, and that the word of the Lord in his mouth is truth. She had, indeed, already acknowledged him as a man of God, but not so that she received as truth the word of his mouth with unhesitating faith.

CHAPTER XVIII.

ELIJAH'S INTERVIEW WITH AHAB AND CONTEST WITH THE PROPHETS OF BAAL.

Vv. 1, 2. In the third year of his sojourn at Zarephath, Elijah receives the Divine command, to show himself again to Ahab, as the Lord would again send rain upon the land. The term "in the third year" the Rab., C. a Lap., Münst., Cler., and others, reckon from the time of the drought; Vatabl., Seb. Schm., and most other expositors more correctly from the time of his sojourn at Zarephath, which was last mentioned. This assumption deserves the preference as the simplest and most natural, and is confirmed as the oldest by Luk. iv. 25, and Jam. v. 17, as Christ and James say, that in the time of Ahab it rained not for three years and six months. This interval is only gained by reckoning

[1] Only rationalistic misunderstanding could therefore find here an indication of the natural explanation of the miracle, namely, that the child, who, in consequence of violent convulsions, had fallen into a deep swoon (!) was recalled to life by the pressure, the animal warmth and the medicines employed, of which last the text knows nothing. Comp. Winer R.W. i. p. 376. As little is the revival effected by the application of animal magnetism, as Ennemoser, der Magnetism. p. 422, or by other medical means, as Knobel, d. Proph. i. p. 56, thinks.

the sojourn of Elijah at Cherith above one, and at Zarephath above two years.

Vv. 3—8. The verses 3—6 contain an intervening remark, by which the meeting of Elijah with Ahab is accounted for. According to time the circumstance here mentioned precedes this meeting, but connects itself logically with the last sentence of v. 2, so that וַיִּקְרָא is to be regarded as *temp. histor.* not as *plusquamp.*—To seek fodder for his horses and mules, that no part of his cattle (מִן in מִבַּהֲמָה, v. 5, is partitive) might perish, Ahab, with the governor of his house (אֲשֶׁר עַל־הַבַּיִת, comp. on iv. 6), Obadiah had undertaken an excursion through the land in such a manner that they had divided the land between them for this purpose, and the one passed through this district, the other through that. V. 7 f. In this excursion Elijah meets Obadiah, a very pious worshipper of the Lord, who had taken a most active interest in the prophets of the true God that were persecuted by Jezebel (v. 14), and charges him to announce his presence to Ahab.

Vv. 9—14. Obadiah at first declines to execute this commission because he is afraid that his compliance would cost him his life, as the prophet, while he goes to announce his presence to Ahab, may be suddenly carried away by the Spirit of the Lord, so that he can no more be found. For in that case the whole anger of Ahab, who had sought after him in every kingdom and nation, and taken an oath of each that it found him not, will turn against him, and he will slay him, especially as he could enjoy no great favour with the king, because he preserved a hundred prophets of Jehovah from the murderous hands of Jezebel by concealing them, fifty in a cave, and supplying them with bread and water. —From the fear expressed by Obadiah, that the Spirit of Jehovah might carry off the prophet to an unknown place (v. 12), Seb. Schm. and others conclude, that in the previous history of Elijah, similar cases, not recorded, of sudden removal had taken place. But this apprehension of Obadiah might have been formed from the circumstance, that Elijah, after he had announced the approaching drought to Ahab, disappeared, and, notwithstanding all the searches for him instituted by the king, was nowhere to be found. And as he was not miraculously carried away at that

time (comp. לֵךְ and וְיֵלֵךְ xvii. 3 and 5), so there is no ground for presuming cases of this kind in the interval, when he was otherwise concealed from his enemies. And the subsequent removal of Elijah to heaven (2 Ki. ii. 14 f.), and the miraculous removal of Philip from the chamberlain of Ethiopia (Acts viii. 39) do not warrant such an assumption; still less the passage Ezek. iii. 12, 14, adduced by Cler. and Schultz, because the therein-mentioned removal of Ezekiel through the air took place only in vision and not in external reality. Had Obadiah known an actual case of this kind, he would no doubt have specified it as a more striking ground of his apprehension.—Ahab had sought the prophet, in order to compel him to recall the plague that afflicted his land and people (comp. remarks on xvii. 2) everywhere, both in and beyond the land. The words: "There is no nation or kingdom, whither my lord hath not sent to seek thee" (v. 10), are a hyperbole suggested by the fear of Obadiah, and therefore not to be pressed too far.

Vv. 15—20. As hereupon Elijah gives Obadiah the solemn assurance, that he will this day show himself to Ahab, he announces his appearance to the king, who thereupon goes to meet the prophet. As soon as he sees him, he thinks to impose on him by the stern address: "Art thou he, that troubleth Israel," but the prophet with reckless freedom retorts on him this reproach, "Not I, but thou and thy family, in that ye forsake the commandments of the Lord and thou followest Baalim," have troubled Israel. On עָכַר to bring into trouble, comp. Ges. *thes.* ii. 1021; and on יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת (v. 15) comp. the fundamental investigation of F. A. Strauss, *vatic. Zeph.* p. 61 ff.—V. 19 f. To prove to the king by ocular demonstration, that the Baalim worshipped by him are nothing, and Jehovah the God of Israel the only true God, whereby at the same time the groundlessness of the king's reproach against him and the truth of his own answer would be implicitly shown, Elijah desires Ahab to assemble the people of Israel with the 450 prophets of Baal and the 400 prophets of Asherah on Carmel.[1] Now although Ahab,

[1] Vatabl., Seb. Schm., and others, limit too much the object of this request, when they find in it only the design of Elijah to prove to Ahab that he himself and not the prophet troubled Israel. To attain this object alone, it was not necessary either to assemble the people or to

in compliance with the demand of the prophet, sent round to all Israel and summoned these prophets, yet it appears that the 400 prophets of Asherah, whom Jezebel, the daughter of the Tyrian high priest of Astarte, fed from or even at her table (comp. on אֹכְלֵי שֻׁלְחָן the explanation p. 25), and had probably brought with her from Tyre, auguring nothing good, evaded the king's command, and did not appear, as in what follows, mention is only made of the 450 prophets of Baal. Carmel is a "many-topped promontory, intersected with many greater and smaller ravines," about thirty-six miles long, which, being covered in many places with thick brushwood and trees, presents a majestic appearance, and from its various summits opens up charming views of the Mediterranean Sea, and dips its foot into its waters. On the northwest extremity stands a celebrated Carmelite convent, according to v. Schubert's measurement at a height of only 582 Paris feet above the level of the sea, dedicated to the prophet Elijah, who is said to have dwelt in a grotto found under the convent, while the monks show another grotto outside the convent-walls as the former residence of Elisha (2 Ki. iv. 25 ff.) At the northern foot of Carmel appears the brook Kishon, which falls into the celebrated bay of Ptolemais or Acre, see Winer R.W. i. p. 247 f., v. Schubert, Reise iii. p. 205 ff., and Rob. Pal. iii. p. 426 f.—These localities must have added considerably to the impression of the transaction about to be performed.

Vv. 21—25. When on the day appointed the people appeared with the prophets of Baal on Carmel, Elijah directs his address to the assembled multitude, because on account of the known imbecillity of Ahab he could expect to impress not so much the king as the people. "How long halt ye on both sides! If Jehovah be God, follow him:—And the people answered him not a word." They are struck with this reproach of foolish uncertainty, as they wished to serve Jehovah and Baal at the same time, but have not the resolution to decide for Jehovah

slay the discomfited idol-prophets. Not to mention that he does not attain even this object with Ahab. The prophet wished much more to bring before the eyes of the whole people a practical proof of the alone reality and Divinity of Jehovah, and of the vanity of the Baalim who were represented as gods, and after the discomfiture of the prophets of Baal by their death, to give a deadly blow to the worship of idols in Israel. For this end he undertakes to vindicate the honour of Jehovah against the idols in a solemn conflict.

alone, and are therefore silent. The people identified Jehovah therefore with Baal, and their worship of Baal was no hostile opposition to the worship of Jehovah; rather in the popular view the heterogeneous religious elements were confounded together, as Solomon before thought he could unite the service of Jehovah with the worship of idols (see the prefatory remarks on xi.) This Elijah calls a halting on two sides. עַל־שְׁתֵּי הַסְּעִפִּים properly *super duabus opinionibus divisis*, comp. Ges. *thes.* ii. 963. This position of a divided heart the prophet must reject, because it is consistent indeed with the nature of heathenism, but inconsistent with the worship of the true God who demands the full surrender of the whole undivided heart (Deut. vi. 4 f.) Comp. Hengstenb. Beitr. ii. p. 128.—Vv. 22 ff. Now as the people remain in their undecided uncertainty, Elijah proposes to let the Deity himself decide, who is God, Jehovah or Baal? The prophets of Baal shall prepare an offering for their god, and he for Jehovah. Thereby may the true God reveal himself as such, if he answers by fire from heaven kindling the offering presented to him. This mode of decision proposed in reference to Lev. ix. (comp. Hengstenb. i. p. q.) must have appeared the fairer to the people, as the prophet of Jehovah stood alone over against a whole host of 450 Baal-prophets. The latter therefore cannot draw back, without publicly resigning their authority, whether they believed that Baal would actually perform the thing required, or hoped by some chance or device to be able to escape from the snare laid for them, or even expected that the God of Elijah would no more stand the test of Divinity required of him than Baal. In order to cut off every evasion in case of the failure of their undertaking, Elijah gives them not only the precedence in this offering, but also the choice of the two oxen provided for the offering, whereby the fairness of his proposal for each party must have appeared evident, and therefore the people willingly assented.

Vv. 26—29. The prophets of Baal thus proceed to do what was required; they take the ox, which was given them, prepare the offering (וַיַּעֲשׂוּ)[1] and solemnly invoke Baal from

[1] From the agreement of the procedure of the prophets of Baal in this offering, which is more exactly stated v. 23, with that prescribed, Lev. i. 6—8, in offerings of oxen, Hengstenb. Beitr. ii. p. 127 f.,

morning to noon, but no answer is returned. קָרָא בְשֵׁם אֵל denotes the solemn invocation of the deity, comp. Gen. iv. 26, xii. 8, etc.; properly so to call, that the soul of him who calls sinks into the object of his adoration. "And they leaped around the altar which was made." וַיְפַסְּחוּ is a contemptuous description of the solemn procession of these priests in their worship, the pantomimic dance, which they performed around the altar. Among others Herodian (*Hist.* v. 3) thus describes Heliogabalus conducting himself as high priest of the Emesene sun-god: Ἱερουργοῦντα δὴ τοῦτον, περί τε τοῖς βωμοῖς χορεύοντα νόμῳ Βαρβάρων, ὑπό τε αὐλοῖς καὶ σύριγξι παντοδαπῶν τε ὀργάνων ἤχῳ.—V. 27. But when till mid-day no answer was given, Elijah mocking them begins to say: "Cry aloud, for he is a god; for he is meditating, or he is gone aside, or he is in a journey, or peradventure he sleepeth and must be awaked." The manifest mockery of this speech lies especially in the prefatory כִּי־אֱלֹהִים הוּא, while the four times repeated כִּי is explained by the emphasis of the speech. Entering into the ideas of the idolatrous priests, who entertained no doubt of the divinity of Baal, Elijah enumerates the several possibilities, by which they were wont to excuse the want of any answer to their prayers. The deity may either be absorbed in thought, so that he, as is wont to be the case with men, does not hear what is spoken to him (שִׂיחַ is most simply explained by *meditatio*, although *confabulatio* the meaning proposed by others is also admissible); or gone aside (שִׂיג *secessio*) to transact some business; or on a journey (דֶּרֶךְ לוֹ); or perhaps even asleep. On this Cler. *ad h. l.* remarks: *Quanquam haec de Deo dicta longe sint absurdissima,*

erroneously concludes, that the priests of Baal observed the sacrificial order of Leviticus; for that which is common to both, namely, the cutting of the slain animals in pieces and laying the pieces on the wood, is of so general a nature, that it must have occurred in the offering of every large animal. This agreement, therefore, can afford no proof, that the worship of Baal did not stand in open opposition to that of Jehovah, though this is established on other grounds. This learned man, i. p. q., however, justly finds in the agreement of Elijah's procedure with Levit. in the performance of his offering (v. 33) a proof that the law of Moses was at that time extant in the kingdom of Israel.

attamen idololatrae talia credere potuerunt, quod ex Homero intelligimus, and after producing some proof passages from the Iliad concludes with the words: *Fateor haec fuisse somnia Graecorum, sed sapientiores non fuisse videntur Chananæi.*[1] Because even this misbelief was the popular belief, and as such was in a great measure shared by the priests themselves, who are not to be regarded wholly as deceivers, but were mostly self-deceived, the prophets of Baal did not feel themselves attacked by the mockery of Elijah, but actually began to cry louder (v. 28), and when even this did not avail, at length to cut themselves with swords and lances בְּמִשְׁפָּטָם after their custom. Many ancient writers (Seneca, Lucian, Statius, Apuleius, Arnobius, Lactantius, Augustinus, etc.) notice this custom, from whose statements Movers, d. Phöniz. i. p. 682 f., thus describes the processions of the strolling bands wandering about with the Syrian goddess. "A discordant howling opens the scene. Then they fly wildly through one another, with the head sunk down to the ground, but turning round in circles, so that the loose-flowing hair drags through the mire: thereupon they first bite themselves on the arms, and at last cut themselves with two-edged swords, which they are wont to carry. Then begins a new scene. One of them, who surpasses all the rest in frenzy, begins to prophesy with sighs and groans, openly accuses himself of his past sins, which he now wishes to punish by the mortifying of the flesh, takes the knotted whip, which the *Galli* are wont to bear, lashes his back, cuts himself with swords, until the blood trickles down from his mangled body." This description perfectly agrees in the main points with the practice of the prophets of Baal here. Here also the conclusion or highest degree of frenzy is the prophesying

[1] As the Greeks believed of their Zeus what Elijah says mockingly v. 27 of Baal, so Mov. d. Phöniz. i. p. 386 certainly includes too much in his words, when he thus expounds. "Cry louder, for he is a god forsooth! Perhaps he is (as *Hercules philosophus Tyrus* or the Palmyrene Aglibol) engaged in meditation, or in an occasional labour (besides the twelve), perhaps on a journey (to Lybia) or asleep (slain by Typhon?), so that (as by Iolaus?) he must be awaked," and then concludes, that "The Israelites knew the Tyrian god as the mythical sun-hero, and the mythical view of Heracles, as we find it in later times, was also known among the Israelites, and, as it appears, prepominant."

הִתְנַבֵּא, v. 29, which began only when noon was past, and continued till the time of the evening sacrifice. The evening sacrifice, according to Ex. xxix. 39, was to be offered "between the two evenings," that is, at sunset, but in after times was offered at the ninth hour, that is, at three o'clock P.M., comp. Joseph. *Antiq.* xiv. 4, 3. Here the לְ in לַעֲלוֹת is not to be overlooked: עַד לַעֲלוֹת means not, "till the offering," but, "till towards the offering," that is, till towards the time of the offering for v. 36, Elijah had completed all preparations for his offering at the time of the evening sacrifice (בעלות המ׳.) Yet the evening sacrifice must at that time have been offered sometime before sunset, since otherwise there would have been no time for that which took place all on one day.

Vv. 30—35. As now up to the specified time no answer was returned on the part of Baal, Elijah proceeded to the performance of his sacrifice, by repairing in the first place the ruined altar of Jehovah (v. 30),[1] that is, he took twelve stones, "according to the number of the tribes of the sons of Jacob," and built of them the altar (v. 31 f.) By the twelve stones he practically declares, that the separation of the people into two kingdoms, as a consequence of sin, is not recognized by the Lord, before whom on the contrary the twelve tribes should form one covenant-people and have one common altar of sacrifice (comp. Hengstenb. Beitr. ii. p. 144.) By the words "according to the number of the tribes of the sons of Jacob, unto whom the word of the Lord came saying (Gen. xxxii. 29, xxxv. 10), Israel shall be thy name," whether they were uttered by Elijah at the building of the altar, or be only a remark of the historian, is noted the in-

[1] Thus on Carmel is found an altar of Jehovah. When it was built and when destroyed history does not record. Very improbable is the conjecture of C. a Lap. that it was formerly built by Elijah himself and destroyed by the prophets of Baal. It either descended from the times before the building of Solomon's temple, when altars of Jehovah were built in different parts of the country and were tolerated, comp. the remarks p. 37 and *J. Capelli. observ. in Reg.* xix. 14, or, as is more probable, was built after the separation of the kingdom by pious worshippers of Jehovah belonging to the kingdom of Israel, who were not permitted to resort to the central sanctuary at Jerusalem (comp. Hengstenb. Beitr. ii. p. 143), and, as may be inferred from xix. 10, was destroyed in the time of Ahab.

justice, with which the ten tribes had claimed to themselves alone the name Israel, which belonged to the whole people as descendants of the twelve sons of Jacob. V. 32 ff. To prevent any one after the approaching wonder expressing any suspicion of fraud, Elijah also made a trench, holding two seahs of seed, around the altar, caused the offering arranged on the altar and the wood to be drenched with four buckets of water three times in succession, so that the water ran round the altar and then filled the trench also with water. The idolaters had dealt largely in such frauds,[1] and knew how to kindle the wood from concealed excavations under the altar, in order to make the befooled people believe that the deity miraculously kindled the sacrifice. Now here, although this was rendered impossible by the many eyes of the onlookers, yet the prophets of Baal might have been so shameless as to impute such a fraud to the prophet of Jehovah, had not Elijah by this precaution prevented the possibility of such a suspicion. כְּבֵית סָאתַיִם זָרַע "as the space of two seahs seed." On בֵּית comp. Ges. *thes.* i. 192, 7. As סְאָה, *σάτον*, is only the third part of an ephah, and according to Bertheau's reckoning (Gesch. d. Isr. p. 73) = 661.92 Par. cubic inches or 246600 Par. grains of water; Vatablus' explanation of these words, *tantae capacitatis quantae est saccus capax duorum satorum*, cannot be correct, but the sense can only be, "as the space, on which two seahs of seed may be sown." Should this space appear too great, it is to be considered on the one hand, that the trench was formed round the four sides of the altar, and thus being of a suitable breadth and depth, included a considerable surface; on the other hand, that the seed is not particularized, but the space, which a certain quantity of seed takes, is very different according to the size of the grains. At all events the trench must be supposed tolerably broad and deep, because only

[1] So says Joh. Chrysostom. in the *Oratio in Petrum Apost. et Eliam proph. t. i. p.* 765 *(ed. Fronto Duc.)*, the genuineness of which is indeed doubted but has not yet been disproved: Ἠλίας καὶ ἐν τούτῳ σοφίζεται. διὰ τί; ἀλλ' ὃ μέλλω λέγειν θεατὴς αὐτὸς γέγονα· ἐν τοῖς βωμοῖς τῶν εἰδώλων ὀπαί εἰσι κάτωθεν τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου, καὶ ἔστι τις λάκκος κάτωθεν ἀφανής, καὶ κατέρχονται οἱ τῆς πλάνης ἐργάται ἐν τῷ λάκκῳ, καὶ οὕτω ταῖς ὀπαῖς ἐκείναις κάτωθεν τὸ πῦρ ἄνωθεν ἐκφυσῶσιν εἰς τὴν θυσίαν, ὡς πολλοὺς ἀπατᾶσθαι, καὶ νομίζειν οὐράνιον εἶναι τὸ πῦρ.

in this way could the object, for which it was made, be certainly attained. Besides the text does not state, as many interpreters think, that it was filled by the threefold emptying of the four vessels of water on the offering and the wood, but Elijah caused it to be filled besides (v. 35.)

Vv. 36—40. On completing all the preparations for the sacrifice, Elijah comes forward and prays, "Lord God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, let it be known this day, that thou art God in Israel, and that I am thy servant, and that I have done all these things at thy word. Hear me, O Lord, hear me, that this people may know that thou, Jehovah, art God." Herein is expressed the object of all the miracles of Elijah, and the other prophets. Israel is by them to recognise Jehovah as his God, and the prophets as his servants, who do all that they do in his name. Elijah intentionally uses the names Israel (v. 36) instead of Jacob, comp. remarks on v. 31. The words v. 37, וְאַתָּה הַסַּבְתָּ וגו׳ are ambiguous. Seb. Schm. explains, that thou it is and not Baal, *qui animos eorum ad se traxerit*, and refers to the fact that the priests of Baal deceived the people with lying wonders by the permission of God. But as the idea of a passive Divine permission is foreign to the Old Testament, Elijah would thereby cast the guilt of the people's apostasy on God, and excuse the idolatry of the people. This he cannot possibly do. The sense can only be, that thou hast turned their heart backwards, that is, away from the idols, back to thyself. So R. Saadias in Kimchi and many others. In this view the *praet.* הסבת might seem strange, which is therefore understood imperatively by Cler., de Wette, and others. Contrary to grammar. The *praet.* only stands in the sense of the imperative, when it is connected by ו *relat.* with a preceding imperative, comp. Ew. Gram. § 613. Here on the contrary וְאַתָּה corresponds to the preceding כִּי אַתָּה and the *praet.* stands before the certainly coming, which is in the Spirit represented as already come (Ew. i. p. q.) v. 38 f. Scarcely has Elijah prayed for a hearing, when the fire of Jehovah falls and consumes the offering. אֵשׁ־יְהוָה denotes not the lightning, for an ordinary flesh could have produced no such effect, but a fire miraculously proceeding from Jehovah, Lev. ix. 24. The miraculous origin of this fire

appears in the most conspicuous manner from its wonderful effect. It not only consumed the burnt-offering with the pile of wood laid under it, but even burned the stones and the earth, that is, *in calcem redegit* (Cler.); even the water in the trench the flame licked up. This miracle, by which, as formerly under Moses, Lev. ix. 24, the worship of Jehovah was again divinely sanctioned in opposition to the Baal-worship that had become prevalent,[1] and Elijah accredited in the clearest manner as the prophet of the Lord in contrast with the prophets of idols, made such an impression on the surrounding people, that they fell on their faces, as in Lev. ix. 24, and adoring confessed, Jehovah is God! Jehovah is God! v. 40. But Elijah, availing himself of this zeal for the Lord, immediately commands the people to seize the prophets of Baal, bring them down to the brook Kishon, and there slay them (שְׁחָטֵם.) This proceeding of our prophet, so offensive to the tender-hearted rationalist,[2] has been already sufficiently vindicated by the older theologians. Elijah acted right, not because he practised the merited *jus talionis* on the priests, inasmuch as "these had persecuted the servants of the true God, and at their instigation queen Jezebel has caused them to be put to death by hundreds on account of religion" (Mich., Deres.), but because of the Divine right of the theocracy, which prohibited idolatry on pain of death, Deut. xvii. 2—4; xiii. 13 ff.[3]

[1] This miracle is completely justified by this object, which has been already pointed out by Hengstenb. Beitr. ii. p. 128. Whosoever thinks himself able to explain as myths these miraculous facts, that are historically attested, and, under the periods of time generally admitted to be historical, rendered necessary to the development of the theocracy, by comparing them with the altogether heterogeneous fancies collected together by Winer in the R. W. i. p. 376, of a Homer (Il. ii. 305, Od. ii. 143) and a Virgil (Eclog. viii. 105 f.), and the quite indefinite statement, *exstat Annalium memoria, sacris quibusdam et precationibus vel cogi fulmina vel impetrari (Plin hist. nat.* ii. 54), thereby proves only his own incompetence to judge of the facts of a Divine revelation.

[2] So says, for example, Eichhorn, i. p. q. p. 235: "Would a really good prophet have been guilty of such harshness and cruelty?" and concludes from this subjective feeling, that the fact is disfigured and exaggerated by the legend.

[3] That this law was not too severe, Mich. (Mos. R. V. § 246) has proved in his own way chiefly from the moral evil and corruption of idolatry. But we need no such grounds. Idolatry and seduction to the service of idols required to be punished with extermination as a

Vv. 41—44. After the completion of the righteous judgment on the ungodly leaders of the people, Elias invites the king, who, during the whole proceeding from morning till evening, had eaten nothing in painful expectation of the issue, to go up on the mountain and eat and drink, for already he hears the rushing of a great rain (קוֹל הֲמוֹן הַגָּשֶׁם).—קוֹל wants the *verbum*, as Is. xiii. 4, lii. 8, lxvi. 6; Jer. l. 28; Job xxxix. 24.—As the cause of the curse of drought pressing on the land was removed, the curse must at the same time cease, and give way to the Divine blessing.—The people, of whom nothing more is mentioned, probably now dispersed to refresh themselves after the example of the king with food and drink. But Elijah, far from celebrating the victory gained by grateful rest, and refreshing his body with food and drink, ascends (v. 42) to the top of Carmel to pray, that the Lord, fulfilling his promise (v. i.), would complete his work by the sending of rain, and continues in prayer until the visible beginning of the fulfilment of his prayer is announced by his servant, who, after seven times looking out on the sea, at length sees a small cloud like a man's hand arise out of the sea. —The singular position of Elijah in prayer, bowing down to

practical denial of the Lord as the only true God, if the object of the institutions of a Divine revelation was to be attained. The question, therefore, as to the legitimacy of putting to death the priests of Baal, excited so little scruple in the older theologians, that they only discussed it in order, on the one hand, to controvert the conclusion drawn from the conduct of Elijah by many, for example by P. Bayle, *diction. hist. et crit. s. v. Elie*, that thereby the bloody persecution of heretics is authorized, on the other hand to remove the objection, that Elijah here outstepped the bounds of his vocation and intruded into the office of the secular authorities, to whom alone the sword was given by God; see *Budd. hist. eccl.* ii. p. 314, Lilienthal. d. gute Sache vii. § 23 ff. But the objection and the conclusion are both obviated by the consideration, that Elijah as prophet, acting by the immediate command of God, executed that which the king, forgetting his duty as theocratic regent, neglected to do; so that there is no need of assuming what is incompatible with the known character of Ahab, that the king, either by his silence, or even by express command, concurred in the execution of the sentence of death (Polus, Dereser, and others.) Besides, that conclusion overlooks the difference between heathen idolaters and Christian heretics, and confounds the New Testament evangelical position with the Old Testament legal point of view for which Christ rebuked his disciples, Luke ix. 55 f.

the earth (יְגַהֵר comp. Ges. *thes.* i. 270) and placing his face between his knees (v. 42), Shaw and Chardin have found also among the Dervishes, see Harmar's Beobacht. v. Faber iii. p. 373 f.

Vv. 42—46. As soon as the little cloud arose from the sea on the edge of the horizon, Elijah directs Ahab by his servant to prepare for his journey lest the heavy rain should afterwards detain him. And before one was aware, the heaven was black with rain and wind, and there was a violent shower.—The phrase עַד־כֹּה וְעַד־כֹּה "till hither and thither" has received the best explanation from Schäfer in Maur. *a. h. l.*, who derives it from the movement of the hand, till one moves his hand hither and thither. For the shortest space was certainly denoted by it, which does not clearly appear in the explanation given by Ges. *thes.* ii. 651, *till then and then.*—V. 45 f. When Ahab set out for Jezreel, the hand of the Lord was on Elijah, so that he girded up his loins, and ran before Ahab to the entrance of Jezreel, not so much to bring the king in safety to his residence (Seb. Schm.) as to give him a proof of his humility, and thereby strengthen the impression made on his heart, and still more to fortify him against the strong temptations of his wife, who turned his weakness into ungodliness. For this conduct, by which Elijah, whom heretofore Ahab knew only as a sternly commanding and powerful prophet, proved himself at the same time a true subject and servant, was quite adapted to affect the heart of the king and awaken the conviction that the prophet was angry not from subjective aversion towards his person, but only in the service of the Lord on account of his idolatry, that he intended to effect, not his overthrow, but his conversion and salvation.—In this, however, Elijah performed more than natural powers can do. For after the great exertions of a whole day, without having previously strengthened himself by nourishment and rest, to keep pace with the king's chariot, this he could only perform in consequence of bring supernaturally strengthened by the hand of the Lord. The phrase "יַד יְהוָה הָיְתָה אֶל־פְּלֹנִי is akin to the phrase denoting the entrance of the prophetic inspiration "יד י׳ ה׳ עַל־פְּלֹנִי, 2 Ki. iii. 15; Ezek. i. 3, iii. 15, etc. אֶל, however, does not stand for עַל, but denotes the direction; the power of

the Lord came to Elijah, so that, furnished with supernatural strength, he accomplished that which exceeds the natural powers; whereas יד ה׳ על־פל׳ expresses the state of higher ecstacy, in which the human spirit is seized by the Divine and raised above itself to behold things which lie beyond the bounds of the natural perceptions of the mind.—Jezreel, where Ahab had his palace (xxi. 1), and probably resided in summer, lay at least five geographical miles distant from the midst of Carmel in the fair and fertile Esdraelon (called also Jezreel after this city) on a hill, which commanded a noble prospect of the different parts of the country, comp. remarks on v. 15, and Rob. Pal. iii. p. 391 ff., where the identity of the site of the old Jezreel with the modern Zerin, consisting of scarcely twenty houses, is proved.

CHAPTER XIX.

ELIJAH'S FLIGHT FROM JEZEBEL AND JOURNEY TO HOREB.

The same prophet, whom we beheld in the preceding chapter at the very height of his divinely bestowed power, here comes before us in the depth of spiritual weakness. All the power of his godlike courage and zeal has vanished; he is afraid of sinking. This wonderful change of his nature is explained by the difficult internal conflict which the Lord, who had hitherto so highly exalted him, allows to befal him, that in his weakness he should not be too much uplifted or glory in his great deeds, but, mindful of his impotence, should always humbly give God alone the honour, who had wrought so great things by him, 2 Cor. xii. 8—9.

Vv. 1—3. When Ahab on his arrival at Jezreel relates to his godless queen what Elijah had done, and how he had slain all the prophets of Baal, she flies into an ungovernable passion, and endeavours, at least by threatenings, to take vengeance on the prophet. She apprises him by a messenger of her oath by the gods, that she will, by to-morrow about this time, make his life

as the life of one of the prophets of Baal, that is, she will put him to death. Here the old interpreters have observed how plainly the *impotentia muliebris iracundiae* manifests itself in this, that she announces to Elijah her resolution to put him to death, which, if it was to be actually executed, must have been kept secret till after its execution, *ne interea aufugeret propheta aut populus ad eum defendendum tumultuaretur.* Cler. If, therefore, the act of Jezebel was not the fruit of inconsiderate blind vindictiveness, but the result of rational reflection, she might wish, by her threat, to effect only the banishment of the disagreeable and dangerous man, because she felt herself unable to put him to death, partly on account of the people who were enthusiastic for him, partly also perhaps on account of the king himself, upon whom the recent occurrence might not have been without some salutary effect.[1] V. 3. But this threat made such an impression on Elijah, that he left the country and withdrew, first to Beersheba at the farthest extremity of the kingdom of Judah.—Instead of וַיַּרְא "and he saw," namely, how things stood, there is no need of the easier conjectural reading וַיִּרָא *et timuit se*, which after the *Vulg.* several expositors have preferred. וַיֵּלֶךְ עַל־נַפְשׁוֹ "he went for his life," that is, to save his life. Beersheba, a place already well-known from the history of the patriarchs (Gen. xxi. 14, 28 ff., xxii. 19, xxvi. 33, xxviii. 10, xlvi. 1), in the south border of Canaan, thirty-one Roman or six geographical miles south of Hebron, on the border between the habitable land and the wilderness, still exists in some ruins of old foundations of buildings and two well preserved wells lined with stone, under the old name Bir es Seba, which Rob. (Pal. i. p. 337 ff.) visited and described.[2]

[1] On the form of oath with כִּי following, comp. above, p. 29.

[2] As Beersheba was assigned to the tribe of Simeon (Jos. xix. 2), we have here another proof that this tribe adhered to the kingdom of Judah. For that Beersheba actually belonged to this kingdom, appears not only from the words אֲשֶׁר לִיהוּדָה (v. 3) but also from 2 Ki. xxiii. 8, 2 Chr. xix. 4. Under Uzziah indeed it was a celebrated place of pilgrimage for the subjects of the kingdom of the ten tribes, Am. v. 5, viii. 14, but to infer from this that it then belonged to this kingdom would not only be *incerta saltem conjectura* (*Fr. Bleek, de libri Genes. orig. etc.* in Bonner Progr. v. J. 1836, p. 24), but is also

Vv. 4—7. Yet even in Beersheba, where notwithstanding the friendly relations of the two kingdoms he might be pretty safe from the machinations of Jezebel, Elijah does not remain, but, leaving his servant behind, betakes himself alone into the wilderness, probably as it were with the view of making a pilgrimage to the mount of God, Horeb, that there on the very scene of the grandest events of the foretime he might strengthen his faith by the realization of the wonderful deeds of the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. But after he had made a day's journey into the dry waste, the spiritual drought of temptation attains to such a height, that he sits down in pure weakness of faith under a broom, and desiring to die exclaims: רַב עַתָּה וגו׳ "enough now; take away, O Lord, my soul; for I am not better than my fathers," that is, I have endured calamities enough here below and am now wearied of life, take therefore my soul to thee, Lord, for I deserve no longer life than my fathers; let me now therefore die. In explanation of this speech there is no need of the improbable assumption of Kimchi, R. Levi, Seb. Schm., and others, that Elijah had already had a revelation of his future removal to heaven. This much only appears from the last words, that he was already of advanced age. V. 5. In this state of mind Elijah lies down and sleeps under a broom *ex lassitudine itineris et mœrore animi.* C. a Lap.—רְתָם, v. 4 *gen. fœm.*,[1] v. 5 *gen. masc.*, is not the juniper (Luth.) but the broom (*Genista Raetem*, רتم in Forskâl, *Flor. aeg. arab.* p. 214), one of the most

decidedly contradicted by the passages cited and even opposed by the phrase of Amos v. 5 תַּעֲבְרוּ "go ye not over to Beersheba," comp. Hitzig on the passage. But Beersheba was certainly not at that time "a chief seat of idolatry" (Win. R.W. i. p. 172); for under the reign of Uzziah proper idolatry did not prevail in Judah, but only worship on the high places (2 Ki. xv. 4), which had probably its chief seat at this border of the kingdom, because Isaac had there built an altar, on which he and his son Jacob had offered, Gen. xxvi. 24 f., xlvi. 1 ff.— But Elijah resorted to this place not on account of the holy reminiscences of the patriarchal times connected with it, but because it lay on his way from Judah through the wilderness to Horeb.

[1] Hitzig (Begr. d. Krit. p. 124) would derive the fem. אַתָּה from an error of transcription, produced by the preceding תַּחַת. This is quite improbable, as in v. 5 the same cause appears and has produced no error.

common shrubs in the water-beds and wadys of the Arabian desert, with small whitish blossoms, by which the Arabs gladly pitch their tents, in order to be sheltered from the wind by night and from the sun by day, Rob. Pal. i. 137, 136; Ges. *thes.* iii. 1316.—The Lord comes with his strength to the aid of the desponding prophet; an angel[1] awakens him from sleep and invites him to eat,—behold, he sees at his head a meal, common indeed but nourishing, an ash cake beside a cruse of water. עֻגַת רְצָפִים a cake baked on hot stones among ashes and coals laid on it, a favourite and very palatable article of food among the Israelites (Gen. xviii. 6, xix. 3) as well as among the Bedouins of the present day; comp. Ges. *thes.* iii. 1307 f. and Win. R.W. i. p. 108. —After the prophet had eaten of this miraculously provided fare, he lies down to sleep again, and is a second time awakened by the angel and invited to eat with the addition (v. 7): כִּי רַב מִמְּךָ הַדֶּרֶךְ, "for the way is too far for thee." The מִן in מִמְּךָ is comparative: *iter est majus, quam pro viribus tuis, q. d. vires tuæ præsentes non possent sufficere itineri, quod restat a te conficiendum.* Vatabl.

Vv. 8—10. When he had been refreshed corporeally by food and drink, and spiritually indeed also by the presence of the angel, he went in the strength of that food forty days and forty nights to Horeb, the mount of God (v. 8.) The meaning of these words is manifestly, that Elijah, through the miraculous power of the food received through the angel, travelled the whole way without obtaining any thing farther than what the wilderness might perhaps afford. Mount Horeb, called with reference to the appearance of the Lord there to Moses, Ex. iii. 1 ff., and the solemn manifestation of God on one of its summits for the giving of the law, Ex. xix. ff., the Mount of God, is distant from Beersheba 180 or at most 200 miles, so that Elijah did not require forty days for this journey, if God's design in so guiding him had been merely to bring him thither. But Elijah was to wander forty days, as formerly Moses with the whole people forty years, in the wilderness, and during this time also to par-

[1] Not "an unknown individual, whom probably his secret friends had sent," into which G. L. Bauer, hebr. Mythol. ii. p. 162 has metamorphosed the angel of God.

take of no other food than that miraculously appointed for him by God, that he might learn that the Lord is always the same, who had nourished by manna from heaven his whole people forty years in the wilderness, comp. Hengstenb. Beitr. ii. p. 128 f. And as the forty years' sojourn in the wilderness was to Moses a period of probation in faith, of exercise in humility, and meekness (Num. xii. 3); so also was the faith of Elijah to be proved and purified from all carnal zeal for the further right discharge of his office.[1] To this object of the guidance of our prophet points most clearly the parallel coming out still more distinctly from v. 9, with the guidance of Moses, Ex. xxxiii. f. V. 9. Arrived at Horeb, Elijah goes into the (known) cave (אֶל־הַמְּעָרָה), and passes the night there. There, probably in the night, the word of the Lord comes to him, "what doest thou here, Elijah?"—The opinion assumed as certain by Jarchi, C. a Lap. and most interpreters, even by Hengstenb. Beitr. ii. p. 129, that the cave in which Elijah passed the night was the same in which Moses saw the Lord, derives no confirmation from Ex. xxxiii. 22, as nothing is there said of the sojourn of Moses in a cave, but the Lord only says to him: "when my glory passeth by I will put thee in a clift of the rock, and will cover thee with my hand, till I have passed by." And even if Moses had actually sojourned in a cave during his long delay on Sinai, yet the identity of this cave with that occupied by Elijah cannot be proved with certainty either from the definite article or from the imitative character of our adventure. For the definite article is also used when a single object is presumed to be distinguished by the circumstances (Ew. Gr. § 533.) Thus it is said, Gen. xix. 30, Lot dwelt in the cave (בַּמְּעָרָה), although Mount Seir has more than one cave, and that inhabited by Lot is nowhere previously mentioned. The imitative character also requires no perfect agreement in every even subordinate particular, and is not to be extended farther than lies in the text, which here (comp. אֶל־הַמְּעָרָה, v. 8, and נִקְרַת הַצּוּר in Ex.), points to a difference

[1] Quite mistaking this object as well as running counter to the clear words of the text (v. 8) Cler. *ad h. l.* would refer the forty days to the journey to and from, including the sojourn at, Horeb.

rather than a likeness.[1]—The question : מַה־לְּךָ פֹּה אֵלִיָּהוּ, involves no reproach, *quasi Deus diceret, nihil esse Eliae negotii in solitudine, sed potius in locis habitatis, ut illic homines ad veri Dei cultum adduceret (Cler.)*, but only gives occasion to the prophet to express the thoughts and feelings of his soul, on which the following revelation of the Lord is designed to operate. In the answer of Elijah, v. 10, "I have been zealous for the Lord," etc. is expressed not only a very gloomy view of things, but also a carnal zeal that would immediately call down the vengeance of the Almighty on all idolaters. His complaint contains on the one hand the concealed reproach against God, that he had so long quietly borne the conduct of the ungodly, and allowed the matter to come to the greatest extremity, so that he, his prophet, was alone left of all the true worshippers of God; on the other hand, the indirect demand on God, that he would at length interfere with his penal judgments. Because he had not seen the expected salutary fruits of his zeal for the Lord, he believed that all was lost, and in his present darkness of mind overlooked what he had seen shortly before with his own eyes, that even in the service of the king, a pious and sincere worshipper of Jehovah,

[1] The identity of the cave occupied by Elijah with the special place of the giving of the law on Sinai cannot be proved, as the assumption demonstrated by Hengstenb. Beitr. iii. p. 396 ff., and Rob. Pal. i. p. 197 ff., that Horeb is the general name of the whole range, while Sinai denotes the particular top, on which the law was delivered, notwithstanding the objections raised by Rödiger in the Hall. A.L.Z. 1842 No. 30, still holds its ground, and in our books (viii. 9 and here) the name Horeb is obviously used in the same sense as in Deut.; that is, it denotes the whole range. But the denominations of the several parts of this range now usual, namely, the designation of Jebel Musa as Sinai and of the northern part of the same ridge as Horeb, after the long vacillation in the use of these names, have only since the seventeenth or eighteenth century become gradually fixed, comp. Rob. i. p. q. p. 427 f.—The Siniatic monks, indeed, show in the chapel they have on Jebel Musa dedicated to Elijah, "nigh the altar a niche, large enough for a man, which they say is the cave, where the prophet dwelt on Horeb" (Rob. i. p. 170); but how very uncertain these traditions and legends of the monks concerning all the localities of the sacred history, has been not only repeatedly declared by Rob. in his work, and most distinctly in v. ii. p. 1 ff., but also conclusively demonstrated in the several cases.

Obadiah lived, that he concealed a hundred prophets from the vengeance of Jezebel, that the whole people assembled on Carmel had given glory to the Lord, and at his command seized and slain the prophets of Baal, and that therefore all true worshippers of the Lord could not have disappeared out of Israel.—The phrase קַנֵּא קִנֵּאתִי לַיהוָה as well as the thing signified by it, is explained by Num. xxv. 11—13. For when the Lord inflicted a severe punishment on the people, who had grievously sinned by committing whoredom with the daughters of Moab, and joining themselves to Baal-Peor, Zimri, the prince of a family of the Simeonites, caught in the very act of adultery with Cozbi the daughter of a Midianitish prince, was thrust through by Phinehas, whereby the penal sentence was averted from Israel, while the perpetual possession of the high priesthood was assigned to Phinehas for himself and his posterity on account of this "zeal for his God" (קנא לאלהיו.) In like manner Moses had been zealous for the Lord, Ex. xxxii. 15 ff., although קנא does not occur here and in imitation of both Elijah in xviii. 40 ff.—"Thine altars have they thrown down." Here we are to understand the altars, which pious followers of Jehovah had erected in various parts of the kingdom, the building of which was forbidden indeed in the law, but was justified by the necessities of the Lord in the kingdom of the ten tribes, comp. note on xviii. 30.

Vv. 11—18. To the complaint of the prophet the Lord answers first by the manifestation of his nature in deeds, vv. 11—14, and then by the declaration of his will in words, vv. 15—18, and reveals in his twofold manner to Elijah his name, which he expressed to Moses, when he caused his glory to pass before him: "Jehovah, Jehovah God, merciful and gracious, long-suffering, and abundant in goodness and truth, who keeps mercy for thousands, forgives iniquity and transgression and sin, but by no means leaves unpunished, visits the guilt of the fathers on the children and children's children unto the third and fourth generation," Ex. xxxiv. 6, 7. The "still soft whisper," (קוֹל דְּמָמָה דַקָּה literally, sound of a soft blowing) calls to him, "God, merciful and gracious," etc.; the words, "Go, return on thy way to the wilderness of Damascus . . . . . him shall

Elisha slay," vv. 15—17, corresponds to the sentence, "he by no means leaves unpunished," etc.—So far the substance of this glorious revelation of God, which is repeated to Elisha as a second Moses. So far have we like facts only in a different form.[1] The likeness of the substance presupposes likeness of the object, with which the Lord miraculously displayed his glory to both.—Moses was so provoked with the worship of the golden calf by the people during his long absence on Mount Sinai, that he burned with vehement anger at the sight of the idolatrous scene on his descent from the mount, and not only in his irritation broke the tables of the law, because the people had broken the covenant, but also issued the command, that every man, who is for the Lord, should come to his side and slay with his sword his idolatrous brother, friend or neighbour; in consequence of which command the Levites slew of the people about 3000 men, Ex. xxxii. 15 ff. But on the following morning, having returned to the Lord on the mount to make reconciliation for the sins of the people, he again goes so far in the zeal of his intercession for his people as to say to the Lord: "And now forgive their sin! If not, blot me, I pray thee, out of thy book which thou hast written," whereupon the Lord answers, "Whosoever hath sinned against me him will I blot out of my book" (v. 33 f.), and then threatens the apostate people with the punishment, that he will not go in the midst of them into the promised land, Ex. xxxiii. V. 12 ff. Then Moses desires, on the ground of the assurance given to him, that he had found grace in the eyes of the Lord, for the confirmation of his wavering faith in the Divine promise, that he will actually lead his people into Canaan, to behold the glory of the Lord, and the Lord promises him, "I will make all my goodness (כָּל־טוּבִי) pass before thee, and proclaim the name of the Lord before thee," v. 19, and immediately performs this promise to him, Ex. xxxiv. 5 ff.—In like manner had Elijah, in the great zeal of his anger on account of apostasy, slain the authors of idolatry, the prophets of Baal, and in burning eagerness for the conversion of the weak king and the salvation of his

[1] "In the beautiful vision, which was presented to the second Moses, Elijah, on the same mount of God, Horeb, and perhaps in the same cave, the resemblance to the former history cannot be mistaken." Herder, on the spirit of Hebrew poetry (1787), ii. p. 51.

people, had followed Ahab to Jezreel under the influence of Divine power, but there he had to learn from the menace of the idolatrous Jezebel, that his labour was to all appearance fruitless. Thereupon his soul desponds; he flees, more from dejection of spirit on account of the apparent failure of his work than from fear of the foolish menace, out of the idolatrous land into the wilderness, and here, when the temptation rose by means of bodily privation to a spiritual assault, wishes for the release of his soul by death; but by the appearance of the angel, who refreshes him with food and drink, so that he is able to walk forty days without fail, he is directed to the ancient God of his fathers, whose grace and mercy have no end, although thereby he is not yet raised from his despondency, so that he arrives at Mount Horeb not in a much better state of mind. Here now the Lord appears to him, as formerly to his servant Moses, and reveals to him, as to the former, his glorious essence as love, in which grace and mercy are united, in order thereby in like manner to strengthen and provide him with the knowledge and power, love and patience, requisite for the farther discharge according to the will of God, of the difficult and troublesome task laid upon him.—But the variety in the form of this manifestation, while the substance and the main object are alike, together with the other material differences, is explained, partly by the variety of the circumstances in which the Lord manifested his glory to his servants, partly by the different state of mind on which the manifestation had to operate. In Moses it was burning love for the welfare of his people, which moved him to the prayer, that the Lord would show him his glory, and to confirm him in his call, his petition was granted as far as man can behold the glory of God. Concealed in the clift of the rock and screened by the hand of God, he sees the Lord pass by him, and hears him express in words his inmost nature. Elijah, on the contrary, from a zeal not quite free from human passion, was astray as to the proceedings of the omnipotence and righteousness of the Lord, and had to learn that this zeal was inconsistent with the love and grace of God.[1] The Lord therefore causes

[1] "The vision was to show to the fiery zeal of the prophet, that would amend everything by the storm, the mild process of God, and proclaim his long-suffering tender nature, as formerly the voice did to

his glory to pass before him, first in natural phenomena, which express his power on the earth more strongly than words. *Διὰ δὲ τούτων ἔδειξεν, ὅτι μακροθυμία καὶ φιλανθρωπία μόνη φίλη Θεῷ.* Theodoret. After he commanded him to go forth from the cave and stand upon the mount before him (v. 11), behold there comes a great and strong wind rending the mountains and breaking in pieces the rocks, and after the wind an earthquake, and after the earthquake a fire, but the Lord is not in the storm, not in the earthquake, not in the fire, to show, that his sway in the theocracy is not implacable annihilating rigour and all-consuming jealousy. Storm, earthquake, and fire, are symbols of the Divine punishments exterminating the ungodly, Ps. xviii. 8 ff.; Is. xiii. 13; xxix. 6; xxx. 30; Sir. 39, 28 f. etc. Not in these Jehovah appears, but in קול דממה דקה, in the sound of a gentle blowing or soft murmur (comp. on דממה Ps. cvii. 29), the sign of the nearness of God (Job iv. 16), which is the love that endures the sinner with sparing mildness, with patience and long-suffering, and delays the punishment as long as mercy is possible.[1] v. 13. When Elijah hears the soft whisper, having

Moses: hence the scene was so beautifully changed." Herder i. p. q. p. 52.

[1] On this Ephraim Syr., v. 12, rightly remarks, ܗܘ ܕܡܨܥܐ ܠܗ ܒܗ ܐܝܠܝܐ ܕܩܢܝܐ ܠܫܘܠܡܗ ܕܐܝܠܝܐ *hoc symbolo Deus Eliae immoderatum zelum perstringit*, but he errs, as soon as he finds the proper and historical import of this symbol in this, namely, to indicate to Elijah ܕܢܝܚܐ ܘܫܠܝܐ ܕܐܝܠܝܐ ܕܒܣܝܡ ܠܗ ܒܣܘܦ ܝܘܡܝܢ ܡܢ ܩܛܠܗ ܕܐܚܐܒ ܘܐܝܙܒܠ "the rest and peace, which he will soon attain (after the present storm of persecution) through the death of his persecutors, Ahab and Jezebel. The object of this theophany is moreover similarly conceived by Brentius, Seb. Schm., and others. After Irenaeus, *adv. haer.* iv. 27, many have found the difference of the old and New Testament therein represented. Even Grotius calls it *evangelii figuratio, quod non venit cum vento, terrae motu et fulminibus ut lex, Ex.* xix. 16 ff. The rationalists naturally see herein only a mythus; Eichhorn i. p. q. p. 238 explains the whole history of the forty days' wandering of Elijah in the wilderness, his being fed by the angel, and the manifestation of God to him on Horeb, as a dream arising in a natural (?) way." *Habeant sibi!* The object of this theophany has been on the whole rightly explained by R. Levi ben Gerson in the *Annotatt.* of Joh. Meyer to the Seder Olam p. 852.

wrapped his face in his mantle (אַדֶּרֶת see on 2 Ki. 8), because sinful man cannot bear the sight of the holy God, comp. Ex. iii. 6, he goes out, stands at the entrance of the cave, and hears a second time the question, what doest thou here, Elijah? to which he (v. 14) returns the same answer as before in v. 10. On this the Lord reveals to him, after he has shown him his grace, long-suffering, and tender mercy to the sinner, that he "by no means leaves unpunished," since he (v. 15—17) commissions him to anoint Hazael to be king over Syria, Jehu to be king over Israel, and Elisha, the son of Shaphat, of Abel-meholah (see on iv. 12) to be prophet in his stead, with the added remark, which must have satisfied his zeal, that was now certainly too passionately expressed, but was praiseworthy on account of the motive that prompted it, and encouraged the prophet in the continuance of his office: "And it shall come to pass, that him that escapeth the sword of Hazael, will Jehu slay; and him that escapeth the sword of Jehu will Elisha slay." But in order that he may learn to his shame, that to his eye, disturbed by dejection, the cause of the Lord in Israel appeared much more desperate than it stood before the eyes of God who knoweth his own by number and name, the Lord adds, "I have left in Israel 7000, all the knees that have not bowed to Baal, and every mouth which hath not kissed him" (v. 18).—The words v. 15, "Go return on thy way to the wilderness of Damascus, and come then and anoint," etc. are not to be so understood as if Elijah had immediately to proceed to Damascus, and there anoint Hazael, but Elijah is to withdraw for some time into the wilderness of Damascus, where, secure from the revenge of Jezebel, and yet not far from the scene of his activity in Israel, he might execute his three commissions at the time to be more exactly determined by the Spirit. He immediately accomplishes only the calling of Elisha to be his successor (v. 19 ff.), who then afterwards, only after the ascension of Elijah, executes the other two,[1] see 2 Ki.

[1] It is equally incorrect, when J. D. Mich. thinks that for this reason he must assume, that Elijah was still living, when Elisha at his command executed these commissions, and therefore was not carried alive to heaven, as when Köster, die Proph. p. 76, draws from it the conclusion, that the concentrating legend wishes thereby to strengthen the miraculous light, which surrounded Elijah by committing to him what was only carried into effect by his successor.

viii. 7—13, ix. 1—10.—The *Vulg.*, Luth., de Wette render מִדְבָּרָה דַּמֶּשֶׂק falsely: *per desertum in Damascum;* the words are connected: *in desertum Damasci*, comp. Jos. xviii. 21, xii. 10; Deut. iv. 41, and denote the environs of Damascus, for this still very important city, situated in a great plain on the river Barady, the Chrysorrhoas of the ancients, borders in the south and east on the wilderness, see Rosenm. bibl. Althk. i. 2, p. 284 ff., Winer R.W. i. p. 286 ff.—מָשַׁח to anoint stands improperly, as Judg. ix. 8, for the Divine consecration, indicated by anointing, to the office of king and prophet, although an actual anointing with oil nowhere occurs in the consecration of a prophet. Of the three named, Jehu only is actually anointed (2 Ki. ix. 6.) But all the three were to be instruments of God for the extermination of the idolaters in Israel. Hazael was to chastise the whole people for their apostasy (2 Ki. viii. 7), Jehu to extirpate the authors of idolatry, Ahab and Jezebel, with the prophets of Baal (2 Ki. ix., x.), Elisha to slay by the word, which as the word of the Lord must bring judgment on the godless (Jer. i. 10, xviii. 7), comp. 2 Ki. ii. 24.—V. 18. וְהִשְׁאַרְתִּי וגו׳ is, according to the Hebrew accentuation, to be taken as future. I will leave 7000 in Israel, that is, preserve in the judgments to be executed by Hazael, Jehu, and Elisha, those, namely, who have not given themselves to idolatry. Elijah, therefore, is not the only true worshipper of Jehovah who remained in Israel.[1] נָשַׁק to kiss, worship, adore by kissing, partly by kissing the hand to the idols (comp. *Plin. hist. nat.* xviii. 8), partly by actual kissing of the idol on the mouth and chin, which was so usual especially in the worship of Baal, that *Cic. in Verr.* iv. 43 says of the brazen statue found in the temple of Hercules at Agrigentum: *Simulacrum . . quo non facile quidquam dixerim me vidisse pulcrius, usque eo, judices, ut rictus ejus et mentum paullo sit attritius, quod in precibus et gratulationibus non solum id venerari,*

[1] The apostle Paul certainly in citing this passage in Rom. xi. 4, renders וְהִשְׁאַרְתִּי grammatically not quite exactly by *κατέλιπον*, but has taken the expression in its original, not, as Fritzche *ad h. l.* asserts, in a different sense, to prove, that notwithstanding the present rejection of Israel a *λεῖμμα κατ' ἐκλογὴν χάριτος* still exists; comp. Tholuck's Comm. on the passage in the new edition of 1842.

verum etiam osculari solent. The number 7000 is a round sacred number of the ἐκλογή of the covenant-people remaining in Israel,[1] for seven is the signature of the covenant, comp. Bähr, Symbl. i. p. 193, Hengstenb. Gesch. Bil. p. 71.

Vv. 19—21. After this revelation Elijah, newly strengthened in his wavering faith, finds at Abel-meholah, in the valley of the Jordan, the son of Shaphat, Elisha, ploughing in the field with twelve yoke of oxen, and calls him to the prophetic office by the symbolical act of casting his prophetic mantle on him, whereupon he left the oxen and ran after him, praying that he might kiss his father and his mother, that is, take leave of them and then follow him. By the mention of ploughing with twelve yoke of oxen, it is made manifest that Elisha was an affluent man, who gave up his earthly goods to consecrate himself to the service of the Lord, and thus was eminently adapted for the office to which he was called by a faith denying that which is earthly.[2]—On the form אֲאַשָּׁקָה comp. Gesen. Lehrg. p. 306, Ew. Gr. § 294. The answer of Elijah לֵךְ שׁוּב כִּי can only mean: "Go, but return soon, for it is a great thing that thou shouldst be my successor. *Cogita, ad quantum munus te vocaverim. Grot.*—V. 21. Hereupon Elisha returns and takes the yoke of oxen with which he himself ploughed, slays them (וַיִּזְבַּח *immolavit*), boils the flesh, in doing which he uses the plough tackling for firing (as in 2 Sam. xxiv. 22), and, after he had thus given the people, that is, his

[1] Köster i. p. q. p. 75 finds herein an allusion to the army of 7000, with which Ahab (xx. 15) conquered. This reference *Ephr. Syr.* mentions as assumed by many without deciding in favour of it. Should this be so, we are by no means to conceive the reference so grossly, as if the 7000 men composing the army of Ahab were the same with the 7000 true worshippers of God here mentioned, but only so that in both places the number 7000 is used to denote the whole covenant people then existing in Israel. With this distinction, however, that in our verse the 7000 actually denote the ἐκλογὴ τοῦ Ἰσραήλ, while in xx. 16 it only represents it.

[2] It is possible, as Hengstenb., Beitr. ii. p. 144, assumes, that this circumstance was noticed, "because the lower calling was an emblem and type of the higher," that "the twelve yoke of oxen represent the twelve tribes, and Elisha is to be prophet, not for the ten tribes alone, but for all Israel." At all events Christ, Lu. ix. 62, uses ploughing as an emblem of labouring for the kingdom of God with almost evident allusion to this occurrence.

acquaintances, a parting meal, follows Elijah as his minister. הַבָּשָׂר is an explanatory apposite to the suff. ם in בִּשְׁלָם. See other explanations in *Ludov. de Dieu crit. ss. ad h. l.*

CHAPTER XX.

AHAB'S VICTORY OVER BENHADAD.

Vv. 1—8. Benhadad, son of the Benhadad, who under Baasha had seized several towns of Galilee (xv. 20), invades Israel with thirty-two vassal-kings and his whole military force, lays seige to Samaria, and demands of Ahab entire submission. The thirty-two kings "with him" (אִתּוֹ) were not kings confederate with him, but, as may be inferred from v. 24, vassals or viceroys, lords of single cities and their districts—as in Joshua's time in Canaan almost every city had its own king, so that Joshua vanquished and slew thirty-one Canaanitish kings (Jos. xii. 7 ff.)—whom Benhadad had subjugated, so that they with their troops were obliged to follow their lord to the field.—v. ff. During the siege he sends messengers to Ahab and demands his silver and gold and the best of his wives and children. The pusillanimous Ahab promises to yield to his request. Rendered still bolder by this weak compliance Benhadad (v. 5) sends messengers a second time with the announcement, that to-morrow about this time he would send his servants to him to search his house and the houses of his servants, and fetch away all his treasures. That this second demand appeared to Ahab greater than the first is manifest from this, that he now lays the matter before the elders of the land and asks their counsel (v. 7.) But in what is the second demand different from the first? Is it merely in this, that Benhadad wished to search and plunder the houses of his servants also, as Seb. Schm., Schulz, Maur. and others think? Scarcely. Much rather in this, that Benhadad wished to plunder Samaria (Kimchi.) The first demand, "thy silver and gold is mine, and thy wives and children, the best, are mine," was ambiguous.

Ahab had so understood it, that he demanded mere submission and acknowledgment of his supremacy by the payment of a tribute in gold and silver and the surrender of a part of his harem and his children. But Benhadad had certainly from the first required unconditional surrender at discretion: Ahab however discovers this only from the second demand, and therefore only then lays the matter before the elders of the land for deliberation, by whom he is dissuaded from compliance (v. 8).—כִּי אִם (v. 6) means neither *sed, but,* nor *ideo,* nor is it a form of oath or strong asseveration = *certainly* (Ew. Gr. § 625), but אִם signifies *if,* and כִּי introduces the sentence, as the כִּי in v. 5, and is only repeated for the sake of emphasis (Maur.)[1] מַחֲמַד, עֵינֶיךָ, "all that is pleasant in thine eyes," that is, all thy treasure. V. 7. "Mark now and see, that this man seeketh mischief"—*non tantum iniquissima postulat, sed mala quævis nobis intendit* (J. H. Mich.):—As he is not content with the first demand, which I did not refuse him. That moreover Ahab reported the second demand, as it is understood of itself, is not expressly remarked.

V. 9—11. When the refusal, which Ahab gave to the messengers by the advice of the elders, is brought to Benhadad, he endeavours by repeated sending of messages with boastful menaces so to intimidate Ahab, that he may still surrender unconditionally. Boasting of his innumerable army he threatens with an oath to destroy Samaria. The meaning of the oath: "the dust shall assuredly not suffice for the hollow hands of all the people in my train" (v. 10), is differently understood. The Chald., Rashi, S. Münster, and others understand שְׁעָלִים of the sole of the feet (*vola pedis*), according to which the Chald. paraphrases the sense thus: *Si suffecerit pulvis Somron, ut feratur soleis plantarum pedum populi qui mecum est.* But this meaning of שַׁעַל cannot be verified, as the word in the other two passages in which it elsewhere occurs, Is. xl. 12; Ezek. xiii. 19, signifies the hollow hand. Accordingly the menace can only have the sense: "As thou dost not concede to me the seizing of thy trea-

[1] Similarly Winer in the Lex. p. 474 and Ges. *thes.* ii. 681: *quod ad te nisi . . scito, servos meos, si cras misero, inquisituros esse. . .*

sures, so will I assuredly cover Samaria with so great an army, that its dust will not suffice for my soldiers, if each should only take a handful. Whether Benhadad, however, by this hyperbole threatened only the total spoliation of Samaria or its entire reduction to ashes, so that scarce a handful of dust should remain of it, is a matter that can scarcely be determined.[1] Ahab answers (v. 11) this hyperbole with the proverb, אַל יִתְהַלֵּל וגו׳ *ne glorietur qui se accingit æque ac qui se discingit*, for which the Latins say, *ne triumphum canas ante victoriam*, "the victory must be won before it is celebrated."

V. 12. On this answer Benhadad gives the command to attack the city, while he drank with his vassal kings in the tents. סֻכּוֹת are not ordinary tents of canvass, but tents or booths of branches, boughs, and brushwood, which were erected for the kings in the camp, as they are still erected for the Turkish pashas and agas in their expeditions; see Rosenm. A. u. N. Morgenl. iii. p. 198 f.—שִׂימוּ take your places, set yourselves in array, comp. 1 Sam. xv. 2, where שִׂים has unquestionably this meaning, as שׂוּת in Is. xxii. 7 and Ps. iii. 7, where Hengstenb. has erroneously controverted it.

V. 13, 14. While the Syrians are preparing for the attack, a prophet[2] meets Ahab and announces to him, the Lord will to-day deliver this great multitude into thine hand, and that too by the armour-bearers of the princes of the provinces (שָׂרֵי הַמְּדִינוֹת), therefore by a small feeble troop, *per turbam imbellem* (Grot.) will he smite the countless host of the proud Benhadad, that Ahab may know that the Lord grants him the victory. *Οὐ χρήζω πλήθους, φησὶν, ἐγώ. ἐν ὀλίγοις γὰρ μειρακίοις καὶ πολέμων ἀπείροις τὴν παμπόλλην ταύτην στρατιὰν διολέσω.* Theod. —מִי־יֶאְסֹר, "who shall open the war or battle? Thou." Ahab

[1] At all events Josephus (*Antiq.* viii. 14, 2) explains the words incorrectly, namely, that Ahab threatens, *ὑψηλότερον τῶν τειχῶν, οἷς καταφρονεῖ, χῶμα τούτοις ἐπεγείρειν αὐτοῦ τὴν στρατιὰν κατὰ δράκα γῆν λαμβάνουσαν*, although Procop. of Gaza agrees with him.

[2] The unnamed prophet in vv. 13, 22, 28, likewise the scholar of the prophets mentioned v. 35—the latter also by Josephus (*Antiq.* viii. 14, 5)—is taken by the Rabb. for the prophet Micaiah, the son of Imlah; without any historical ground, however, but evidently only by conjecture derived from xxii. 8.

is not to wait until he is attacked, but first to attack the foe. אָסַר מִלְחָמָה corresponds to our, *join battle*, engage with any one, 2 Chr. xiii. 3.—V. 15. *Ἀριθμήσας γοῦν Ἀχαὰβ τριάκοντα καὶ διακοσίους εὗρε, διὰ τούτων ὁ παντοδύναμος Κύριος τριάκοντα καὶ δύο βασιλέων διέλυσε στρατιάν.* Theod.

Vv. 15—20. At the word of the prophet, Ahab, after numbering his army, draws it out at noon, the armour bearers of the princes of the provinces in front (בָּרִאשֹׁנָה.) Apprized of this Benhadad commanded in drunken insolence, as he still caroused with his vassals, to take alive the men marching out of Samaria, whether they come in peace or in war. Meanwhile the Lord granted strength to every Israelite to slay his man, and the Syrians made their escape, Benhadad himself only escaping the Israelites pursuing him on a horse with horsemen, that is, with horsemen surrounding him. עַל־סוּס וּפָרָשִׁים, Schulz erroneously explains, *equis mutatis alternis.*

Vv. 21, 22. After Ahab had thus through the help of the Lord given the Syrians a great defeat, the same prophet, who had predicted to him the victory, appears again before him and warns him to be on his guard, because the Syrians would again, with the new year, commence hostilities. לִתְשׁוּבַת הַשָּׁנָה, "at the return of the year," that is, in the next spring, at the beginning of the new year, when after the cessation of the winter rains campaigns were wont to be commenced, 2 Sam. xi. 1.

Vv. 23—25. But the ministers of the Syrian king seek to persuade him to a new expedition, because they ascribe the defeat sustained to two causes, which they think they will be able to obviate in future. The one cause they find in this, that they had come to an engagement with the Israelites on a mountainous region, on which their enemies were supported by their gods. "Their gods are gods of the hills," say they according to their polytheistic notions of religion; fighting with them on the hills we have to fight against the might of their gods; therefore shall we encounter them on the plain, where the aid of their gods will not avail. This idea, flowing from the narrowness of heathenism, they derived no doubt from this, that Samaria itself was situated on a hill, and the God of Israel had not only given the law to his people from Mount Sinai, but also was worshipped in his

lawful sanctuary at Jerusalem, on Mount Moriah, and unlawfully elsewhere on the altars of the high places. Heathenism had, besides, hill-gods, that is, deities, who ruled on mountains and guarded and directed all that took place on them (comp. *Dougt. Anal. ss.* i. p. 178 f., *Deyl. observ. ss.* iii. p. 197 ff. Winer, R.W. i. p. 108 f.), as also, especially in Syrophœnicia, particular mountains were themselves divinely worshipped, comp. Mov. d. Phöniz. i. p. 667 ff.—But the ministers of Benhadad were not wrong in this, that they ascribed their defeat to the aid which God had given to his people Israel, but only in this, that they took the God of Israel for a mere local deity, as their own gods were, who besides, as inanimate beings, were unable to put forth any power either on the mountains or in the plain. They might not be altogether wrong in this, that they laid the second cause of the unfortunate issue of their expedition to the charge of the vassal kings. Perhaps they had spared their people and been the first to take to flight. They therefore advise the king to dismiss altogether these petty kings and put captains (פַּחוֹת, see x. 15) in their stead. These prudently devised measures, however, avail them nothing, for they are to learn, that the God of Israel is no limited hill-deity.

Vv. 26—30. With the new year (comp. v. 22), Benhadad recommences the war with the siege of Aphek. The situation of this Aphek is much disputed. Contrary to Rosenm., who identifies it (Althk. ii. 2, p. 96), with the Aphek belonging to the tribe of Asher at the foot of Lebanon (Jos. xiii. 4; xix. 30; Judg. i. 31), which is preserved in the village Afka, between Baalbek and Byblus, and is probably the old Ἄφακα on the river Adonis (see Ges. *thes.* i. 140), v. Raumer (Pal. p. 120), has rightly observed: "as the battle of Benhadad was certainly not in the range of Lebanon, but most probably in the plain of Jezreel (1 Ki. xx. 23—25); so Benhadad is taken in Aphek, not of Asher, but of Issachar, which lay in the valley of Jezreel." J. D. Mich., Gesen. (l.c.) and Winer (R.W. i. p. 78), on the contrary find our Aphek in the great castle *Apheca* near Hippo, mentioned by Euseb., which still exists as a village with two hundred families on the east side of the sea of Galilee, under the name فيق or افيق, see Ges. on Burckhardt's Travels, i. p. 539, v. Raum. Pal. p. 234. Even the locality, however, speaks

against this. This Aphek lies not only very high, but has also a very difficult mountain pass, where the Syrians, who feared the hill-gods of the Israelites, would not have come to an engagement with them. If we reflect besides that the Syrians had advanced the first time as far as Samaria, we cannot doubt that this time also they advanced far, and that our Aphek is the Aphek known by the victory of the Philistines over Saul in the plain of Esdraelon (comp. 1 Sam. xxix. 1 with xxviii. 4), in the tribe of Issachar, according to the *Onomast.* situated near Endor, in the greatest plain of Palestine, where from Joshua's time to that of Napoleon so many great battles have been fought.[1] V. 27. בֻּלְכְּלוּ, "they were supplied with ammunition and provisions." S. Münst., Vatabl., and S. Schm., falsely, *integro numero abierunt* or *omnes congregati sunt nemine excepto*, deriving בלכל after the *Rabb.* from כּ׳ל.—The Israelites pitched before them (in sight of the Syrians) as two little flocks of goats separated from the great herd (חֲשִׂפֵי עִזִּים comp. on חָשׂוּף *segregatum, parvus grex segregatus*, Ges. *thes.* i. 531.) Probably the Israelites had pitched their camp on one of the mountain-slopes of the plain of Jezreel, from which they appeared to the Syrians filling the land as a pair of miserable flocks of goats.—V. 28. To the host of Israel, so inconsiderable in comparison with the number of the enemy, the Lord by a prophet announces the victory, that the Syrians may learn that the God of Israel is the Almighty God, whose power is not confined to the hills, but extends equally to the valleys. When, therefore, after the two hosts had pitched the one over against the other seven days, they came to an engagement, 100,000 Syrians were totally slain. *Notandum, quod Deus non propter pietatem Iisraelis et Achabi, sed propter gratiam suam Syros percusserit.* Seb. Schm.—V. 30. Of the fleeing Syrians 27,000 are slain by the fall of the wall of Aphek, *ἵνα δὲ κἀκεῖνοι καὶ οὗτοι μάθωσι, ὡς θεήλατος ἡ πληγή.* Theod. The fleeing Syrians probably, in order to make a stand in Aphek against the pursuing Israelites, had partly climbed and occupied the city walls, and partly sought behind them a shelter for their protec-

[1] Besides those above named there is still an Aphek in the vicinity of Bethshemesh on the mountains of Judah (Jos. xv. 53), where the Israelites lost the ark in an encounter with the Philistines, 1 Sam. iv. 1.

tion; when, during the conflict around them, the walls fall by a special dispensation of God, and bury the greatest part of the Syrians under their ruins.[1] Benhadad himself escapes with his immediate followers from the ruin, and flees through the city from chamber to chamber, חֶדֶר בְּחֶדֶר here not as 2 Ki. ix. 2, *cubiculum intra cubiculum, i.e., intimum cubiculum (Vulg.*, C. a Lap., Vatabl., Calm.), but, from one chamber to another, see xxii. 25, 2 Chr. xviii. 24, and Lev. xxv. 53, Deut. xv. 20.

Vv. 31—34. As Benhadad knows no means of farther escape, his servants make the proposal, confiding in the compassion of the kings of Israel, to implore the mercy of Ahab for him, in order to save his life. They put mourning garments on their loins and ropes about their heads, as signs of surrender at discretion, go to Ahab and intercede for the life of their king. But Ahab found his vanity flattered, because his proud adversary, now in his power, must so humble himself before him and implore his favour, and thought that he must show his royal magnanimity by giving him his life, not reflecting how a similar proceeding of Saul was censured by the Lord (1 Sam. xv. 9 ff.) "Is he yet alive? He is my brother," says he to Benhadad's servants (v. 32.) But these took the words of Ahab as a good omen (יְנַחֲשׁוּ), and hastened to let him explain himself openly; דַּמְּמָנוּ *an ex ipso (pronuntiatum esset), i.e., num ex animi sententia hoc dixisset.* Maur. נָחַשׁ *augurium (faustum) capio, οἰωνίζομαι*, comp. Ges. *thes.* ii. 875. The older explanations of this word see in *H. B. Stark, nott. sell. p.* 156 *sq.*—The ἅπαξ λεγ. חָלַט cognate with חָלַץ *exuere*, properly *abstrahere, nudare*, then trop. *aliquid facere nude, i.e., sine prætextu*, or *aliquid nude, i.e., sine fuco atque ambagibus testari, confirmare*, comp. Fürst's *Conc.* p. 398, in the Talmud often *simpliciter confirmare, testari*, comp. Ges. *thes.* i. 476. The following words אָחִיךָ בֶן־הֲדַד "Is Benhadad thy brother?" are a repetition of the words of Ahab in the form of a question, by which the Syrians would give Ahab occasion simply to confirm his word, in order to be certain that he

[1] The old theologians find a miracle in the fall of this wall; but though we cannot mistake the finger of God in it, yet the text does not indicate the Divine causality, which would entitle us to the assumption of a proper miracle.

had spoken in sincerity, so that they might rely upon it. But Ahab does not content himself with having declared Benhadad his brother, wherein lay implicitly the guarantee for his life and friendly treatment, but causes him to come immediately and ascend his chariot. V. 34. But in order to keep Ahab in this humour so favourable to himself, Benhadad immediately promises to restore him all the cities, which his father had taken from the Israelites, and to grant to Ahab's subjects a quarter of their own in Damascus his capital, such as Benhadad's father had obtained in Samaria.[1] On this liberality extorted from Benhadad by necessity Ahab promises to conclude a treaty with him and set him free, and grants him his liberty after the treaty was concluded. The words וְחֻצוֹת תָּשִׂים וגו׳ "make streets for thee in Damascus," can neither be understood with Grotius of fortifications and military posts, nor of cattle roads, or commons and pasture grounds in the Syrian territory (J. D. Mich., Deres., Maur.), still less of excises and toll-bars in Damascus (S. Münst., Vatabl., C. a Lap.), but only of this, that a quarter for residence and free intercourse should be granted to the Israelites in the capital of the Syrian kingdom (Cler., Gesen. and others).

This as impolitic as untheocratic proceeding of Ahab arose by no means from a "heart naturally very good" (J. D. Mich.), but from weakness, indecision, and self-deluding vanity.[2] To set

[1] Benhadad the father had taken some towns in Galilee from the Israelites in the time of Baasha (xv. 20), but these can scarcely be contemplated here, not merely on account of מֵאֵת אָבִיךָ "from thy father," for אָב could also signify only ancestors in general, and at all events could not be used of Baasha, but still more on account of the farther remark, that Benhadad's father made streets in Samaria, which points to a war between Benhadad I. and Omri which has not come down to us, which must have occurred in the last six years of Omri, after Samaria was built for the capital of his kingdom.

[2] Cler. on v. 42 has very properly decided: *Factum itaque Achabi, quamvis clementiæ speciem præ se ferat, non erat veræ clementiæ, quæ non est erga latrones exercenda; qui si dimittantur, multo magis nocebunt, quam antea, quemadmodum re vera fecit Benhadadus. Victoriam Deus Achabo concesserat, sceleratumque regem in manus ejus tradiderat, ut de eo supplicium sumeret, non ut benigne haberet. Nec alioquin Achabus clementi ingenio erat, qui tot prophetas ab uxore Izebela trucidari passus erat.* On the contrary, G. L. Bauer (Gesch. d. hebr. Nat. ii. p. 403) finds in this a "trait, which does honour to the heart of Ahab!!"

free a cruel and faithless enemy was not only great harshness towards his own subjects, but also an obvious striving against God, who by granting the promised victory had given the enemy of his people into his hand. Even though Ahab had no express command, as Saul had regarding Agag (1 Sam. xv. 3), yet there lay upon him, if as theocratic ruler he would respect the will of the Lord, inasmuch as the Lord had given him into his hands as a despiser of his Divine Majesty, the sacred duty of securing rest for himself and his subjects by his death; as it was natural to presume, that the faithless adversary after his freedom was recovered would not adhere to a treaty formed on compulsion, which accordingly happened xxi. 1. The punishment of his striving against God is immediately announced to Ahab.

Vv. 35—43. One of the scholars of the prophets receives this commission and discharges it, so that, following the example of Nathan, 2 Sam. xii., he elicits from the king himself the judgment on his conduct. He causes himself to be wounded by another, then, having disguised himself, meets the king on the way and proposes to him the following fable. In the battle with the Syrians another had delivered to him a prisoner to keep under the threat, that, if he let the prisoner escape, he should either answer for him with his life or pay a talent of silver, and the prisoner had now escaped him.—As to the particulars it is asked, why, did the scholar of the prophets cause himself to be smitten and wounded? Some think, merely to make himself unknown, against which v. 38 speaks. Seb. Schm. says, *ut fingere posset, quasi ita percussus et tantum non interfectus esset ab eo, cujus captivum dimisisset.* This also is scarcely the right ground, because the prophet does not mention his wound to Ahab. The wounding was to be much rather a symbolical sign, a practical prediction to Ahab of that which he was about to suffer from the released Benhadad, as has been observed by C. a Lap., Calm., Schulz, and Maur.—The refusal of the scholar of the prophets to smite his colleague in office at his word is severely (v. 36) punished; but we are to remember, that, as he was summoned thereto בִּדְבַר יְהוָה (see on this at xiii. 2), his refusal was an obvious resistance of a servant of the Lord to the command of his God, which was so severely punished as a warning to others, like a similar act of disobedience in xiii. 24, in the man of God

from Judah. V. 38. וַיִּתְחַפֵּשׁ, "he disguised himself with the head band over his eyes," that is, he made himself unknown by putting on a head band. On this meaning of חָפַשׂ to search, in *hithp.* to make oneself be searched for, therefore to disguise oneself, especially by dress, comp. xxii. 30, 1 Sam. xxviii. 8, 2 Chr. xviii. 29.—אֵפֶר is not ashes (אֹפֶר), as Syr., Vulg., Luther, Grotius, etc. explain, but = עֲפָר, in the Chald. מַעְפְּרָא, in LXX. τελαμών of the head band, Ges. *thes.* i. 140 f.—v. 39. סוּר depart, turn from the way to one, as Ex. iii. 3, Judg. xiv. 8, Ruth iv. 1, etc.—הִפָּקֵד to be missed, as פָּקַד to miss, 1 Sam. xx. 6, 18, xxv, 15, Jer. iii. 16, etc. The Arab. فقد has the same meaning, comp. Hävern. on Ezek. p. 606. A talent of silver = (2618 pr. rixd.) £342, is a sum not to be procured by a poor man, so that he must certainly have answered with his life for the prisoner escaped.—V. 40. עָשָׂה הֵנָּה וָהֵנָּה "to be busy here and there," to have to do here and there, so that the change, proposed by Dathe, of עָשָׂה into שָׁאָה is unnecessary.—To this complaint of the unknown man Ahab answers: כֵּן מִשְׁפָּטֶךָ וגו׳, "so thy judgment—thou hast decided," that is, even already thy judgment pleases me well, thou must bear the penalty named. V. 41 f. The prophet had expected this decision. By removing the head band he makes himself known to Ahab, and applies the approved judgment to himself, when he announces to him the word of the Lord, "because thou hast let go the man whom I had cursed, therefore thy life shall go for his life and thy people for his people," that is, therefore upon thee and thy people shall the punishment fall, which thou hast failed to execute on Benhadad. אִישׁ חֶרְמִי the man of my curse, who is laid by me under the curse, who should have been put to death according to the law, Lev. xxvii. 29. On the idea and nature of the curse comp. Hengstenb. Christol. iii. p. 453 ff.—V. 43. As Ahab, being not unacquainted with the law, knew what was imported by the חֵרֶם, which the prophet hereby implicitly pronounced upon him, he went to his house[1] סַר וְזָעֵף, "vexed and dis-

[1] According to Josephus (*Antiq.* xv. 5) Ahab must have vented his vexation and displeasure on the prophet and cast him into prison, which however is only inferred from xxii. 8 and 26. Comp. the note on xx. 13.

pleased." סַר from סָרַר to be obstinate, refractory, denotes dissatisfaction with what had occurred, therefore vexed, moody, comp. xxi. 4, 5.

CHAPTER XXI.

SEIZURE OF THE VINEYARD OF NABOTH AND HIS SHAMEFUL EXECUTION BY AHAB.

Vv. 1—4. After Ahab had concluded peace with the Syrians, the desire seized him of appropriating to himself a vineyard, which Naboth the Jezreelite possessed at Jezreel beside the royal palace, in order to turn it into an herb or vegetable garden. But Naboth wishes neither to sell the inheritance of his fathers nor exchange it for another vineyard. Provoked at this Ahab goes to his house and abandons himself wholly to his vexation, laying himself on his bed, and taking no food. To judge aright of this narrative it is before all things to be remembered, that Naboth's refusal to alienate his vineyard to the king did not proceed from obstinate self-will, but had the religious ground, that the law of Moses strictly forbade any Israelite to sell his paternal inheritance, and, even in case of the greatest poverty, only permitted its sale on the condition that it could be redeemed at any time, and, if this was not done, in the year of jubilee it reverted freely to the original owner or heir, Lev. xxv. 13—28; Num. xxxvi. 7 ff.[1] Naboth was thus in his denial not merely entitled by his personal right, as J. D. Mich. says, but bound by the Divine law, to decline the demand of the king, which interfered with conscience. But Ahab, whom we have hitherto found to be the direct reverse of a "good man with the best intentions" (J. D. Mich.) remains here also true to his character, and shows himself a man sold under sin (v. 20), who failed however in the requisite energy of purpose, to display the iniquity of his

[1] Hengstenberg (Beitr. ii. p. 129 f.) has made the remark, that this whole narrative is only intelligible by this key, and drawn from this the right conclusion, "that the Mosaic law had very firm roots in Israel."

heart in effective action. The answer of Naboth (v. 3): חָלִילָה לִי מֵיְהוָה "that be to me far from the Lord," that is, God forbid that I . . . . , is by no means "extremely rude" (Mich.), but a simple expression of repugnance to an act contrary to the law of God, and could no more hurt Ahab than in general the imputation of a wrong does the sinner. If he therefore exhibits his vexation and displeasure in a childish manner, so that he lays himself on his bed, turns his face from the bystanders *(more tristium, qui conversationem, colloquium et conspectum hominum fugiunt et declinant.* Seb. Schm.) and will not eat, this discovers no better disposition than if he forthwith carried out his will in a tyrannical manner and forcibly seized the coveted good. Had he not been of too imbecile a character, he would no doubt have himself done that which he leaves his bold consort to perform.

Vv. 5—7. As soon as Jezebel learns the cause of his vexation, she upbraids him with his want of energy in acting, and at the same time promises to procure for him the coveted vineyard.—On סָרָה comp. xx. 43.—אַתָּה עַתָּה תע״ מל״ "thou, exercise only thy royal power over Israel," that is, act as king, use the power, which is at thy command as king over Israel. The words are neither ironical nor to be taken as a question, but a simple summons to action, in which no doubt is implied a tacit censure of his imbecility.

Vv. 8—10. Jezebel now writes a letter in the name of Ahab, seals it with his seal, to give it the character of a royal mandate (Esth. viii. 12; Dan. vi. 17),[1] and sends it to the elders and nobles of Jezreel.—From the addition אֲשֶׁר בְּעִירוֹ (v. 8), which is explained and rendered more emphatic still by הַיֹּשְׁבִים אֶת־נָבוֹת "who dwelt with Naboth," and from the like opposition in v. 11, we are not to conclude, that Jezreel was only the birth-place and paternal city of Naboth, where he had his inheritance, but not his usual residence (J. D. Mich.); much rather are these additions made, because Ahab and Jezebel,

[1] The seal probably contained the name of the king, which was impressed on the document by the seal instead of a subscription; as is done at present in Egypt and Persia by the Turks and Arabians, comp. Paulsen. d. Regier. d. Morgenl. p. 295 ff. and Rosenm. A. u. N. Morgenl. iii. p. 205 f.

although they had a palace in Jezreel and resided there at times, yet at that time were in their proper residence Samaria, to indicate that the letter was sent directly to the elders of that city, because they were more fit than any other persons to execute the wickedness of Jezebel, inasmuch as they, dwelling with Naboth in his home, that is, together with him in the same city, had occasion to observe his manner of life, and might have themselves naturally heard the blasphemy of God, with which he was to be charged.[1]—V. 9 f. In the letter Jezebel commands the elders to proclaim a fast in the city, to assemble the people, to set Naboth at the head of the people, and to set over against him two worthless men as witnesses, who should assert that he blasphemed God and the king, and then to stone him as a blasphemer. A public fast is ordained, not in order thereby δεῖξαι τοῦ φόνου τὸ δίκαιον (Theod.), but to show, that a heavy guilt lies upon the city, which must be expiated. Fasting as an external sign of repentance presupposed a grievous offence, on account of which men humbled themselves before God (1 Sam. vii. 6.) By this order also the external appearance of justice would be given to the process in the eyes of the whole city, and the stamp of truth antecedently impressed on the trangression, of which Naboth was accused. To preserve the appearance of justice, two witnesses also are set up, as the law required in capital offences, Deut. xvii. 6 f. xix. 15; Num. xxxv. 30; and Michael. Mos. R. vi. § 299, but worthless men, as in the accusation of Jesus, Matt. xxvi. 60.—בֵּרַכְתָּ וגו׳, "thou hast blessed God and the king," that is, bid them farewell, taken leave of them, that is, in substance blasphemed God and the king.[2] Only

[1] That Ahab actually dwelt at that time in Samaria, and therefore came to Jezreel only to ask the vineyard of Naboth, but after the refusal of this request returned again to Samaria, appears not only from xx. 43, but also from this, that Jezebel sends her letter to Jezreel (v. 8) and the elders of this city after the execution of her bloody order send the intelligence of Naboth's death again to her (v. 14), which would not have been necessary, if she had been at that time residing at Jezreel. But that this order was executed at Samaria, as Dereser assumes, follows neither from v. 16 nor from vv. 18, 19.

[2] This is obviously the meaning of בֵּרֵךְ in Job. i. 5, ii. 5. But in Ps. x. 3 it means to bless," as Hengstenb. on the passage has proved.

on this supposition, that to "bid God farewell," according to general opinion, was equivalent to "blaspheming God," could Naboth be put to death by the application of the law: Thou shalt not curse God, nor revile a prince among thy people (Ex. xxvii. 27). The penalty for this offence is certainly not stated in the passage quoted, but was determined in practice by analogy, Mich. M.R. vi. § 295. As the law, Deut. xiii. 11, and xvii. 5, punished idolatry as a practical denial of God with stoning, so could blasphemy be visited with no less a penalty. Blasphemy of God and the king is here mentioned as in the law, Ex. xxii. 27, not as two independent offences, but as internally connected. Blasphemy of the king as the visible representative of God in his kingdom was *eo ipso* also blasphemy of God.

Vv. 11—13. That the elders of Jezreel, instantly complying with the command of the queen, show themselves ready for her ungodly commission, presupposes deep moral degradation as well as slavish fear of her detestable tyranny. The assumption of Vatabl. and others, that Jezebel sent her order *non ad omnes, sed certos quos sciebat esse impios aut sibi morigeros* is contradicted by the generality of the expression, "to the elders and nobles of the city," and does not really improve the matter, as long as the better disposed, as we must then assume, tacitly

But this learned man goes too far when he (Beitr. ii. p. 131 f.) quite denies to the word בָּרַךְ the meaning "to curse," and maintaining only the meanings, "to bid farewell to, renounce," will explain our passage by this, that through בֵּרַךְ אֱלֹהִים וְמֶלֶךְ the blasphemy forbidden in Exod. has been reduced to the general idea of neglect, in order to be able to apply the prohibition concerning idolatry to this particular case. This assumption loses all probability from the consideration, that in this case the whole process would have lost much of its legality in the eyes of people, as a great part of the people, with the king and queen at their head, had openly neglected God and served Baal. If the charge "בֵּרַכְתָּ אֵל" וּמ had in the general opinion only the meaning, "thou hast neglected God," it would have appeared arbitrary and unrighteous to punish one, not the remainder, who had in fact still more notoriously and boldly neglected God. The signification of a word is often so modified by the speech usage gradually moulding itself, that it assumes a meaning, which does not lie immediately in its etymology. Thus בֵּרַךְ אֱלֹהִים "to bless God, bid him farewell," has received *per euphemismum* the meaning, to imprecate, blaspheme."

assent to the commission of the offence, without raising their voice against it. V. 13. וַיְעִדֻהוּ "they witnessed against him (Naboth.)"—הֵעִיד is here and v. 10 construed with the *Accus.* instead of בְּ, Am. iii. 13 etc., as often the construction of verbs vacillates between the use of the *acc.* and the preposition, comp. Ew. Gr. p. 324.

Vv. 14—16. As soon as Naboth's execution was announced to the queen, she calls upon Ahab to take possession of his vineyard. As according to 2 Ki. ix. 26 Naboth's children were put to death with him, the king could confiscate his goods according to a right sanctioned, not certainly by the law of Moses, but by usage (comp. 2 Sam. xvi. 4, and Mich. M.R. i. § 59), which was probably derived from the identification of the offence against sovereignty with that against God. As in the latter offence the goods of the offender fell as חֵרֶם to the Lord (comp. Deut. xiii. 16, and Mich. M.R v. § 246), so in the case of the offenders against sovereignty their goods were regarded as forfeited to the king. V. 16. וַיָּקָם וגו' "Ahab rose up to go down (from Samaria to Jezreel) to the vineyard of Naboth."

Vv. 17—19. As Ahab stands in the act of taking possession of it, Elijah the Tishbite, at the command of God, meets him with the words; "Hast thou killed, and also taken possession?" (The question stands *loco affirmationis emphaticae, q. d. utique occidisti et possedisti etiam.* Seb. Schm. after Luther) and according to the *jus talionis* announces to him the penalty, that the dogs shall lick his blood in the same place in which they licked that of Naboth. But according to xxii. 38, this took place not in Jezreel, but in Samaria. In order to bring the prophecy into full harmony with its fulfilment, many (Grot., Maur., de Wette and others), after the example of Gousset, explain בַּמָּקוֹם אֲשֶׁר by *pro eo quod,* "inasmuch as," while Dereser thence concludes, that Naboth was stoned in Samaria. Both are equally arbitrary. The prophecy is literally fulfilled not in Ahab, but in his son (2 Ki. ix. 25) from the Divine forbearance in consequence of his repentance, v. 27 ff.—אֲשֶׁר בְּשֹׁמְרוֹן (v. 18) denotes Samaria as the usual residence of Ahab, not that he is there at the moment Elijah meets him; for as to this it is immediately added, "he is in the vineyard of Naboth, whither he is

gone down."—גַּם־אַתָּה (v. 19) is an emphatic repetition of the *pron. suff.*, "thy, even thy blood;" see Ew. Gr. § 560.

Vv. 20—24. Ahab endeavours to take the sting from the prophet's speech by the address; "Hast thou found me, O mine enemy,"[1] that is, dost thou meet me again, mine enemy, to bring me evil tidings. He calls Elijah his enemy, in order to weaken the force of his baleful message. But Elijah answers without fear: "I have found (thee), because thou hast sold thyself to do evil in the eyes of the Lord," and (v. 21) immediately announces to him the Divine sentence as to the extirpation of his whole house. הִתְמַכֵּר וגו' "to sell oneself to do evil" is to surrender oneself without a will to evil, so that sin exercises the uncontrolled power of a master over man as his slave, comp. v. 25, 2 Ki. xvii. 17; Rom. vii. 14.—V. 21. מֵבִי for מֵבִיא, as in this verb especially the א often falls away, see v. 29, xii. 12; 2 Sam. v. 2; Mic. i. 15; Jer. xix. 15, xxxix. 16.—For the remaining words see xiv. 10.—On v. 22 comp. xv. 29 f., xvi. 3, 12 f.—Although Jezebel was included in the house of Ahab, yet the most ignominious death is specially denounced against her, which actually befell her according to 2 Ki. ix. 30 ff. בְּחֵל יִזְרְעֶאל ἐν προτειχίσματι (LXX.), in the moat of Jezreel. חֵל is properly the open space by the town wall, *pomoerium*. There is no occasion, therefore, for the change of חֵל into חֵלֶק (*Castal.*), which is not warranted by the more general expression חֵלֶק, which is used for it, 2 Ki. ix. 36. On v. 24 comp. xiv. 11.

In vv. 25 and 26 the writer again gives parenthetically the reason why this ignominious end was announced to Ahab and his whole house. הֵסִיתָה after the form of verbs עע for הֵסַתָּה comp. Ew. Kr. Gr. p. 473 not. 1.

V. 27—29. The severe threatening makes so much impression on Ahab, that he, for a short time at least, feels true repentance, for which the Lord in his great compassion mitigates the punishment denounced in this, that the extirpation of his house is to take place, not in his own life time but in that of his son (2 Ki.

[1] Luther renders these words, after the *Vulgata*: "Hast thou ever found me thine enemy?" Incorrectly, as H. B. Stark, *l.c.* p. 157 ff. has shewn at length.

ix. 25.)—The rending of the garments, the putting on of hair cloth (שַׂק), and fasting, are the outward sign sof humiliation before God, of bitter sorrow for sin and of genuine repentance. On the rending of the garments as a sign of deep grief of soul among the Hebrews and other Oriental nations, comp. *Dougt. Anal. ss.* i. p. 117 f., and Winer, R.W. ii. p. 414. Ahab does not leave it off even by night, as a sign of earnest repentance, although it had no true conversion for its issue, because sin, to which he had sold himself, soon smothered again all the better feelings of his heart.[1] וַיְהַלֵּךְ אַט "and went slowly along," as one deeply troubled. אַט means *lente, leniter*, not *gemebundus*, still less *discalceatus*, as Chald. Syr. and Josephus (Ant. viii. 13. 8) expound the word.

CHAPTER XXII.

WAR RENEWED WITH THE SYRIANS, AND AHAB'S DEATH, VV. 1—40. REIGN OF JEHOSHOPHAT IN JUDAH, VV. 41—51, AND OF AHAZIAH KING OF ISRAEL, VV. 52—54.

Vv. 1—4. For three years after that great defeat of Benhadad (xx.) there was no war between Israel and Syria.[2] Ahab then concerts with Jehoshaphat King of Judah, in a visit which the latter paid him in Samaria in the third year of the conclusion of

[1] The old theologians for the most part regard the repentance of Ahab as hypocrisy or as purely external; but this is opposed by v. 29, according to which the Lord himself acknowledges his humiliation before him, and therefore grants a reprieve of the threatened sentence. Vatabl. is correct: *poenitentia haec fuit vera sed temporaria.* Comp. also Seb. Schm. *ad h. l.* and *Buddei hist. eccl.* ii. p. 329.

[2] Altogether without grounds, Köster, d. Proph. p. 78, attaches the first verse of our chapter to the preceding section, and then finds therein a hint for the understanding of the transaction recorded, xxi. 17—29, between Elijah and Ahab, from which he concludes that this scene is an "Agadah entirely designed for edification," which is to "demonstrate the proposition," "that even kings do not violate with impunity the demands of justice, and that the consequences of reformation are for the benefit of the whole land."

peace, a common expedition against the Syrians to Ramoth Gilead, because Benhadad had not fulfilled the conditions of peace, had not surrendered, as he promised, xx. 34, all the cities of Israel taken by his father, but had retained Ramoth in Gilead, in order to recover this city from them.[1] On Ramoth, comp. iv. 13.—The words of Jehoshaphat (v. 4): "I am as thou, my people as thy people, my horses as thy horses," that is, I, with my people and my horses, am at thy disposal, contain his assent to the common expedition about to be undertaken, and therefore in 2 Chr. xviii. 3 instead of the last words there is וְעִמְּךָ בַּמִּלְחָמָה, "I am with thee in the war."

Vv. 5—8. Before the war is undertaken, Jehoshophat wishes to learn the word of the Lord concerning it, and Ahab assembles his prophets, about 400 men, who all, as with one mouth, prophesy a fortunate issue of the war. These 400 prophets were neither the 400 prophets of Asherah (xviii. 19 f.) who did not appear before Elijah on Carmel, nor the prophets of Baal, as many old expositors thought, for by these Ahab could not enquire אֶת־דְּבַר יְהוָה, but *prophetae vitulorum*, that is, prophets of the kingdom of Israel, who complied with the calf-worship, gave themselves out as prophets of Jehovah worshipped under the symbol of the calves, came forward, therefore, of their own accord, without a Divine call, and were, if not in the pay, at least in the service of the idolatrous king of Israel. Jehoshaphat, therefore, does not acknowledge them as the true prophets of Jehovah, and enquires if there were none such. Ahab (v. 8) then names to him Micaiah the son of Imlah, but with the remark that he hates him,[2] because he never predicts to him good but only evil.[3] Ahab had certainly known him already as a prophet of misfortune, and as appears from v. 26, had imprisoned him, obviously on account

[1] The parallel to our chap. in 2 Chr. xviii. 2—34, furnishes an account of this expedition agreeing herewith almost word for word.

[2] According to Josephus and the Rabbins this Micaiah should have reproved Ahab in the former war with the Syrians on account of the liberation of Benhadad (xx. 41—43.). Comp. the note on xx. 13.

[3] As Ahab here speaks of Micaiah, so Agamemnon addresses Calchas in Homer.

> Μάντι κακῶν, οὐ πώποτέ μοι τὸ κρήγυον εἶπες!
> ἀεί τοι τὰ κάκ' ἔστι φίλα φρεσὶ μαντεύεσθαι
> ἐσθλὸν δ' οὔτε τί πω εἶπας ἔπος, οὔτ' ἐτέλεσσας.

of a prediction that was disagreeable to him. He wishes, therefore, no longer to consult him. His hatred to him is founded in the belief connected with heathen views of prophecy and conjuration, that the prophets stood in such a relation to the divinity, that the latter fulfilled their will. Ahab, therefore, fears that Micaiah will revenge himself on him for putting him in prison, by not only predicting misfortune, but inducing his God actually to inflict on him that which the prophet wishes and desires.[1]

Vv. 9—12. As Jehoshaphat was of a different opinion with regard to the prophets of the Lord, he so appeases Ahab, that the latter sends for Micaiah. Meanwhile the prophets of the calves come forward to prophesy success before the two kings, who sat in royal attire on thrones in an open space before the gate of Samaria. מְלֻבָּשִׁים בְּגָדִים "clothed in garments," can only mean, in royal garments, in royal array. גֹּרֶן *locus complanatus*, usually the threshing floors, which it is well known among the Hebrews, as to this day in Palestine, were only open level places; comp. Paulsen, on the Ackerb. der. Morgenl. § 40, Niebuhr, Reise in Arab. i. p. 151 f., Rob. Pal. ii. p. 520, 720, iii. p. 6, 201, 271 etc.—V. 11. In order to make their prophesying more impressive, one of these prophets, Zedekiah the son of Chenaanah, supports his word by a symbolic action, in which, embodying the figure used by Moses in the blessing of Joseph (Deut. xxxiii. 17): "His first born ox is gloriously adorned (*videbatur intelligere cornua, quæ sunt decor boum. Cler.*) and buffalo-horns are his horns; with them he pushes nations together to the ends of the earth" (comp. Hengstenb. Beitr. ii. p. 131), he makes for himself horns of iron, and applying the glorious promise specially given to the tribe of Ephraim, to the present case says: "Thus hath said Jehovah; with these (horns) shalt thou push Aram, till thou have destroyed him." While he in

[1] This belief, which among the heathen was a pure superstition with regard to their prophets, and even in Ahab was mingled with superstition, had been produced by the observation, correct in itself but only falsely understood by the heathen, that the predictions of true prophets were actually accomplished; and was therefore not so foolish as it must appear to those who see nothing in predictions but purely human presentiments of a sagacious politician without all objective Divine foundation.

this manner promises Ahab the most certain victory, he does not reflect, that the fulfilment of the whole blessing of Moses depended on the condition of true fidelity to the Lord and his commandments, which the idolatrous Ahab had been far from fulfilling.[1]—V. 12. עֲלֵה—וְהַצְלַח go up and do prosperously = go up and thou wilt do prosperously, success will attend thee. Comp. on this use of the second imperative Ew. Gr. § 618.

Vv. 13—18. The messenger, who brings Micaiah, endeavours by the way to persuade the prophet to accord in his prediction with the words of the other prophet, and to announce success to the king, probably with the well meant intention of effecting his release from prison and saving him from severer punishment. But Micaiah, mindful of his Divine commission, rejects decidedly this ungodly counsel even though arising from a well wishing heart, solemnly affirming that he will only speak what Jehovah may say to him (vv. 13, 14.) Appearing before the king, he answers to his question, "Shall we go against Ramoth in Gilead to war, or shall we forbear?" in the same words as the prophets of the calves; comp. v. 15 with v. 12. On this statement agreeing word for word with the prediction of the false prophets, and no doubt also in their tone, Ahab remarked that his prediction was no sincerely meant word of the Lord, but ironical; and adjured him therefore to speak only truth in the name of the Lord (v. 16.) Then Micaiah announces to him what he had seen in the Spirit: "I saw all Israel scattered upon the hills, as sheep that have not a shepherd," together with the word of the Lord: "these have no master, let them return every man to his house in peace" (v. 17.)—If Zedekiah endeavoured to confirm his prophecy by a symbolical ascription of success to the undertaking of Ahab, so Micaiah showed the king from the law what would actually occur in the contemplated war, namely, the condition which Moses, after his own end was announced to him as nigh at hand, wishes to avert from Israel, when he says to the Lord: "Let the Lord, the God of the spirits of all flesh, set a man over the congregation, who may go out and in before them,

[1] Hengstenb. Beitr. ii. p. 131 ff. has already remarked how entirely our narrative rests on the Pentateuch, and presupposes acquaintance with it in the kingdom of Judah.

and who may lead them out and in; that the congregation of the Lord be not as sheep which have no shepherd" (Num. xxvii. 16 f.) Israel will lose his master (אֲדֹנִים), that is, Ahab will fall in battle against Ramoth in Gilead, his army, deprived of its shepherd, will be scattered on the mountains of Gilead, and then every man will return to his house בְּשָׁלוֹם, that is, without being pursued or destroyed by the enemy.

Vv. 18—23. Although Ahab had desired a true word of the Lord, yet he pays no attention to it, but again traces the unpalatable communication to the personal enmity of the prophet to himself, since he says to Jehoshaphat: "Did I not tell thee he would prophesy no good concerning me, but evil?" Micaiah, however, does not allow him to deceive himself in this way, but unfolds to him by a farther communication of the revelation made to him, the concealed ground of the false prophesying of his 400 calf-prophets. That he had in spirit seen the Lord sitting on his heavenly throne, surrounded by the heavenly hosts on both sides,[1] and asking, who will seduce (יְפַתֶּה) Ahab to go to the battle against Ramoth, that he may fall there. After one proposed this counsel and another that, the Spirit of prophecy came forward with the proposal, to seduce Ahab as a lying spirit in the mouth of his prophets to undertake the war. Accepting this proposal, Jehovah has now put a lying spirit in the mouth of all these prophets, and spoken evil concerning him (vv. 19—23.)—The symbolic form of this vision is no subjective arbitrary embellishment of the prophet, as with all the rationalists, Knobel i. p. q. i. p. 422 f., and Köster i. p. q. p. 80, imagine, but a simple representation of the spiritually real vision, in which the truth was revealed to the prophet, that the prophecy of the calf-prophets was given by a lying spirit to destroy Ahab. Rightly recognising this the older theologians, however, for the most part erred in supposing הָרוּחַ, that as a lying spirit inspired the false prophets, to be Satan. For הָרוּחַ with the def. art. can neither signify Satan *κατ' ἐξοχήν*, nor *diabolum quempiam* (C. a

[1] עֹמֵד עָלָיו (v. 19) "standing about him, properly over him." The ministers standing behind or even beside their sitting Lord are raised above him, and thus appear to the beholder as standing over him, Is. vi. 2, Gen. xviii. 8.

Lap.), nor *aliquem ex Satanæ familia* (Grot.) הָרוּחַ is rather the personification of the principle of prophecy, abstracted from the distinction between true and false prophecy. Only so far as this רוּחַ acts as a רוּחַ שֶׁקֶר, is it *πνεῦμα ἀκάθαρτον, τῆς πλάνης* (Zech. xiii. 2; 1 Joh. iv. 6), that stands under the influence of Satan. For even the predictions of the false prophets, as appears not only from our passage, but also from Zech. xiii. 2, and the doctrine of Scripture elsewhere concerning the spiritual principle of evil, are no mere forms of human reason and fancy; but the false prophets, as well as the true, stand under a spiritual principle lying beyond their nature, and are, according to the Divine arrangement, in the service of falsehood under the influence of the evil spirit, as the true prophets in the service of the Lord are moved by the Holy Ghost. Comp. Hengstenb. Christol. iii. p. 320 f., and Hävern. Comm. on Ezek. p. 201 ff. This supernatural influence of the lying spirit on the false prophets is so brought to view in the prophetic vision, that the spirit of prophecy (רוח הנבואה) presents itself as רוח שקר in the false prophets to deceive Ahab. Jehovah sends this spirit, because the seducing of Ahab is inflicted on him as a judgment of God for his unbelief. But that this lying spirit proceeded from Satan is not intimated here, because the object is only to exhibit the Divine government in the deception destined for Ahab through his prophets.—Besides, the old theologians did violence to the text, when they explained the expressions: "Jehovah said, who will persuade, seduce Ahab" (פתה to persuade one to something, mostly in a bad sense, therefore, to seduce); "persuade him, thou wilt be able also; go forth and do so" (vv. 20, 22), and "Jehovah hath put a lying spirit in the mouth of all these thy prophets" (v. 23), by the idea, foreign to the Holy Scripture, of a passive Divine permission, as we find it in Theodoret and others.[1] According to Scripture God orders the evil

[1] Theodoret thus explains himself: *Ταῦτα δὲ προσωποποιΐα τίς εστι, διδάσκουσα τὴν θείαν συγχώρησιν, οὐ γὰρ ὁ ἀληθῶς Θεὸς καὶ τῆς ἀληθείας διδάσκαλος προσέταττεν ἀπατηθῆναι τὸν Αχαὰβ, ὁ διὰ τοῦ προφήτου εἰπὼν, εἰ κυρίως αὐτοὶ πρὸς Θεὸν, ἀναστραφήτω δὴ ἕκαστος εἰς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ οἶκον ἐν εἰρήνῃ. διὰ τούτων τοίνυν ὁ προφήτης ἐδίδαξεν, ὡς τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς ἀπάτης, ὀργάνοις χρώμενον τοῖς δυσσεβέσιν ἀνθρώποις, ψευδῶς ὑπισχνεῖται τὴν νίκην. τοῦτο δὲ γίνεται τοῦ Θεοῦ συγχωρήσαντος. κωλῦσαι γὰρ δυνάμενος, οὐκ ἐκώλυσεν, ἐπείπερ*

also, without on that account willing or producing sin. At the root of the prophetic vision lies the thought, that Jehovah has ordered it, that Ahab, misled by a prediction given to his prophets by the lying spirit, should undertake the war, that he may therein be punished for his ungodly conduct.[1] As he did not wish to hearken to the word of the Lord in the mouth of his true servant, God has given him over (*παρέδωκεν*, Rom. i. 24, 26, 28) in his unbelief to the influences of the spirit of lies. But that thereby human freedom is not destroyed is evident from the תְּפַתֶּה "thou wilt persuade him," still more from the וְגַם תּוּכָל "thou wilt also prevail" (v. 22), since the former, still more the latter, presupposes the possibility of resistance to temptation on the part of man, and therefore human freedom.

Vv. 24, 25. By this fearless disclosure as to the lying spirit moving the false prophets, Zedekiah, the son of Chenaanah, probably their coryphæus, is so provoked, that he smites Micaiah on the cheek and says, "which way went the Spirit of Jehovah from

ὁ Αχάὰβ τῆς θείας ἦν κηδεμονίας ἀνάξιος. So also Procop. of Gaza. Comp. also *Pfeiff. dubia vex. Cent.* ii. 439 f. and Budd. hist. eccl. ii. p. 332.

[1] How little the notion, so much employed by the older theologians, of the Divine permission (*συγχώρησις, permissio*) corresponds with the expressions of the Holy Scripture concerning the omnipotence of God ordering and directing evil also, is generally acknowledged by the deeper evangelical theology of our day. Thus for example, Twesten (Vorles. ü. d. Dogmat. ii. p. 130) says: "Nothing certainly can be clearer to the religious consciousness than the principle, that sin lies not in God, in a Divine willing and working, but only in the creatures that have of their own free will departed from God. But equally evident is the principle, that without God's willing and working, nothing, not even that will of evil spirits and men departing from God, can be." Comp. with this H. Olshausen's discussion of this point in his bibl. Comm. iii. p. 323 ff. especially p. 326 ff. Still more decidedly has Hengstenb. combatted the notion of permission, as an idea not only foreign to Scripture, but in itself untenable and by no means solving the difficult problem of the relation of human freedom in the sinner to the Divine predestination (Beitr. iii. p. 462 ff.) Lastly, with singular clearness has J. Müller (d. christl. Lehre v.d. Sünde i. p. 291 ff.) explained how "God undoubtedly stands in a living influential relation to evil in the creature, subjecting it to his orders and at the same time adapting his universal plan to it, directing its development, and assigning to its appearance in the world of reality the plan which eternal wisdom has provided for it," while at the same time it leaves untouched the principle, "that the efficient causality of evil as evil lies altogether in the creature."

me to speak unto thee?" This proceeding shows on the one hand that the prophecy of the false prophets was no mere fiction, but a suggestion of a lying spirit, but on the other hand it bears witness to the weakness of their cause. Zedekiah could only come forward so boldly, because he was conscious to himself of this, that he had not feigned his oracle; but had he been inspired by the Spirit of the Lord, he would not have needed to use physical force to give validity to his word, but might have quietly awaited the issue of the affair, as Micaiah did, who calmly replies to the zealot: "thou shalt see in that day, when thou shalt go from chamber to chamber to hide thyself." This sentence was obviously fulfilled in the issue of the war, when Ahab's followers and friends, or his wife Jezebel herself, made the false prophets suffer for the misfortune. On חֶדֶר בְּחֶדֶר see xx. 30.

Vv. 26—28. But Ahab sends Micaiah back (comp. וַהֲשִׁיבֻהוּ v. 26) to the town jail with the order to feed him with bread and water of affliction (that is, with scanty prison fare), until he return בְּשָׁלוֹם in safety from the war, whereupon Micaiah, in consciousness of the Divine truth of his prediction, calmly but firmly replies: "If thou return in safety, the Lord hath not spoken by me. Hearken, all ye people." Although these last words שִׁמְעוּ עַמִּים כֻּלָּם are directed to the people only, the expression is very general. The whole world is to be witness of the battle between the true and false prophets, which was to be decided by the issue of Ahab's campaign.

Vv. 29—33. Disregarding the prediction of Micaiah, Ahab undertakes the war in conjunction with Jehoshaphat, of whom it might have been expected, that he at least would have hearkened to the word of the prophet. But probably he was prevented by false shame from retracting his promise of aid unconditionally made to Ahab merely on account of a prophetic announcement, which Ahab had repeatedly ascribed to the prophet's personal dislike to himself. But this had well nigh cost

[1] The younger prophet of this name, Micah (i. 2), begins his prophecies with the same words, in order thereby to represent his activity as the continuation of his elder copartner in office and name, comp. Hengstenb. Christol. iii. p. 239 f.

Jehoshaphat his life.[1] For as the Syrian king had commanded the thirty-two captains of his chariots to fight singly and solely with the king of Israel, in order probably to avenge himself on his enemy on account of the former defeat received from him, although Ahab had then treated him generously beyond his merit or expectation (xx. 32 ff.), and Ahab, whether it was that he had been apprised by spies of this order, or that the message of Micaiah boded nothing good to his evil conscience, had disguised himself, while Jehoshaphat had not;[2] the captains of the Syrian chariots, as soon as they saw Jehoshaphat in royal apparel, broke in upon him with the notion that he was the king of Israel, and Jehoshaphat could only save himself by a cry, on which the Syrian chariot warriors seem to have discovered that he was not the king of Israel, and turned away from him. How far Jehoshaphat owed his escape to his cry is not stated. It is not probable

[1] Even after his safe return to Jerusalem he had to hear the rebuke of the prophet Jehu: "Shouldest thou help the ungodly and love them that hate the Lord? Therefore wrath comes upon thee from the Lord," 2 Chr. xix. 2.

[2] Luther has quite missed the sense of the words הִתְחַפֵּשׂ וָבֹא בַּמִּלְחָמָה וגו׳ (v. 30) inhis translation, "disguise thyself, and come into the battle having put on thy robes. But the King of Israel disguised himself also," whereas he rendered the same words in the parallel passage 2 Chr. xviii. 29 quite correctly: "I shall disguise myself and go into the battle, but do thou put on thy robes. And the king of Israel &c." This contradiction has been already remarked by Stark *l.c.* p. 160. הִתְחַפֵּשׂ וָבֹא are not imperatives, but infinitives absolute, which, as Maurer aptly expresses himself—*per regiam ut ita dicam negligentiam*—are used for the first person of the *voluntative*, properly for the *imperative*, but so that the speaker commands himself, comp. Ew. Krit. Gr. p. 560 and hebr. Gr. §. 583. On the import of הִתְחַפֵּשׂ see xx. 38.—Stark *l.c.* finds in these words of Ahab a *vafrities Achabi, regi Josaphato astute periculum intentantis suumque exitium perfide in caput illius derivare conantis*, whereupon Schulz and Maur. broach the suspicion, that Ahab designed after the death of Jehoshaphat to seize upon his kingdom. But this conjecture seems to me too low and unworthy even for the bad character of Ahab, so that I cannot impute to him such a design. The imperative, "put thou on thy robes" can only convey the meaning, thou mayest put on thy royal apparel, thou dost not require measures of precaution, as I do, because misfortune has not been predicted to thee, nor do the Syrians entertain any special hatred against thee.

that he called out his own name. (Cler.) Seb. Schm. thinks, he cried, *corde ad Dominum, voce ad suos, ut sibi subsidio venirent, ita ut intelligerent etiam Syri, quod rex Judæ esset.* For the supposition that his cry was a cry to the Lord for help, we might appeal to the addition, 2 Chr. xviii. 31, "and the Lord helped him, and God moved them from him;" but this cannot be concluded with certainty, as this addition contains nothing more than a pious reflection of the narrator, which refers to the supernatural causality of the deliverance (comp. my apolog. Vers. p. 316.) So much only is certain, that the cry was the natural means of his escape, as the Syrians thereby discovered, that he was not the king of Israel whom they sought.—וַיָּסֻרוּ עָלָיו "they turned to him" (v. 32), comp. on סור xx. 39.

V. 34. Notwithstanding his precaution Ahab does not escape the Divine judgment; although he could not be recognized by his dress, yet he was hit by an arrow shot quite unintentionally, and mortally wounded. לְתֻמּוֹ *pro simplicitate sua, h. e. sine ullo delectu et citra propositum feriendi regem* (J. H. Mich., Schulz, Maur.) תֹּם *integritas*, then *simplicitas animi*, here and 2 Sam. xv. 11.—בֵּין הַדְּבָקִים וּבֵין הַשִּׁרְיָן "between the joints and the harness." Cleric. understands by הדבקים *cammissuras, quibus ferreus thorax conjungitur cum pendentibus laminis, quibus venter tegitur*, the part which the French call le défaut de la cuirasse. It is possible, however, that דבקים may here denote a part of the body, namely, the shoulder, see Ges. *thes.* i. 313.—הֲפֹךְ יָדֶיךָ *verte manus tuas*, that is, turn round," comp. 2 Ki. ix. 23. ידיך according to the *Kettibh* is plural.

Vv. 35—38. When the battle became hotter, the wounded Ahab, in order not to discourage the troops by his removal from the field, and thereby lose the battle, was kept during the day standing in his chariot in view of the Syrians until evening, when he expired. וַתַּעֲלֶה הַמִּלְחָמָה "the war or battle ascended," increased, became hotter. The use of the verb עלה for the increasing conflict is explained by the figure, lying at its foundation, of a river rising, and with the rising becoming ever more rapid; comp. Is. viii. 7. וְהָיָה מְעָמָד "he was stayed," was kept standing. The participle with היה expresses the continuance of the action or state, Ew. Gr. § 350.—V. 36 f. About

sunset the war cry went through the host, to return every man to his city and to his country. But Ahab was carried dead to Samaria, and there buried. V. 38. Here when his chariot, into which his blood had flowed, was washed in the pool of the city, the dogs licked his blood, while the harlots bathed in the pools. Thus were the word of the Lord by Elijah (xxi. 19) and the unnamed prophet (xx. 42), and at the same time the prediction of Micaiah (xxii. 17) fulfilled. Without a shepherd and without a master the people returned home (v. 17); Ahab had paid his life for the spared life of Benhadad (xxi. 42), and his blood was licked by the dogs (xxi. 19.)[1] Very differently are the words הַזֹּנוֹת רָחֲצוּ (v. 38) interpreted, comp. *Pfeiff. dub. vex.* p. 441. At all events we must reject the interpretations of זֹנוֹת by *arma* (Chald. Syr.) or *habenae* (R. Levi ben Gers., C. a Lap., Calm., and others.) הַזֹּנוֹת can only be the subject of the sentence, and have its usual meaning *meretrices;* but it may be disputed whether רָחַץ here have the intransitive meaning, to wash oneself, bathe, or the transitive, to wash (the chariot.) Against the argument, urged by Schulz in favour of the first and against the second view, that in the latter case כְּבֵסִם must have been inserted, because רחץ is always used *de corporis lotione*, Maurer has replied, that according to the analogy of the Arab. رحض, which also denotes the washing of clothes, the Hebr. רחץ too may stand in a wider sense, and has decided for this: *videtur de ablutione currus hic eo facilius dici potuisse, quod de curru sanguine hominis cruentato sermo est.* But although this reasoning may still be strengthened, inasmuch as רחץ denotes also the washing of the slain victim (Ex. xxix. 17, Lev. i. 9, 13), of the defilment of sin (Is. iv. 4), but כבס, because it denotes not merely to wash, but properly to full, may certainly be used of the washing of

[1] Gramberg in his so-called "Kritischen Geschichte der Religionsid. d. A. T." ii. p. 460, finds indeed in this reference of the writer to the expression of Elijah (xxi. 19), a reason for declaring it suspicious, because the dogs licked the blood of Ahab at Samaria, but that of Naboth at Jezreel; but a few lines farther he believes it necessary to conclude from this, that in the expression, xxi. 19, we have directly the original words of Elijah, and are at liberty to reject the remainder of the prophecy (xxi. 21—24), as unhistorical merely on account of its perfect agreement with the fulfilment. Such after-criticism corrects itself!

clothes (Lev. xv. 10 f.) but not of the washing of a chariot, yet here also רחץ cannot denote the washing of the chariot, because (*a*), if רחצו be transitive, only the immediately preceding אֶת דָּמוֹ, not the very remote אֶת־הָרֶכֶב, can be supplied to it as object, but in this case the washing of the blood ought to have been mentioned before the licking of it by the dogs; and (*b*), the washing of the chariot has been already stated in the words וַיִּשְׁטֹף אֶת־הָרֶכֶב "and one washed the chariot," and שׁטף is the proper term for the washing of such an article, on which uncleanness adheres only externally, comp. Lev. xv. 12.—That the dogs licked the blood, and the harlots bathed in the pool, when the chariot defiled with the blood of Ahab was washed, is mentioned as a sign of the ignominious contempt with which the blood of Ahab was treated.[1]

Vv. 39, 40. Of the buildings of Ahab mentioned v. 39 all farther accounts are wanting. The palace overlaid with ivory (בֵּית הַשֵּׁן) he erected probably in Samaria, his residence, or even in Jezreel.

Vv. 41—51. *History of the reign of Jehoshaphat of Judah.* Of this the accounts in our books are particularly scanty; much more copious is the abstract made from the annals of the kings in 2 Chr. xvii. 1—xxi. 3.

Vv. 41—45. Verses 41—44 are also found with little variation in 2 Chr. xx. 31—33, in the recapitulating summary of the reign of Jehoshaphat.—V. 43. "Jehoshaphat walked in all the ways of Asa his father, and turned not aside from it," as Asa had done, whose heart in the latter years of his reign was more and more estranged from the Lord, comp. xv. 18 ff.—On v. 44 comp. xv. 44, 2 Chr. xx. 33, and my apol. Vers. p. 290.—V. 45. "And

[1] In this respect the bathing of the harlots in the pool belongs also to the fulfilment of the predicted ignominious end of the godless king, although this special trait was mentioned by no prophet, but not in the farfetched way, in which Köster i. p. q. p. 80 brings about the connexion, when he seeks it in this, that the remark, "the harlots bathed," may refer to the fact, that "the Hebrews are wont to call the unchaste dogs," (Rev. xx. 15), and the narrator would as it were say: "whom the first literal fulfilment by the licking dogs does not suit, let him turn to the second figurative one, for the harlots bathing may also be meant by the dogs."

Jehoshaphat made peace with the king of Israel," whereas hitherto the two kingdoms had always stood in a hostile position to one another. Indeed Jehoshaphat proceeded still farther, as by the marriage of his son Jehoram to Athaliah, a daughter of Ahab, he allied himself with the idolatrous royal family of Israel, 2 Chr. xviii. 1, and in consequence of this joined in the above mentioned expedition against the Syrians as the confederate of Ahab.

Vv. 46—48. Of his valiant deeds, which he did (גְּבוּרָתוֹ אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה v. 46) are mentioned in 2 Chr. xvii. 1—19, xix. 4—11, his labours for the defence of his kingdom by the establishment of forts and organization of forces, as well as by the extirpation of idolatry and the promotion of the worship of Jehovah by means of instructing the people in the law, and of his wars, besides that already mentioned, the victorious expedition against the Moabites, Ammonites, and other tribes joined with them, who had invaded the country, in 2 Chr. xx., on which compare my apolog. Vers. p. 241 ff.—On v. 47, comp. xv. 12 and xiv. 24. V. 48. "And there was no king in Edom; a deputy was king," that is, ruled the land. The last words נִצָּב מֶלֶךְ, concerning which Schulz and Hitzig have formed unnecessary conjectures (comp. Maur. *ad h. l.*) are explained by the deputy in Edom bearing also the title of king, see 2 Ki. iii. 9. The Edmonites were subjugated by David (2 Sam. viii. 14), and, as the designs of revolt formed by Hadad under Solomon were not realized (comp. remarks on xi. 21 f.), remained subject to the kingdom of Judah till the time of Jehoshaphat, when they joined the Ammonites and Moabites in war against Judah (2 Chr. xx. 10—22), but were smitten by and with their confederates and thus again conquered.

Vv. 49, 50. After Jehoshaphat had again subjugated the rebellious Edomites (comp. וְאַחֲרֵי־כֵן, 2 Chr. xx. 35), he attempted to renew the trade carried on by Solomon to Ophir and Tartessus, and with this view built ships of Tarshish at Eziongeber (comp. ix. 26) to sail to Ophir, but the ships were wrecked by a storm in harbour (v. 49.) At that time Ahaziah of Israel wished to join him in the prosecution of this trade; but Jehoshaphat did not consent (v. 50.) The reason of this we learn from 2 Chr. xx. 35—37, which furnishes an important help to the elucidation of this matter. According to this Jehoshaphat had at first

actually joined Ahaziah in the building of a fleet, which, being constructed at Eziongeber, was to proceed to Tartessus, but was wrecked. Jehoshaphat entered into this partnership, because only in this way was the trade to Tartessus possible to him, as this fleet was not, as J. D. Mich. assumes, to circumnavigate Africa, but to be transported from Eziongeber across the isthmus of Suez,[1] and from one of the havens of Palestine on the Mediterranean Sea, all of which belonged to the kingdom of Israel, to make the voyage to Spain. This partnership the prophet Eliezer had censured, and announced as a Divine judgment the wreck of the ships, which accordingly followed before a voyage was undertaken. When Jehoshaphat, after the failure of the first attempt, resumed the plan of building merchant ships, he declined Ahaziah's proposal again to join him in the undertaking, lest he should thereby incur anew the Divine displeasure, and built ships for himself alone after the manner of the former designed for the trade to Tartessus (אֳנִיּוֹת תַּרְשִׁישׁ, v. 49), which, however, were to go to Ophir, because by breaking off his treaty with Ahaziah the havens of the Mediterranean were shut for the trade to Tartessus; but he was compelled to desist from this undertaking also, because the newly built ships were wrecked in the creek of Eziongeber, which abounds in rocks.[2]—עשׂר, v. 49,

[1] As Cleopatra afterwards wished to convey her whole fleet over this isthmus, and as in ancient times whole fleets were often transported over necks of land. See abundant proofs of this in my Schrift über d. Hiram-Salom. Schiffahrt, p. 9 ff.

[2] That the above quoted passage of Chronicles is thus supplementary of our verses, I have already proved in my Apolog. vers. p. 308 f., and my Treatise u. d. Hiram-Salom. Schiffahrt p. 21 f. against the uncritical confusion of the two accounts proposed by Bredow and adopted by all rationalists; only that I there placed the building of the ships destined for Ophir, which is mentioned in our verses before the building of the fleet destined for trading to Tartessus undertaken by Jehoshaphat in common with Ahaziah, which is related in Chronicles; whereas, after repeated examination, the development given above in the text of the relation of the two narratives appears to me more correct. But therewith all the arguments unfolded in the treatises quoted for the diversity and mutual independence of the two narratives remain in force; and the ignoring of the same on the part of the rationalistic criticism, for example by Tuch in the Hall. A. L. Z. 1835, No. 80, and by Winer in the bibl. R.W. ii. p. 703, only proves, that this criticism is more interested in the maintaining of its prejudices than in the discovery of the truth. But the scruple, which Hävern. (Einl. 2, 1, p. 237) raises against it, appears to me to be quite unimportant.

is an error of the pen for עשׂה.—The *Keri* נשברו is an unnecessary amendment of the *Kethibh* נִשְׁבְּרָה, as in these cases the singular of the verb is by no means rare, comp. Ew. Gr. § 568.

Vv. 52—54. *Reign of Ahaziah*, son of Ahab, king of Israel. According to the prevailing spirit the reign of Ahaziah quite resembles that of his godless father, comp. xvi. 30—33. These verses, moreover, would more suitably begin the following chapter, as in it every particular concerning the reign of Ahaziah is contained, which the author of our books has extracted from the annals of the kings. V. 54 contains no internal reason either for the conclusion of the chapter, or much more, for the close of the first Book of Kings.

SECOND BOOK OF KINGS.

CHAPTER I.

AHAZIAH'S SICKNESS AND DEATH.

V. 1. The Moabites were subjected to the Israelites by David, 2 Sam. viii. 2, xxiii. 20, and in the partition of the kingdom remained tributary to the kingdom of the ten tribes. After the death of Ahab they revolted from the kingdom of Israel. This took place obviously in the alliance, mentioned 2 Chr. xx., with the Ammonites and other tribes dwelling beyond the Ammonites in the desert of Arabia for war against the kingdom Judah. For this war occurred after the death of Ahab (2 Chr. xx. 1) and before the building of the fleet of merchant-men begun by Jehoshaphat in conjunction with Ahaziah, which was scarcely more than a year from the death of Ahab, as Ahaziah did not reign longer than a year and a half. More concerning this revolt of the Moabites, see in iii. 4 ff.—Ahaziah could do nothing to reduce them to subjection, as he soon became very ill in consequence of a fall.

V. 2. "And Ahaziah fell down through a lattice in his upper chamber in Samaria." Whether הַשְּׂבָכָה "the lattice" means the parapet of the flat roof (מעקה Deut. xxii. 8) on the side of the house, where the עֲלִיָּה was built on the roof (comp. Faber's Archaeol. i. p. 410), or a kind of window of the עליה, through which Ahaziah fell down, cannot be with certainty determined. Most of the Rabbins understand by it a lattice work in the

Alijah built on the roof, through which the light shone into the lower chamber.—In his illness Ahaziah wishes to obtain from Baal-zebub the god of Ekron[1] an answer, whether he will recover. בַּעַל זְבוּב means the fly-Baal, as averter of vermin, as tutelary god against flies, similar to the *Ζεὺς ἀπομυῖος*, *μυίαγρος* of the Eleans (*Pausan.* viii. 26, 4, v. 14, 2, *Plin.* x. 40, xxix. 24, *Aeliani hist. anim.* v. 17), and the Myiagrus Deus Romanorum (*Solin. Polyh. c.* 1); comp. *Seldeni de Diis Syr.* ii. *c.* 6, Ges. *thes.* i. 225, Winer, R.W. i. p. 139, Mov. d. Phoen. i. p. 175.[2]

[1] Ekron (עֶקְרוֹן) was the most northern of the five cities of the Philistines, situated between Ashdod and Jamnia, bordering on Judah in the low lands; at present a village without any relic of antiquity. See von. Raum. Pal. p. 183, Rob. Pal. iii. p. 329 ff.

[2] Others, as Jas. Scaliger, Grotius, Hävern. (Comm. on Ezek. p. 75) explain the name בַּעַל זְבוּב as a name of contempt, distorted from בַּעַל זְבוּל Lord of the heavenly dwelling (comp. Hab. iii. 11), which corresponds with the heathen name of the Phœnician, Lybian, and Punic Baal בעל שמים Balsamen of Augustine, called Βεελσάμην by *Sanchun.* (comp. Ges. *monum Phœn.* p. 387, and Mov. i. p. q. p. 176.) In favour of this might certainly be the circumstance, that the later Jews changed the prince of demons mentioned in the New Testament Βεελζεβούλ (to which name the same signification certainly belongs, see Mov. p. 255, 261, 287), by a combination of זְבוּל with זֶבֶל, into a *deus stercoreus*, comp. Lightfoot, *hor. hebr. et talm. in Mat.* xii. 24, and Wettstein, *N. Test. ad Mat.* x. 25. But against it are the considerations, (*a*) that this change belongs only to a later age, when a strongly repressed and openly manifested abhorrence of idolatry was regarded as genuine piety and holiness, but the change, quoted in proof from the Old Testament, of בֵּית אֵל into בֵּית אָוֶן (Hos. iv. 15), is not quite analogous, inasmuch as Ahaziah could not have designated a deity, whose aid he was seeking, by a name of contempt; (*b*) that the other special names of Baal, as בַּעַל בְּרִית, Baal of the covenant = *Ζεὺς ὅρκιος*, Judg. viii. 33, etc. בַּעַל פְּעוֹר Num. xxv. 3 ff. express particular properties or modifications of a general Baal; and lastly (*c*) that the flies in the East are an incomparably greater plague than with us (comp. Michael. *Syntagm. Comment.* ii. p. 98, Oedmann, verm. Samml. iv. p 80 ff., Winer bibl. R.W. i. p. 440, Hengstenb. d. BB. Mos. und Aeg. p. p. 114 f.), so that a god might certainly be worshipped as the averter of this vermin, and designated accordingly.

Vv. 3, 4. From the angel of the Lord Elijah receives the commission to go to meet the messengers of the king, to ask them whether they went to Baal-zebûb because there was no God in Israel, and to announce to them that Ahaziah will not rise again from his bed, but die. The consultation of a god was not merely a transgression of the fundamental law of the theocracy (Ex. xx. 3; Deut. v. 7), but an entire practical rejection of the Lord. The Lord therefore announces death to him from his hurt, that he may perceive therein a judgment for his idolatry. מַלְאַךְ יְהוָה is not some angel,[1] but the angel of the Lord, who effects all manifestations of the invisible God to the covenant people; comp. Hengstenb. Christol. i. 1, p. 219 ff., against which Hofmann's objections (Weissag. u. Erfüll. i. p. 127 ff.) avail nothing.

Vv. 5—8. The messengers of Ahaziah do not recognize Elijah, but still regard the matter so important, that they return and mention it to the king, who immediately recognizes Elijah the Tishbite from the *habitus* of the man described to him in answer to his questions. מֵה מִשְׁפַּט הָאִישׁ, "what was the manner of the man?" מִשְׁפָּט denotes here and Judg. xiii. 12 neither merely *forma* (תּוֹאר Rabb.) nor *consuetudo et mores*, but in general (*a*) judgment, (*b*) right, *quod justum, legi consentaneum est*, then (*c*) the right dependent on an internal principle of life variously modified according to the individuality of men and nations, the internal and external peculiarity of a person, that which in some measure constitutes the vital law and right of individual personality. So in the passages named. The servants of the king certainly describe the prophet only according to his external *habitus*, but the external in a man of character is only a picture of the internal, so that from the external we may reason to the internal. They describe him as a בַּעַל שֵׂעָר *vir pilosus, hirsutus*. But this refers, as expositors uniformly remark, not to the hair of the beard or body, but to the hairy garment, composed of sheep or goat skin or of camel's hair, with which his body was covered, the אַדֶּרֶת ii. 8 and 1 Ki. xix. 12, or אַדֶּרֶת שֵׂעָר, μηλωτή (Zech. xiii.; Matt. iii. 4; Heb. xi. 37), which the prophet wore, not as

[1] As Köster d. Proph. p. 81 assumes, and draws therefrom arbitrary conclusions.

a mere ascetic, but as *sermo propheticus realis*, as a symbol of sorrow for the sins of the people and the Divine judgments thereby incurred; comp. Hengstenb. Christol. ii. p. 324.—To this garment also belonged the leathern girdle אֵזוֹר עוֹר, ζώνη δερματίνη (Mat. iii. 4), whereas the girdle of the other Hebrews consisted of linen or cotton stuff, not seldom also of very costly materials, comp. Winer R.W. i. p. 525.—On the literature of the prophetic costume see Knobel, d. Prophetism. i. p. 47.

Vv. 9—12. After the delivery of his message to the messengers of Ahaziah, Elijah had retired to the top of a hill; whether to Carmel, as most interpreters conclude from ii. 25 and 1 Ki. xviii. 42, can neither be proved nor disproved. But the king must have known his place of sojourning; for he describes it to the captain (עַל רֹאשׁ הָהָר, v. 9), whom he sends with fifty men to fetch him thence, but not *ut cum eo de morbo suo loqueretur* (Seb. Schm.), but *ut eum trucidaret*.—To the summons of this captain, "Man of God, the king hath said, Come down!" Elijah answers: "If I be a man of God, then let fire come down from heaven and consume thee and thy fifty." And scarcely was the word spoken, when the miraculous judgment fell upon them, and immediately after upon a second captain with his fifty in like manner (v. 11 f.) But wherein consisted the grievous crime of these captains and their men, who merely executed the command of their master? According to the simple words of the text in the address, man of God. Most interpreters say, the captains had used this designation in a contemptuous or ironical sense. But this is not satisfactory. Two cases are conceivable: either the captains held Elijah to be no true prophet, and then their address as an insult to the prophetic office in the person of a man, whom God had acknowledged by so many miracles as his servants, was an indirect insult to the Lord: or they held Elijah to be a true prophet, and then the summons to surrender himself, in order to be led bound to the king, was a direct and still more daring contempt of the prophet as well as of the Lord his God. In either case, therefore, the punishment was just. The captains did not merely what they as servants of the king were bound to do, but shared in the ungodly disposition of their sovereign (*συμβαίνοντες τῷ σκοπῷ τοῦ πεπομφότος*. Theod.), and

with reckless audacity insulted the Almighty God in the person of the prophet. This wicked opposition to God the Lord is punished, and certainly not by the prophet, but by the Lord himself, who realizes the word of his servant. Whoever, therefore, on account of this act charges the prophet with cruelty,[1] does not reflect, that this charge falls not on the prophet, but much rather on God the Lord.[2] *Οἱ τοῦ προφήτου κατηγοροῦντες κατὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ προφήτου κινοῦσι τὰς γλώττας.* Theod.—V. 11 f. If just punishment was inflicted on the first captain for his wickedness, the second was still more deserving of the like penalty. For he not only does not allow himself to be brought to consideration by the judgment inflicted on his predecessor, but proceeds still farther in obstinacy of heart, since he does not content himself as the first (v. 9) with the simple summons: רְדָה "come down," but with daring insolence in stronger terms calls upon the prophet: מְהֵרָה רְדָה, "come down quickly," as if he was able to command with unlimited power.[3]

Vv. 13—16. The sending of the second, but still more the sending of the third captain, after the first and second with their fifties had been miraculously slain, shows the excessive height of the obstinacy of the king. The disaster which had befallen the first with his company, he might have ascribed in his unbelief to

[1] As Tindal, Bayle, etc., on which compare Lilienthal, d. gute Sache iv. p. 966 and viii. p. 58 f.

[2] Many incorrectly refer, in proof that Elijah has here carried his zeal too far, to Luk. ix. 54 f., where Jesus rebukes his disciples, James and John, because they wish to call down fire from heaven on the town of the Samaritans that did not receive him, as Elijah did. For the Lord here rebukes, if the words *ὡς καὶ Ἠλίας ἐποίησεν*, wanting in many critical authorities, and therefore removed from the text by Tischendorf, but received by Lachmann, and even if the answer of Jesus, *οὐκ οἴδατε, οἵου πνεύματός ἐστε ὑμεῖς*, removed from the text by both these critics, should actually be genuine,—not the conduct of Elijah, but only his disciples, who, mistaking the difference between the economy of the law and the gospel, in carnal zeal wished to imitate that which Elijah had done in godly zeal for the honour of the Lord insulted in his person. Comp. Calvin on the passage.

[3] *Impudentior fuit hic secundus Pentacontarchus priore; tum quia audito ejus supplicio non resipuit, tum quia auxit impudentiam addendo;* festina. C. a Lap.

a chance, an accidental misfortune;[1] but after the same lot had befallen the second with his men, it was scarcely possible longer to mistake the punitive hand of the Lord: yet Ahaziah wishes to carry out his wilfulness; but the third captain was better than his king and wiser than his predecessors. He obeys indeed the command of the king, so far that he goes to the prophet; but instead of contemptuously summoning him to render himself a prisoner, he rather bows his knees before the man of God, and begs the life of himself and his soldiers. Elijah, directed by the angel of the Lord, follows him to the king, and repeats to him the word of the Lord, which he had already announced to him (vv. 4, 6) by his messengers.—The *plur.* שְׁלִשִׁים (v. 13) is used because this predicate belongs not merely to שַׂר חֲמִשִּׁים, but also to חֲמִשָּׁיו. On אוֹתוֹ instead of אֹתוֹ (v. 15) comp. Ew. Gr. § 468.

Vv. 17, 18. After Ahaziah, as the Lord had spoken by Elijah, was dead, his brother Jehoram, as he had no son, succeeded him on the throne, comp. iii. 1. The statement (v. 17), that this Jehoram became king in the second year of the Jewish Jehoram, the son of Jehoshaphat, stands in contradiction with the statement, iii. 1, that he came to the throne in the eighteenth year of Jehoshaphat. Most expositors and chronologists[2] compose this difference by the assumption, that Jehoshaphat had adopted his son as co-regent in the seventeenth year of his reign. It certainly appears to oppose this arrangement, that—as Jehoram of Judah, viii. 16, became king in the fifth year of the Israelitish Jehoram, and therefore in the lifetime of his father Jehoshaphat, or in the twenty-third year of his reign, since Jehoshaphat, according to

[1] As the rationalists (Eichhorn i. p. q. p. 244, the exeget. Hdb. part 9, Bauer, hebr. Mythol. ii. p. 164 f. etc.) do, who, in order to explain the miracle, naturally appeal to the simoon and to subterranean fire accidentally breaking out, and yet find themselves at length compelled to have recourse to the assumption of a mythical distortion of the historical event by exaggerating legends.

[2] Only Bennigsen (bibl. Zeitr. p. 132) assumes two sons of Jehoshaphat with like names, and makes Jehoram *senior* become joint king in the eighteenth year of Jehoshaphat, and Jehoram *junior* in the twenty-third. A quite untenable expedient. Quite arbitrary also are the methods of d. Vignoles i. p. 262 and Archinard *l. c.* p. 76.

1 Ki. xxii. 42, compared with 2 Ki. iii. 1, only died in the seventh year of the Israelitish Jehoram—a twofold nomination of Jehoram to be co-regent must have taken place, which is highly improbable, inasmuch as the second nomination implies the abolition of the first, and the beginning of the reign of a contemporary Israelitish sovereign would scarcely be dated from a co-regency that was soon after abrogated; yet this view proposed by Ussher (*Annal. M. ad a. m.* 3106 and 3112), Lightfoot (*Opp.* i. p. 83 and 85), Hartmann (*System. chronol.* p. 237), and Winer (R.W. *i.* p. 534), is in general right, and loses the improbability attaching to it, as soon as we distinguish between mere co-regency and actual sovereignty.[1] Jehoshaphat, in the seventeenth year of his reign, which runs parallel with the end of the twenty-first and the beginning of the twenty-second year of Ahab, went with the latter against the Syrians in the war against Ramoth in Gilead (1 Ki. xxii.) This expedition appears to have given him occasion to nominate his son co-regent, and assign to him, during his own absence from the country, the administration of the government, from which time Jehoram remained co-regent with his father. But in the twenty-third year of his reign Jehoshaphat ceded to him the entire sovereignty, on which account the eight years of the Jewish Jehoram are to be reckoned, not from the death but from the twenty-third year of Jehoshaphat's reign.[2]

[1] Ussher *l.c.* intimates this distinction somewhat differently, since he remarks on the seventeenth year of Jehoshaphat: *Jos. Jehoramum filium suum proregem instituit*, and on the twenty-third: *Jehoramum cui antea vicariam potestatem communicaverat, regni secum constituit consortem.*

[2] Winer i. p. q., indeed, holds it questionable, "against all precedent, to reduce the twenty-five years of Jehoshaphat in the general computation to twenty-three;" but this is clearly demanded by the synchronism of the years of the Israelitish kings. For, if Jehoram of Israel, who became king in the eighteenth year of Jehoshaphat, and reigned twelve years (iii. 1), was slain at the same time with Ahaziah of Judah (ix. 24—27) and the Jewish Ahaziah reigned about one year, his predecessor Jehoram about eight, and thus the two together at all events eight full years; the Jewish Jehoram must have ascended the throne four years after the Israelitish Jehoram, that is, in the twenty-third year of Jehoshaphat, which is parallel with the fifth year of the Israelitish Jehoram. Precedents for this contraction of the years of two kings in the general computation of the duration of the regal period are no doubt wanting, as the other reductions proposed by the older chronologists, for example in the Israelitish Ahaziah, whose

The reason why Jehoshaphat ceded the sovereignty to his son two years before his death we do not know. Lightfoot (*l. c.* p. 85) finds it in the expedition which Jehoshaphat, with the Israelitish Jehoram, undertook against the Moabites who had revolted from Israel; but, as the Moabites revolted under Ahaziah immediately after the death of Ahab (see on v. 1), Jehoram would scarcely delay his warlike proceedings till the fifth year of his reign, and though the year of this campaign is not stated in chap. iii., yet it appears very evident from vv. 5—7, that Jehoram, immediately after their revolt, made preparations for war, and invited Jehoshaphat to make common cause with him.

CHAPTER II.

ASCENSION OF ELIJAH, VV. 1—18, AND THE FIRST MIRACULOUS DOINGS OF ELISHA, VV. 19—24.

Vv. 1, 2. When the time was come that Elijah should part from this earth, he found himself, with Elisha his servant and successor appointed by the Lord, at Gilgal, the seat of a school of the prophets founded by him; see the introduction to chap. iv. —To both had the Lord revealed, that now the seal was to be put to the mighty and blessed labours of Elijah by his miraculous assumption into heaven, in order to strengthen the power of faith in Elisha, the other scholars of the prophets, and all the true worshippers of the Lord in Israel; but to each apart, so that Elijah knew nothing of the fact that Elisha also had re-

years many reckon to the last years of Ahab, are arbitrary, and the case stands alone; but this very exception to the rule is intimated in viii. 16 by the words, וַיְהוֹשָׁפָט מֶלֶךְ יְהוּדָה, "in the fifth year of Joram the son of Ahab king of Israel, when Jehoshaphat was (still) king of Judah, Jehoram the son of Jehoshaphat became king." And it is equally arbitrary in expositors and chronologists to reject the words וידה, מל" יה" as a spurious addition (see on the passage), as in others, for example, L. Capellus, des Vignoles i. p. 325, to declare the text in our passage to be here corrupt.

ceived a revelation of the same. He therefore made several attempts to release himself from his companion, not to prove his love and fidelity (*ut faceret periculum an diligeretur ab Elisaeo.* Vatabl.), but *ex modestia et humilitate* (Corn. a Lap.), because, in his great humility, he wished all witnesses of his glorification to be absent.—Setting out from Gilgal, Elijah thus speaks to Elisha: "Tarry here, for the Lord hath sent me to Bethel." But when the latter assures him with a solemn oath by the Lord and the life of Elijah, that he would not leave him, they both went down (וַיֵּרְדוּ) to Bethel (v. 2.) Gilgal is regarded by all expositors and biblical geographers as a place situated east of Jericho, towards the Jordan, where Joshua, after the miraculous passage of the Israelites through the Jordan, pitched his first camp in Canaan proper, and performed the circumcision that had been neglected since the rejection of the people in the wilderness, on the male generation that had grown up in the last thirty-eight years of the journey, from which the place received the name Gilgal, Jos. iv. 19 f., v. 9, 10. By an inconceivable oversight it has occurred to no one, that we cannot descend (ירד) from this place situated in the deep valley of the Jordan to Bethel, which lies on the mountains, that therefore this וַיֵּרְדוּ (v. 2) decidedly proves the incorrectness of the current opinion, and imperatively demands that the site of our Gilgal be sought on the mountains. An additional reason is the improbability that Elijah should have gone from a place lying east of Jericho to Bethel (thus passing Jericho), and then only from Bethel to Jericho, and thence again to the Jordan (indeed again over the supposed Gilgal, lying between Jericho and this river, or close by it.) But if we look for a Gilgal on the mountains, from which we may descend to Bethel, the passage, Deut. xi. 30, where the situation of the mountains Ebel and Gerizim is thus described; behold they lie on the other side Jordan, behind the way toward the sun-set, in the land of the Canaanites, who dwell in the plain over against Gilgal by the terebinths of Moreh; points out a Gilgal not far from the mountains Ebal and Gerizim.[1] This Gilgal still exists in

[1] After I became doubtful from וַיֵּרְדוּ (v. 2) of the correctness of the current notion of the site of Gilgal being east of Jericho, I found that Thenius in Kauffer's bibl. Stud. ii. p. 130 ff., had rejected it on the

name in the large village Jiljilia (جلجيليا), which lies upon a steep flat-topped hill, from which a very extensive view of the

grounds above adduced, and proved the identity of the Gilgal in our passage and Deut. xi. 30 with Jiljilia. But this learned man has only proceeded half-way, if he assumes, besides this Gilgal = Jiljilia, which he believes also mentioned in the prophetic passages, Hos. iv. 15, ix. 15, xii. 12; Am. iv. 4, v. 5, the existence of a town of this name east of Jericho, in the usual way, and not only makes this latter Gilgal the place of encampment of the Israelites under Joshua, *during* the conquest of Canaan, but also regards it as the town where Samuel annually judged the people, and Saul was solemnly recognized as king by the people, and afterwards rejected also by the prophet Samuel. A careful examination of the collective passages, in which, so far as known to me, Gilgal is named in the Old Testament, has satisfied me, that a city, town, or village, Gilgal, east of Jericho, towards Jordan, cannot be proved from the Old Testament, that at all events the places mentioned, Jos. iv. 19 f., v. 9 f, where Joshua encamped after the passage of the Jordan *before* the conquest of the land of Canaan, is mentioned again in the statement of the boundary of the tribe of Judah, Jos. xv. 7, as well as in the allusion of the prophet Micah to this event (Mic. vi. 5), but in none of these places is described as a town or place inhabited by men. In all the other passages—with the exception of Jos. xii. 23, where Gilgal, the capital of a Canaanitish king conquered by Joshua, is probably identical with the *villa*, mentioned in the *Onom.* art. *Gelgel, nomine Galgulis* Γαλγουλῆς) *ab Antipatride in sexto milliario contra septentrionem* (it must certainly mean *meridiem*, see v. Raum. Pal. p. 153) and with the still extant village Jiljuleh (جلجولة) according to an index of places in Rob. iii. p. 260,—the agreement of the situation of Gilgal with Jiljilia can scarcely be mistaken. So in Jos. ix. 6, x. 6, 9, 15, 43, xiv. 6, xv. 7. If, according to these passages, Joshua, after he had conquered not only Jericho, but also Ai at all events situated on the mountains, and had already advanced to Mounts Ebal and Gerizim, and there, according to the command of Moses, rehearsed the blessing and curse of the law to the people (Jos. viii. 30 ff.), pitched his camp at Gilgal, whither the Gibeonites come to beguile the Israelites into a covenant (Jos. ix. 6, x. 6), whence he attacks and slays the kings joined with Adonibezek at Gibeon (Jos. x. 7 ff.), and where afterwards the partition of the land is begun (Jos. xiv. 6), who could believe that this commander, after he had long left the valley of the Jordan and penetrated so far into the mountainous country, would retire with his whole army behind Jericho into the Jordan vale, in order to undertake farther operations? To so improbable a supposition it was then only necessary to yield, if another Gilgal had not existed in Palestine, if a Gilgal had not already been made known to Moses over against Ebal and Gerizim. But if even here any one should wish to find the most improbable probable, yet no one, although Studer indeed has done it, will desire to seek the Gilgal with the פסילים (idols or stone quarries), in its neighbourhood (Judg. iii. 19), in the Jordan

great plain beneath and of the sea is obtained, and not merely the mountains Ebal and Gerizim, lying five hours north of it, but even

valley east of Jericho, who rightly considers that Ehud—when he brings a present to the Moabite king Eglon in the city of palms (Jericho v. 13), and turns back by the פסילים in Gilgal, murders the Moabite king, then again flees beyond these פסילים to Seirath, and there on the mountain of Ephraim summons Israel to rebel against the Moabites (vv. 17—27)—cannot possibly have made his way back the first time, or the second time after Eglon's murder made his escape from Jericho to the mountains of Ephraim over the supposed Gilgal, lying ten Roman miles east of Jericho. The Gilgal, Judg. iii. 19, can thus have lain only west of Jericho. Lastly, none of the passages in 1 Sam. (vii. 16, x. 8, xi. 14 f., xiii. 4 ff., xv. 21, 33) contains any reason, which requires us to seek the here-mentioned Gilgal east of Jericho in the valley of Jordan. If, on the other hand also, they afford no stringent proofs of its identity with Jiljilia, yet this can admit of no doubt, when the existence of a town Gilgal east of Jericho is not demonstrable either from Joshua or Judges, and the district generally beyond the oasis on which Jericho lay, is a wilderness even to the Jordan, of which indeed Robinson states that in his journey from Jordan to Jerusalem he went only "a good half-hour through a desert tract" (Pal. ii. p. 509), but that onward to Jericho the whole tract might easily be cultivated, as the soil is loose and fertile, as that of Egypt, and needs only the superfluous waters from Jericho to render it extremely productive (p. 514), though it is not known that it ever had the superfluous waters from Jericho. "But where the water does not flow, the plain also produces nothing" (Rob. p. 531.) To this is added the geographical position of this point. Would Samuel, when he went from year to year in circuit to Bethel and Gilgal and Mizpeh, and judged Israel in all these places (1 Sam. vii. 16), have chosen, besides Bethel and Mizpeh, a place situated in the south-east corner of Canaan, at all events on the border of the arable land, to meet a part of the nation for the settlement of their differences? to cause Saul to receive homage from the whole people as king? Or would Saul, as Thenius l. p. q. p. 147 supposes, have selected this corner for the head-quarters of his military operations against the Philistines encamped on the mountains at Michmash (1 Sam. xiii., xiv.)?—After all it is not to be wondered that Robinson, notwithstanding repeated examination of place and passage, found no trace of the remains of Gilgal east of Jericho, and could ascertain from none of the Arabs such a name in this district (Pal. ii. p. 532 f., 522.) We might wonder only at this, that he could mistake the identity of the site of Jiljilia with the Gilgal so often mentioned in the Old Testament, especially as it did not escape him that this name evidently corresponds to the old name Gilgal (iii. p. 299); but the wonder disappears when we recollect that all modern geographers have unhesitatingly assumed our Gilgal to be in the valley of Jordan, east of Jericho. See Rel., *Pal. ill.* p. 782 f. 811, Hamelsv. iii. p. 428 ff.

the still more remote Hermon, and towards the east the mountains of Gilead may be seen (comp. Rob. Pal. iii. p. 299 f.); and is also mentioned by Eusebius in the *Onom.* under the article *Γάλγαλα*: *καὶ ἄλλοις δὲ ἔοικεν εἶναι Γάλγαλα τὴν περὶ Βαιθάλ.* —The Bethel so celebrated in the Old Testament formerly named Luz, retired from the road leading directly from Jerusalem to Shechem (see v. Raum. Pal. p. 176 f.) Robins. (ii. p. 340 ff.) thought he had discovered in the ruins somewhat more than ten Roman miles distant from Jerusalem, which the Arabs call Burj Makhrun (برج منكرون) or Burj Beitin (برج بيتين) (Beitin from Beitil, Beitel, as Jebril and Jebrin, from Gabriel.) On the other hand, Then. i. p. q. p. 127 ff., has proved by convincing reasons, that (1) this place, from its remoteness from Shiloh, could scarcely be paralleled with Lebonah (Lubban), as it is, Judg. xxi. 19; that (2) according to Jos. viii. 13, 14, in the immediate environs of Bethel and Ai, a tolerably large valley (הָעֲרָבָה ,הָעֵמֶק) is found, but none of the vales at Makhrun can be called עמק, much less ערבה, as they are only נְחָלִים Wadys; that (3) here no higher mountains, but only hills are to be found in the neighbourhood, whereas, according to Jos. xvi. 1, 1 Sam. xiii. 2, Bethel lay either itself on a considerable eminence (הַר בֵּית אֵל) or such a height was found close by it; and that, lastly, (4) Makhrun itself, according to Robinson's own assertion (ii. 339), is enclosed on every side by heights, and from the highest point of the ruins existing there only four very contiguous places can be seen, whereas Lot from this district (his tent between Bethel and Ai, Gen. xiii. 3 f.) could overlook the whole plain of Jordan (the site of the subsequently arising Dead Sea), Gen. xiii. 10. All the indications given in the Old Testament of the situation of Bethel agree much more with the village Sinjil (سنجل), lying southwest of Seilun (Shiloh), on the high bank of the deep Wady running west, at least 200 feet above its

Rosenm. Althk. ii. 2, p. 159 ff., v. Raum. Pal. p. 196 f., Ges. *thes.* i. 238 f., Winer R.W. i. p. 504 f. Most have distinguished from it only the Gilgal mentioned in Deut. xi. 30 and Jos. xii. 23 (Rel. *l.c.*, Hamelsv. iii. p. 250 ff., Rosenm. i. p. q. p. 128, v. Raum. p. 152, 197 not., Winer i. p. 505), whereas Gesen. *l.c.* will acknowledge only the supposed Gilgal in the valley of Jordan in all the passages of the Old Testament without exception.

bottom, comp. Rob. iii. p. 300; for this is as far from Seilun as Lubban; here is found an actual valley (עמק), "the broad fertile valley lying beneath (Sinjil), which expands towards the east into a beautiful basin-like valley of considerable size" (Rob. p. 300, 303), and also the mountain of Bethel, whether it be the ridge on which Sinjil itself lies, or, as Then. p. 130 assumes, "the mountain, on which Jiljilia lies, which rises very precipitously, and in the ascent of which Robinson and his companions riding on mules occupied half an hour" (iii. p. 289.) Lastly, the proximity, often indicated in the Old Testament (Gen. xii. 8; Jos. vii. 2, viii. 9, 12, 17, xii. 9), of Bethel and Ai lying east of it, is suitable; for Sinjil lies quite in the neighbourhood of Turmus Aya (ترمس عايا), in which Then. (p. 129 ff.) has rightly again discovered and demonstrated the Ai (הָעַי) conjectured to be there indeed by Rob. (ii. p. 300), but not recognised.

Vv. 3—7. In Bethel the scholars of the prophets come to Elisha with the intelligence: knowest thou, that Jehovah will take away thy master from thy head to-day. Elisha answers: I also know it, be silent; because he knew that Elijah from humility wished to keep his approaching glorification secret. The same is repeated when Elijah with his attendant arrives at Jericho (v. 5.) In both places Elijah again attempts to induce his minister to remain behind, but as in Gilgal, so also here, without success (vv. 4, 6.) They go therefore both farther to the Jordan, while fifty scholars of the prophets from Jericho follow him at a distance, and remain standing in sight of the Jordan, not merely *honoris causa* (Seb. Schm.), but to be eye witnesses of the miraculous removal of their great master (v. 7.) —The journey, which Elijah before his departure from this earth made from Gilgal through Bethel and Jericho, was not only dependent on this, but he must touch at these places on his way to the Jordan, but had evidently the same object, for which his ascent to heaven was revealed not merely to Elisha but also to the schools of the prophets at Bethel and Jericho. Elijah said indeed that the Lord sent him to Bethel, to Jericho, to the Jordan (vv. 2, 4, 6); he thus took this route under the impulse of the Holy Spirit, and wished before his departure to visit the

schools of the prophets which he had planted, perhaps to make some farther arrangements in them, to impart admonitions and instructions, as he might have often done, at all events by his presence to strengthen and confirm the scholars of the prophets in a life consecrated to the service of the Lord, without expecting that they were apprized by the Spirit of the Lord of his approaching departure from this life. But as his ascent to heaven took place less on his own account than on that of his surviving associates in office, God had revealed it to so many, in order that, by the miraculous glorification of their master, they might be still more determined than they had been even by his words, lessons, and admonitions, to continue in their calling without fear or trembling, when their great master with his mighty spiritual power was no longer at their side to instruct, advise, and protect them. But before all Elisha, whom the Lord had appointed as successor to him (1 Ki. xix. 16), must be prepared by the last passage of his master to be the prosecutor of his work. He therefore never leaves his side, and wishes, no doubt also from the inward impulse of the Holy Spirit, to be an eyewitness of his glorification in order to receive the spiritual inheritance of the firstborn from his departing spiritual father.—The phrase לָקַח מֵעַל רֹאשׁ, "to take from over the head," is not exactly equivalent with מֵאֵת or לָקַח מֵעִם (vv. 9, 10), and is explained not merely by this, that the scholars sat at the feet of their master (comp. Acts xxii. 3, and Vitringa, *de synag. vet.* p. 167 ff.) but contains an intimation of his removal by ascending into heaven, as ἐπαίρειν and ἀναλαμβάνειν Acts i. 9, 10.

Vv. 8—10. Arrived at the Jordan, Elijah takes his prophet's mantle, rolls it together, and smites the water with it, upon which it parts hither and thither, so that the two go over on dry ground. The mantle (אַדֶּרֶת), the external symbol of the prophetic office (comp. on i. 8), is the bearer of the invisibly operating Divine power of the Spirit, which inspired the prophet. The miracle is analogous to the miraculous dividing of the Red Sea by the rod of Moses stretched over it (Ex. xiv. 16, 21), but yet so peculiar and so perfectly corresponding to the *prophetic* character of Elijah, that mythical legend could never have devised it. Moses the leader of the people accomplishes his miracle by

his shepherd's rod, Elijah the prophet divides the water with his prophetic mantle. The ἅπαξ λεγ. גְּלִם all the ancient versions except the Arabic render by *convolvit*, from which גְּלוֹם, χλαμυς, the mantle, Ezek. xxvii. 24, comp. Hävern. on the passage. V. 9 f. On the farther bank Elijah grants to Elisha a last request before his departure, in the certain confidence that the Lord at his entreaty will bestow it upon him, and Elisha asks, "Let a double portion in thy spirit פִּי־שְׁנַיִם בְּרוּחֲךָ be to me (come upon me.") This request, of which Elijah says, "thou hast asked a hard thing," many interpreters from Ephraim Syr. and Theodoret to Köster and Krummacher (in his Elijah) have so misunderstood, as if Elisha had desired the doubled measure of the spirit of Elijah ("let thy spirit be double in me," Luther after the Vulg.), which then some refer to this, that Elisha performed much more and much greater miracles than Elijah (see Cler. on the passage, and Pfeiffer, *dub. vex.* p. 442 f.), others, as Köster i. p. q. p. 82, understand of the "gift of prophecy and miracle," or even, as Krummacher, of this, that the spirit of Elisha as an evangelical spirit was twice as great as the legal spirit of Elijah. But this sense neither lies in the words, nor follows from the answer of Elijah, nor can such a relation to Elijah be proved from the life and acts of Elisha. The expression פִּי שְׁנַיִם, properly a mouthful, a ration of two, derived from the custom of setting before the person, whom it is intended to honour, a twofold or even manifold portion, (comp. Gen. xliii. 34 and Rosenm. A. u. N. Morgenl. i. p. 207) stands here and in Zech. xiii. 8, (comp. Hengstenb. Christol. ii. p. 342 ff.), in evident relation to Deut. xxi. 17, where it denotes the double portion, which the firstborn received in the inheritance of his father.[1] Resting on this law, according to which the firstborn is to receive from his father פִּי שְׁנַיִם בְּכֹל אֲשֶׁר יִמָּצֵא לוֹ as inheritance, Elisha asks for himself as his firstborn spiritual son the double portion in (of) his spirit, as his inheritance.[2] With this

[1] This dependence of our passage on Deut. xxi. 17, formerly perceived by S. Münster, Vatabl., Grot., Seb. Schm., Calm. and others, has again in our times received great prominence from Hertz i. p. q. p. 42, and Hengstenb. Beitr. ii. p. 133 f.

[2] Elisha regards himself as firstborn son in relation to the other

agrees also the answer of Elijah: "thou hast asked a hard thing," says he, not because, as Calmet thinks, he had expected, "that Elisha would content himself with asking some portion of his garments or his moveables (!), or even of his authority or counsel for the government of the other prophets," but because the grant of this petition lay not in his own but in God's power only, on which account he connects its fulfilment with a condition depending not on his will but on the Divine disposal: "If thou see me, when I am taken from thee, it shall be so unto thee; but if not, it shall not be so" (v. 10.) According to his own inclination Elijah wished not to have Elisha standing so near him as an eyewitness of his departure from the earth, but from his constant refusal to leave him he saw that he could not escape from him. He therefore left it to the Lord, and made this Divine disposal a sign to Elisha, whether the Lord would grant his request or not. Moreover the request itself implies a spiritual dependence on the part of the petitioner, and on this account Elisha could not possibly desire that the double measure of the spirit of Elijah should be imparted to him. He that is departing cannot bequeath to his heir more than he himself has. Thus the activity of Elisha in comparison with that of Elijah appears to be subordinate. He stands and acts only as the prosecutor of the work done by Elijah, not only externally in relation to the idolaters, but internally in regard to the schools of the prophets. Elisha performed the anointing of Jehu and Hazael entrusted to Elijah, and thereby realizes the extirpation of the house of Ahab announced to him by Elijah; he only maintains and cherishes the schools of the prophets, which Elijah founded. And not Elisha but Elijah appears as the coryphæus of the prophets along with Moses the representative of the law, on the mount of the transfiguration of Christ (Mat. xvii. 4), conversing with the Lord who was come to complete the law and the prophets. (Mat. v. 17.) Only a quite external mode of viewing the greater number of the miracles performed by Elisha can discover in them a proof that double the spirit of

בְּנֵי הַנְּבִיאִים, inasmuch as he was called by Elijah at the command of God to be his successor, not perhaps because he had been the scholar of Elijah longer than the other sons of the prophets educated by him.

Elijah rested upon him.—On the form לָקַח for מְלֻקָּח comp. Ew. Gr. § 351, and with regard to the sense comp. Gen. v. 24.

V. 11. While they talked with one another as they went on, "behold there (appears suddenly) a chariot of fire and horses of fire, which parted them both asunder; and Elijah went up in the tempest to heaven." The sense of this so often misinterpreted and rejected miracle[1] discernible by us is, God suddenly removed Elijah to heaven; he took him away to himself, as in former times Enoch, Gen. v. 24, from Elisha and from the earth (comp. vv. 9, 10.) The removal took place בַּסְּעָרָה in the tempest, as Luther has properly rendered it. סערה usually storm-wind, and often a figure of the Divine judgments (Is. xxix. 6, xl. 24, xli. 16), denotes the thunderstorm in which God displays his omnipotence in the most striking manner, and visibly manifests his presence on the earth. Thus Jehovah answers Job, xxxviii. 1, xl. 16, מִן הַסְּעָרָה and appears to Ezekiel, i. 4, in the רוּחַ סְעָרָה in a great cloud of fire in the midst of which he sat over the cherubim. In our passage the סערה is the thunderstorm, the tempest accompanied with an appearance of fire, that presents itself to the eye of Elisha as a chariot of fire and horses of fire, on which Elijah goes to heaven. The thunderstorm is the earthly substratum of the Theophany; the chariot of fire with the horses of fire the symbolic form, in which the removal of his master into heaven is presented to the view of the surviving Elisha. All other questions concerning the nature of the fiery chariot, the place from which Elijah was taken, the day of his ascension, which C. a Lap. assigns according to the Romish martyrology to twentieth July of the nineteenth year of Jehos-

[1] The exeget. Hdb. p. 9 on the passage enters into all conceivable natural explanations; that Elijah was struck with lightning, carried away by a hurricane, or a whirlwind, or a waterspout, or buried in the sand, or tossed into the valley or into the Jordan, or carried off in a chariot by the king's guards, or that he lost himself in a cloud descending upon the mountain and was still alive; or that the narrative is only a vision that Elisha had in his sleep, during which Elijah left him. Not content, however, with this, it lastly brings forward the fables of heathen mythology concerning the miraculous removal of Hesperos, Tithonos, Ganymedes, Romulus, etc., in order to give the stamp of a myth to the narrative for which the rationalists have also declared themselves in the works quoted at 1 Ki. xvii.

haphat[1] and so on, into which the older expositors entered, are to be avoided[2] as unprofitable disquisitions about matters, which surpass the limits of our earthly thought and comprehension.—The ascent of Elijah is more frequently compared with that of Christ, and both are really alike in this respect, that Elijah as Christ left the earth, not in the way of earthly death, but in other respects they are doubtless to be distinguished: Elijah, as servant of the Lord, as minister of the law, who preached with his fiery zeal the fire of the anger of the Divine righteousness to the apostate generation of his time by word and deed, is removed to heaven by the Lord in the fiery tempest, the symbol of the judicial righteousness of God; Christ, as the Son, to whom all power in heaven and on earth was given, being transfigured by his resurrection into the imperishable Divine nature, returned by virtue of his eternal Godhead to the Father, was lifted up before the eyes of his disciples, and a cloud received him withdrawing his form from their view, Luk. xxiv. 51; Acts i. 9. The ascent of our prophet has also been placed side by side with the death of Moses; but Moses died, and was appointed on account of his sin to die in the wilderness (Deut. xxxii. 49 ff.), and was only buried by the Lord, so that no man saw his grave (Deut. xxxiv. 5 f.) God thus caused him to taste of death as the punishment of his sin, but withdrew him after death from the power of death (comp. Jude v. 9 and M. Baumgarten, theol. Comm. on the O. T. i. 2, p. 566.) Elijah did not die, but was, by a miraculous change (1 Cor. xv. 51 f., 1 Thes. iv. 15 ff.) taken up to heaven. This difference is

[1] The year of the ascent of our prophet cannot be ascertained, as v. 1 contains no date, although we may infer from the order of our section, that it took place not long after the death of Ahaziah of Israel.

[2] On this ground also we disclaim the wish with Br. Bauer (d. Relig. d. A.T. ii. p. 208), to understand philosophically the necessity of this miracle and to deduce from it, "that in Elijah the self-consciousness of the absolute Spirit was that which substantially operated." For this proposition, as well as its farther explication, "it was the Divine grace, which withdrew the zealot from his conflicts and preserved him in his kingdom as a security for the future removal of the opposition, and at the same time the process of the personality of Elijah, who in the pain of his vain wrestling, was directly impelled to see his task and his person that was bound up with it, secured, and had it secured in his removal"—rests on the pantheistic view of things, which does not unite but confound heaven and earth, God and the creature.

quite in keeping with the character of the two men of God. Moses, the lawgiver, goes in the way of the law, which works death as the wages of sin (Rom. vi. 23, vii. 13), from the earthly life. Elijah, the prophet, who is ordained for correction to future times (ὁ καταγραφεὶς ἐν ἐλεγμοῖς εἰς καιρούς), to pacify the wrath before the judgment, to turn the heart of the father to the son, and to restore the tribes of Israel (Sir. 48, 10), is taken from this world to heaven as the forerunner of Christ (Mal. iii. 23 f., Matt. xi. 10 14) without tasting death, predicting the ascension of the Lord, who, by his resurrection from the dead taking the sting from death and the victory from hell (1 Cor. xv. 55) as the abolisher of the curse of sin and conqueror of death and the grave, ascends into heaven to the right hand of the Father on high.[1]

[1] If we hold these parallels between Moses, Elijah, and Christ, together with the import, as discussed on 1 Ki. xvii., of the personality and historical position of Elijah in the development of the kingdom of God; we can no longer reject his ascent to heaven as impossible or unique in its kind. For it does not stand alone, but has its hold and support in the ascension of our Lord, and is quite in harmony with the great mission, which was committed by the Lord to our prophet, who formed the middle point between Moses and Christ in the unfolding of the Divine preparations for salvation, which was in progress for so many centuries. Whoever, indeed, has not recognised this import, has not comprehended in general the spirit and essence of the Divine revelation, to him it not only is but must be incredible, as we find not only in the Jew Josephus, but also in the Christian Church father Ephraim Syrus. Josephus (Antiq. ix. 2, 2) is silent concerning the miracle, and only relates: Ἠλίας ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἠφανίσθη· καὶ οὐδεὶς ἔγνω μέχρις τῆς σήμερον αὐτοῦ τὴν τελευτήν, and even adds, that it is written in the sacred books of Elijah and of Enoch: ὅτι γεγόνασιν ἀφανεῖς· θάνατον δὲ αὐτῶν οὐδεὶς οἶδεν. The church-father Ephraim in his explanation of our chapter passes over the last words of v. 11: "so Elijah went up in the tempest to heaven," and paraphrases the remainder thus: "Suddenly there came from the height (ܡܪܡ) a storm of fire (ܢܘܪܐ ܕܢܘܪ), and in the midst of the flame the form of a chariot and horses, and parted them both asunder; the one of them it left on the earth, the other, namely Elijah, it carried to the height (ܠܡܪܡ); but whither the wind (or spirit? ܪܘܚܐ) carried him, or in what place it left him, the Scripture has not informed us, but it says, that after some years a terrifying letter from him full of menaces was delivered to king Jehoram of Judah." Hence we see clearly, we may infer that Ephraim did not believe the ascent of Elijah, but wisely avoided clearly expres-

Vv. 12, 13. When Elisha saw his master miraculously removed, he cries out: "My Father, my father! the chariot of Israel and the horsemen thereof!" and in token of his grief rent his garment in two pieces, then took up the mantle of Elijah, which had fallen from him in his removal, and returned to the bank of the Jordan. He calls Elijah אָבִי אָבִי as his spiritual father, who begat him as his spiritual son by the word of the Lord. This deep inward conception of spiritual fatherhood, according to which the scholars of the prophets are called בְּנֵי הַנְּבִיאִים sons of the prophets, is enfeebled by the paraphrase, *magister fidelissime* (Schulz, Maur.) רֶכֶב וּפָרָשָׁיו war chariot and riders, on which the strength and stability of earthly kingdoms rest, are here an emblem of the mighty protection, which Elijah afforded to the kingdom of Israel by his spiritual acts, and hence the Chald. thus paraphrases רַבִּי רַבִּי דְּטָב לְהוֹן לְיִשְׂרָאֵל בְּצְלוֹתֵיהּ

sing his opinion on the point. What Josephus and Ephraim did not venture to do, that was done in the last century by J. D. Michaelis, in his remarks on his translation of the Bible for the unlearned, when, on v. 1 of our chapter, he informs the unlearned, that Elijah did not go to heaven, but was only removed from Palestine, and lived at least twelve years longer,—to be able to write a letter to Jehoram king of Judah (2 Chr. xxi. 12), as the Syrian father Ephraim, so generally regarded as orthodox 1400 years ago thought, and even stated, "that no one receives letters from the people in heaven." That Ephr. Syr. perhaps thought this, though he has not expressed it, we perceive from his words quoted above. Those, therefore, who like Bauer (hebr. Mythol. ii. p. 167), the author of the exeget. Hdb. on the passage, and Mov. (Krit. Unters. p. 183) have copied this notice from Mich., have not cast a glance at the orthodox church father. Moreover, I have, in my apolog. Vers. ü. d. Chr. p. 310 f. proved, that the statement, 2 Chr. xxi. 12 ff., may be reconciled with the ascension of Elijah; and if what is there said were not sufficient it is not necessary, on account of 2 Chr. xxi. 12 ff., either to deny the ascension of Elijah, or with Gramb. and Mov. to pronounce the passage in question unhistorical, as it does not speak of a letter (אִגֶּרֶת, as a letter is called in 2 Chr. xxx. 1, 6, or סְפָרִים), but of a writing (נִכְתָּב), which came (arrived) from Elijah to Jehoram. —On the other hand the narrative of the ascension of Elijah in connection with the prediction, Mal. iii. 23 f., has occasioned among the Rabbins, and even the Mohammedans (Arabs and Persians) a mass of legends and myths concerning our prophet, which Winer (R.W. i. p. 376), and still more fully Rödiger (Allg. Encyl. d. Wissensch. vol. 33, p. 324 f.) have enumerated, but in a very uncritical way connected with the biblical representations of Elijah as the forerunner of the Messiah.

מֵרְתִיכֶן פָּרָשִׁין. Comp. xiv. 13.—The prophet's mantle of Elijah is in his removal transferred to his successor, as a pledge to himself of the granting of his request, and as a visible sign to others, that the spirit of Elijah rests upon him (v. 15), that he is appointed by God as his successor.

Vv. 14, 15. In order, on the one hand, to confirm Elisha himself in the conviction that his petition has been granted, and on the other to accredit him among the scholars of the prophets and the people as the successor of Elijah appointed by the Lord, the waters of the Jordan are again miraculously divided, when Elisha smites them with the mantle of Elijah and invokes the God of Elijah.—The question: Where is Jehovah the God of Elijah, even he? is an expression of the firm confidence, that the God of Elijah will be with him also, and by him prove himself as glorious as he did in and by Elijah. The אַף־הוּא belongs, notwithstanding the foregoing *Athnach*, to יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי אֵל as emphatic apposition, *even he.*[1] The object of this miracle is attained in the scholars of the prophets from Jericho, who had seen it from the other bank; on this they acknowledged that the spirit of Elijah rested on Elisha, and came to meet him, and did homage to him as now their spiritual father and master.

Vv. 16—18. Although it was revealed to the scholars of the prophets, that the Lord was about to take away Elijah, yet those at Jericho could not discover in this, that he was quite to disappear from the earth; for they had not witnessed his miraculous

[1] This אַף־הוּא caused much difficulty to the old interpreters. The LXX. regarded it as *nom. pr.* of God ἀφφώ, unless, as Schulze *ad Theodor. Op.* i. p. 516 conjectures, they had another text before them; the Masor. transfer it to the following sentence, and this construction occasioned as well the addition, in the *Vulg.* after the first *percussit aquas, et non sunt divisae,* which even Dathe still finds necessary, as also among the old expositors the opinion, that Elisha smote the waters twice, and the division took place only after the second smiting. The Masor. construction, according to which אַף הוּא is separated from the preceding words, yields no tolerable sense, as the various attempts at explanation in Pfeiff. *dub. vex.* p. 444, and Stark *l. c.* p. 181 f., show, and is the less binding, as the Chald. has not recognized it. The second וַיַּכֶּה is only a repetition of the first, and is to be rendered, "so he smote the waters, when," etc.

ascension, but only that, by the power of God, he had divided with his mantle the waters of the Jordan (v. 7 f.) They therefore request Elisha to allow them to send fifty stout men of themselves to search, and, when he is unwilling, urge him so long, that he permits them; but after three days' searching in vain they return with the firm conviction, that Elijah is no longer on earth.—The belief, that the Spirit of the Lord might have carried Elijah away and cast him on some mountain or valley, was awakened in the scholars of the prophets, not, as many interpreters think, by the fact that Elijah had often before suddenly disappeared,[1] but only by the circumstance that they could not imagine the possibility of a removal into heaven, and therefore could scarcely understand the revelation made to them (v. 5), on account of the indefiniteness of the phrase, לֻקַח־מֵעַל רֹאשֶׁךָ, of a proper ascent to heaven, but only of a removal by death. If Elisha also related to them, how Elijah was taken from him,—and we may certainly presume that he did so,—yet they might still believe, that the Lord by his appearance in the tempest had only removed his servant from this life and taken his soul into heaven to himself, but his earthly tenement may have fallen somewhere on the earth, for which they wished to search, in order to do the last honours to their departed master.—פֶּן־נְשָׂאוֹ (v. 16) *ne forte abstulerit.* פֶּן with the *præter.* expresses the fear of an event having actually occurred, as it is conjectured, comp. Ew. § 599; according to the sense here, we feared that he had taken him.—The form הַגִּיאוֹת is to be read according to the *Kethibh* הַגְּיָאוֹת, for which the Masor. substituted the usual plural form of this word הַגֵּאָיוֹת, comp. Ezek. vii. 16, xxxi. 12, xxxii. 5, and Ew. Gr. § 415.—V. 17. The form עַד־בֹּשׁ in v. 17, viii. 12, and Judg. iii. 25, means properly, *until being ashamed, until feeling shame from the disappointment of his hope or expectation*, and then until embarrassment, which is indeed only a consequence of the shame or disappointed expectation, whence lastly in the

[1] Comp. the remarks on 1 Ki. xviii. 12. In this case they would scarcely have thought of searching for him, as they must have known from former experience, that searching after him was vain, and that he would reappear of his own accord.

farther usage is developed and fixed the sense of *nimium* and of *justo diutius*.[1]

Vv. 19—24. The two following miracles also, with which Elisha begins his prophetic action, are designed to produce in the people respect for him as the man of God furnished with the Spirit and power of God, as Elijah.

Vv. 19—22. When the inhabitants of Jericho complain to him, that in the otherwise excellent situation of their town the water was unwholesome and the land caused untimely births,[2] Elisha puts salt in a new vessel and pours it into the spring with the words: "Thus saith the Lord, I have healed this water," etc., whereupon the water was healed. The injurious property and effect was not taken from the water by the salt poured in; for even if the salt actually possessed this power,[3] a whole spring, could not be corrected by a single dish of salt, even for one day,

[1] The objection, which Studer on Judg. iii. 25 and Redslob, "on the phrase עַד-בּוֹשׁ," in the theol. Stud. u. Krit. of the year 1837, part 4, p. 912 ff., has raised against the meaning above developed in accordance with Ges. (*thes.* i. 191), and Winer (*lex. s. v.*), namely, that in Judg. iii. 25 the waiting subjects must have been ashamed of having waited so long, in the other two passages, on the contrary, the shame must be conceived to be on the part of the object, that is, in our passage on the part of Elisha, who through the urgent petition was at last ashamed, so that he yielded to it, in viii. 12, on the part of Hazael, whom Elisha had embarrassed by the long fixedness of his gaze—this objection has little weight, because the different application of the formula only occurred after its import was long established. The new explanations of it attempted by the two learned men are, however, quite untenable. What Redsl. says of Studer's assumption of a double *radix* בּוֹשׁ, of which one signifies to redden, the other to be late, "how arbitrary," this holds still more of his own etymological combinations, by means of which he derives for בּוֹשׁ from the stem syllable בך, פץ, entangle, tatter, the meaning of irresolute tarrying, loitering, lingering, and thence a noun בּוֹשׁ in the sense, *a little while.*

[2] As travellers mention also of some other places without stating the proper cause, see Rosenm. A. u. N. Morgenl. iii. p. 213 f.

[3] Thus *Fr. Spanheimius in Dub. evang.* p. iii., p. 457 says: *aquam putealem foetido vel pravo alio sapore imbutam sale corrigi*, without intending thereby to deny the miracle in our passage; for he regards the salt only as *causa secunda*, to which is added the word as *virtus extraordinaria prorsus causae primae, a qua pauco sale multis aquis salubritas et perpetua quidem restituta.* So also *Fr. Valesius, de s. philos.* cxxxiv. p. 246 f.

much less for a longer time or for ever, nor could a neighbouring spring, that supplied the head spring with too strong and therefore injuriously operating mineral water, be filled up or stopt, as J. D. Mich. asserts. The pouring in of the salt was a symbolic act with which Elisha accompanied the word of the Lord, by which alone the spring was healed.[1] Salt, on account of its power of preserving from putrescence and decay, is the symbol of incorruptibility and of life removing death, comp. Thol., Ausl. d. Bergpr. p. 118 and Bähr, Symbol. ii. p. 325 f. The choice also of the new dish belonged to the symbol; Elisha took it not *ob munditiem* (Seb. Schm.) or *ne vasis naturæ prodigium tribuatur* (Cler. and others) but as a symbol of purity and inviolateness.—V. 19. וְהָאָרֶץ מְשַׁכֶּלֶת "the land is causing untimely births. שָׁכַל *orbavit, abortum fecit, i.e., intulit*, comp. Gen. xxxi. 38, Ex. xxiii. 26. In v. 21 מְשַׁכֶּלֶת is most simply regarded with Gesen. as a substantive, *abortatio*, as the supplement of הָאָרֶץ, proposed by some, does not suit either the parallel מָוֶת or the words יִהְיֶה מִשָּׁם. Cler., Dathe, and Köster incorrectly render, "and the soil is barren;" for even in Mal. iii. 11 שָׁכַל does not mean, to be barren.

Vv. 23, 24. From Jericho Elisha proceeded to Bethel, the chief seat of the idolatrous worship (1 Ki. xii. 29), where likewise was a school of the prophets (v. 3.) When by the way little children out of the city mock him as a bald head,[2] he curses

[1] According to the statements of travellers, this well is still extant, and the several adjacent wells at Jericho, the waters of which spread of the plain, called by the Arabs Ain es Sultan (عين السلطان), thirty-five minutes distant north-west from the present village and castle, on a group of hills rising not far from the foot of the mountain *Quarantana* (Kuruntul قرنطل), formerly surrounded by a kind of reservoir or half round wall of hewn stone, that is now very dilapidated, from which the water is conveyed down in many directions to the plain. It is a large fine spring, with certainly not cold, but not warm water, of a pleasant and sweet (according to St. Schultz somewhat salt) taste. Comp. Pococke, Beschr. d. Morgenl. ii. p. 47, Steph. Schultz, Leit. d. Höchsten v. p. 85 and Rob. Pal. ii. p. 528 f.

[2] Most interpreters assume that the baldness in Elisha's head must have had its ground in a natural defect, as Elisha, according to xiii. 14 ff., lived more than fifty years after this date, and therefore could not

them in the name of the Lord, to avenge the honour of the Lord violated in his person. And two she bears come out of the wood, and tear forty-two of these children. קֵרֵחַ bald head, who is bald on the back of his head,—was reckoned an insult, Is. iii. 17, 24, as among the Romans, comp. *Sueton. vit. Caes.* C. 45, and *v. Domit.* C. 18. The priests were therefore forbidden to shave themselves bald (Lev. xxi. 5) because they should be blameless even in externals.[1] הִתְקַלֵּס בְּ properly to behave oneself as a crier, that is, mocker, hence to mock him crying aloud; for קָלָס is always connected with חָרְפָּה or לַעַג, comp. Jer. xx. 8, Ps. xliv. 14, and Hävern. Comm. on Ezek. p. 244 f. —בקע in *Kal* and *piel*, to split, cleave, then in *piel* also, to tear, lacerate, Hos. xiii. 8.—On mount Carmel see on 1 Ki. xviii. 19.

CHAPTER III.

JEHORAM, KING OF ISRAEL, VV. 1—3. HIS EXPEDITION AGAINST THE MOABITES IN CONJUNCTION WITH JEHOSHAPHAT, VV. 4—27.

Vv. 1—3. The reign of Jehoram or Joram of Israel is distinguished from that of his father in this, that he removed the pillar of Baal, which Ahab had set up in Samaria, and raised the calf-worship to be again the predominant religion of the state; although the worship of Baal appears to have been still openly continued, (comp. x. 28 ff.), which is not to be wondered at, since his mother Jezebel, the founder of it in Israel, was living during his whole reign (ix. 30.)—On the beginning of his reign comp. the remarks on i. 17.—For the *Suff. Sing.* and מִמֶּנָּה (v. 2) comp. Ew. Gr. § 568.

Vv. 4, 5. As introductory to the expedition related in the fol-

have been bald from age, and no trace of the tonsure is to be found among the Hebrew prophets.

[1] On the deeper ground of this prohibition connected with the idea of the priesthood, see Bähr's Symbol. ii. p. 184 f.

lowing verses, the revolt of the Moabites, mentioned i. 1, from their dependence on Israel is repeated in v. 4, and at the same it is stated, in what the tribute consisted, which the Moabitish vassal king Mesha paid to Israel, namely, in the wool of 100,000 lambs and 100,000 rams, which he paid no doubt yearly, and not, as Cler. with H. Ludolf is inclined to suppose, only on certain occasions, perhaps at the beginning of each new reign; as for a Moabite king, who had not only the best pastures in his own territory, but might range with his flocks over the adjoining wilderness of Arabia, this could scarcely have been too great an annual tribute. That tribute was in ancient times, and among Asiatic nations even to this day, is often paid in natural products and fruits of the earth, is a well-known fact.[1] נוֹקֵד shepherd, Am. i. 1, vii. 14, possessor of flocks, מָרֵי גִיתָּא (Chald.), صاحب ماشية (Arab).[2] נוֹקֵד more strictly denotes נַקָּד *pastorem ovium* נָקֹד *dictarum*, but נָקֹד according to the statements of Arabian lexicographers collected by Bochart in the *hieroz.* i. p. 442 *genus ovium caprarumque deforme et pumilum et caetera vilissimum, sed pilis aut lanis mollibus, quaeque magni aestimantur.*— וַיָּשֶׁב *iterum iterumque attulit*, comp. Ges. *lex. s.v.*— אֵילִים צֶמֶר means not woolly rams, as Ges. (Lehrg. p. 667) still explains with the ancient interpreters; צֶמֶר is not at all dependent on אֵילִים, but a second object to הֵשִׁיב, by which the first object is more exactly defined; literally, he paid 100,000 lambs . . . as (by, in) wool; for which we say in English, the wool of 100,000 lambs, etc.

Vv. 6, 7. As Ahaziah during his short reign had done nothing for the reduction of Moab, Jehoram immediately at the begin-

[1] *Pecunia ipsa a pecore appellabatur. Etiam nunc in tabulis Censoriis pascua dicuntur omnia, ex quibus populus reditus habet, quia diu hoc solum vectigal fuerat. Mulctatio quoque non nisi ovium boumque impendio dicebatur. Plin. hist. nat.* xviii. *C.* 3.

[2] In the *Tanch. Hierosol.* נוקד is explained *possessor ovium, quales sunt nostro tempore Emiri Arabum et Emiri Turcomanorum, h. e. Arabum in Turcarum terris degentium, qui possident oves, quas pascunt ipsorum servi et pueri.* See Ges. *thes.* ii. 909.

ning of his reign hastened to retrieve the neglect, and not only numbered all Israel, in order to levy a considerable army from his own subjects, but invited Jehoshaphat to join him in the campaign; which the latter, although he was censured on account of his treaty with Ahab (see note on 1 Ki. xxii. 29), yet again (as 1 Ki. xxii. 4) readily promised and performed, probably in order on this occasion still more to chastise the Moabites for their invasion of Judah (2 Chr. xx.), and to serve his own interest, inasmuch as by their new subjugation under Israel they would be no longer in a position to recommence operations against Judah. בַּיּוֹם הַרִאשׁוֹן (v. 6) is only an approximate definition of time—in the beginning of the reign of Jehoram.

Vv. 8, 9. "And he (the king of Israel) said, which way shall we go up (against Moab)? And he (Jeshoshaphat) said, the way through the wilderness of Edom." They might march into the land of the Moabites in two ways, either above the Dead Sea over the Jordan, and then over the border stream Arnon entering from the north; or, proceeding round the south end of the Dead Sea, and pushing from the south through the northern part of the mountains of Edom. Although the latter way was longer and encumbered with greater difficulties and perils, because the army had to cross a very difficult mountain range; yet Jehoshaphat decided for it, perhaps partly because the Moabites, confiding in the difficulty of access on their southern border, might expect no attack in that quarter, and he might therefore hope to be able to fall upon them unsuspecting and unprepared, and overcome them; partly no doubt on account of the king of Edom, whom with his troops he might in this way take with him, and, though he should not add much to his own strength, thereby make sure of his troops, so that he could not, while Jehoshaphat was in the field against the Moabites, make any new attempt at revolt by a second invasion of the kingdom of Judah. Yet, however well concerted this plan might appear, the army of Israel, after it had made a circuit of seven days in the march through the deep rocky valley of Ahsy (الاحسي),[1]

[1] The usual way from the south of Judah to the land of Moab, which the crusaders and modern travellers have pursued, goes round the Dead Sea to the mouth of the Wady el Deraah (الذراع) or Kerak,

separating the territories of Edom and Moab, was involved in the greatest danger from want of water for man and beast, as the Wady of this valley, where plenty of water, it was hoped, would be found, was now dry.[2]

Vv. 10—12. In this difficulty the hearts of the two kings are unveiled. Jehoram believes ruin to be inevitable, and, filled with despair, cries out, "Alas! that Jehovah has called these three kings to deliver them into the hand of Moab." Jehoshaphat has confidence in the Lord, and asks, if there be no prophet, at whom they may enquire the word of the Lord, that is, may seek a Divine revelation concerning the present emergency, whereupon a servant of the king of Israel answers, that Elisha, the minister of Elijah, was at hand. The phrase הִנֵּה אֱלִישָׁע, "here is Elisha," implies, that Elisha, if not in the camp, was yet in the immediate neighbourhood. That he was not in the camp itself may be inferred from the statement, "they (the three kings) went down to him" (v. 12.) At all events the prophet, under the impulse of the Divine Spirit, had come into the neighbourhood of the army, because the embarrassment of the kings was to be a means in the hand of the Lord, not only of gaining

and then along this up to Kerak (كرك), comp. Rob. iii. p. 756 f., ii. p. 466. But the confederate kings did not take this way, but marched through Wady el Kurahy (الغراهي), emptying into the south end of the Dead Sea, and forming a "fruitful slope of the Moabitish table land" (Ritter, Erdk. ii. p. 372), or es Safieh (الصافية) farther into the mountains towards Wady el Ahsy, erroneously called Wady el Hössn by Seetzen (Rob. iii. p. 31)—a deep glen, which Burckhardt (Reise ii. p. 673) passed with the greatest difficulty. That they advanced in this way we must conclude from the fact that, when the water failed, they were (v. 21) still on the border of the territory of Moab, which is formed indeed by this Wady (comp. Burckh. ii. p. 674, and Rob. iii. p. 107), and that the water arrived from Edom (v. 20.) Both circumstances are unsuitable to the Wady el Kerak.

[2] According to Robinson, indeed (iii. p. 16, 31) this Wady should have a never-failing stream, to which the Ghor owes a stripe of green. But if this stream be distinguished from other mountain torrents by being filled with water, not merely during the rainy season; yet seasons of drought may occur, when it becomes dry. At least Robinson has not proved the contrary. Robinson holds this Wady also to be the brook Zered, mentioned Deut. ii. 13, 14, 18; Num. xxi. 12 (Pal. iii. p. 107 f.)

more respect for the prophet from Jehoram, but also of guiding Jehoram himself to the Lord as the only true God. Humbled by misfortune, the three kings proceed in person to Elisha, instead of summoning him before them. By the description of Elisha, as one "who poured water on the hands of Elijah," that is, was his servant, he is certainly distinguished as a genuine prophet, from whom a true revelation of God might be received.

Vv. 13, 14. In order to humble still more the king of Israel, already bowed down by the pressing necessity, and to produce a salutary fruit of repentance in his heart, Elisha addresses him in the stern words: "What have I to do with thee! go to the (Baal) prophets of thy father and thy mother," who may now help thee, and when Jehoram beseechingly answers: אַל, *not*, that is, speak not so, refuse me not, entreat for us the help of the Lord, for the Lord has led not me alone, but the other two kings also into this misfortune, and he alone can deliver us from it, he declares with a solemn asservation, that only out of respect to Jehoshaphat, the true servant of the Lord, does he deign to look on him. רָאָה פָּל and הִבִּיט אֶל to see, look at one, that is, to think him worthy of a look, to render aid to him.

Vv. 15—19. Thereupon Elisha calls for a minstrel in order to gather in his thoughts by the soft tones of music from the impression of the outer world, and by repressing the life of self and of the world to be transferred into the state of internal vision,[1] by which his Spirit would be prepared to receive the Divine revelation. "When the minstrel played the hand of the Lord came upon him." On יַד יְהוָה comp. 1 Ki. xviii. 48.—וַתְּהִי (v. 15) stands according to later usage for וַיְהִי, comp. 1 Sam. xvii. 48, 2 Sam. xv. 5, and Ew. Krit. Gr. p. 553, hebr. Gr. §.

[1] Comp. Passavant, unters. üb. d. Lebensmagnetism. p. 207, ed. 2. —If any one wish for examples of the powerful influence of music, abundantly known by experience, in calming and elevating the mind, let him consult Bochart's *hieroz.* i. p. 461 ff., and Cler. on 1 Sam. xvi. 16. The object, for which Elisha calls for the minstrel, is, moreover, often erroneously determined; thus, by some Rabbins, in order to soothe the grief of Elisha for the departure of Elijah; by many others, for example, by Herder also, to appease his anger against Jehoram; by J. D. Mich. and others, "to find in the sound of the harp the answer of God," or, as Knobel expresses himself, "to deliver his admonitory address in the proper strain!"

615. V. 16 f. Upon this he commands, in the name of the Lord, to make a multitude of pits (גֵּבִים גֵּבִים) in the valley, for without wind or rain being seen, it would be so abundantly supplied with water, that they and their flocks (מִקְנֶה animals intended for slaughter) and their beasts (בְּהֵמָה beasts of burden) might drink. The army are to dig pits in the wady—to collect the water, which would otherwise flow away. For the abundance of water came, as may be perceived from the connexion, in this way, that far from the Israelitish camp in the eastern mountains of Edom a great fall of rain, a kind of cloud-burst took place by which the wady was at once filled, without the Israelites having seen the wind, which in the East always rises before rain (comp. Harm. Beob. i. p. 51 f.), or the rain itself.—On the *infin. absol.* עָשׂוֹה comp. Ew. Gr. § 583.—V. 18 f. "But," continues Elisha, "this is a light thing for the Lord; he will also deliver Moab into your hand. And ye shall smite every fenced and choice city, fell all the good trees (fruit trees), stop all wells of water, and mar every good field with stones."[1] תַּכְאִבוּ many consider a Syriasm for תַּכְבִּידוּ, *perdetis*, from כָּבַב *nocuit*, comp. Gesen. Lehrgeb. p. 374, and Winer in *Lex. p. v.*; but here the Hebrew usage suffices, כָּאַב *doluit*, in *hiph. dolore affecit* —to inflict pain on the field, that is, to render it unfruitful by sowing it with stones."

Vv. 20—25. The word of the Lord spoken by Elisha was very soon fulfilled. The next morning, at the time when the morning offering was presented in the temple at Jerusalem, and his people by sacrifice and prayer in his legal sanctuary were entreating his

[1] This description of the wasting of a land refers to the law Deut. xx. 19 f., according to which, in the besieging of the Canaanitish towns, which were designed for the possession of the Israelites, the fruit trees should be spared, comp. Hertz. i. p. q. p. 44, Hengstenb. Beitr. ii. p. 135. This law is to have no application to the land of Moab, because Moab was to be treated no better than the hereditary foe of Israel in case of war. For the hewing down of the fruit trees is to this day practised in war by the Arabs (comp. Rosenm. A. u. N. Morgenl. iii. p. 217), and other barbarities no less, as even the Romans sometimes, in order to cut off water from the enemy, filled up the wells with sand, (comp. Mich. Mos. R. i., § 64, p. 79 f.), and the French even now in Algiers take vengeance on their enemies by burning the crops.

mercy,[1] there came water from Edom and filled the country; by which not only was aid given to the Israelitish host in their extremity, but destruction prepared for the Moabites. For on the intelligence of the advance of the allied kings, they had summoned all that were able to bear arms, and posted themselves on the border (v. 21.) At sunrise they see in the neighbourhood of the camp of Israel the water coloured red as blood, and taking it for blood, imagine that the allied kings had quarrelled and their armies had been mutually destroyed. In this belief they set out to take the spoil, but meet the Israelites, when they came to their camp, prepared for battle, and, as they were not provided for such an event, are smitten, so that they are obliged to make their escape (vv. 22—24.) The Divine aid by which the army of Israel was not only saved from destruction, but even obtained a complete victory over their enemies, consisted here not in a miracle of God surpassing the known laws of nature, but only in this, that God the Lord, as he had announced before by his prophet, introduced the laws of nature working to the determinate end in the predetermined way. As the suddenly appearing mass of waters was effected in a natural way by a violent rain in the distance, so also the illusion, that was so fatal to the Moabites, is explained in a natural way, indicated even in the text. From the red earth of the pits the water collected in them had assumed a red colour, which was considerably increased by the rays of the rising sun falling upon it (comp. הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ זָרְחָה עַל־הַמָּיִם v. 22), so that, seen from a distance, it must have appeared like blood. But the Moabites might be the less disposed to think of an optical illusion, as by their familiar acquaintance with the region, they knew that the wady had at that time no water, and they had seen or learned nothing of the rain which had fallen far from them in the Edomite mountains (comp. מַיִם בָּאִים מִדֶּרֶךְ אֱדוֹם v. 20.) Thus it was natural to think that the water was blood, and the blood could only proceed from the

[1] In the mention of the presenting of the meat-offering (comp. Ex. xxix. 38) as in the reference to the evening sacrifice (1 Ki. xviii. 22), lies an allusion to the law of Moses (comp. Hengstenb. i. p. q.), but at the sametime an indirect rebuke of the revolt of the ten tribes from the lawful worship at Jerusalem.

enemies having perpetrated a great slaughter of one another, especially as the jealousy between Israel and Judah was no secret to them; it was undoubted that Edom, after the recently attempted but unsuccessful revolt, accompanied them only as an unwilling confederate; and, lastly, the recollection of their latest expedition against Judah in conjunction with the Edomites and Ammonites—how this was frustrated by the mutual destruction of their own army, comp. 2 Chr. xx. and my apolog. Vers. p. 241 ff.—could not yet be effaced from their memory. But if they came upon the host of Israel under such a delusion, the battle could only end for them in a defeat and general flight. But Israel marched after the fugitives into their own land[1] and wasted it, as the prophet had predicted (v. 24 f.) עַד־הִשְׁאִיר וגו׳ "until they left the stones thereof in Kir-haraseth." On the form הִשְׁאִיר comp. Ew. Krit. Gr. p. 649 not. and Maur. on Lev. xiii. 44.—The *suff.* in אַבְנֶיהָ refers either to the land of Moab or to the following קִיר חֲרֶשֶׂת. Kir-haraseth (here and Is. xvi. 7), otherwise קִיר חֶרֶשׁ, *arx lateritia* (Is. xvi. 11; Jer. xlviii. 31—36) is without doubt (as is generally assumed) identical with קִיר מוֹאָב castle of Moab, כְּרַכָּא דְמוֹאָב (Chald.), Is. xv. 1, and was the most important, perhaps the only fortress of the land, built on a high and steep calcareous rock, from which might be seen the Dead Sea and even Jerusalem, surrounded by a deep and narrow glen, which thence descends westward under the name of Wady Kerak to the Dead Sea. The place is still extant under the name Kerak, with a strong castle, which, built by the knights of the cross, played an important part in the history of the crusades under the name *Crac*, and has been visited and described in recent times by Seetzen, Burckh., and others. Comp. Rosemn. Althk. iii. p. 58 ff., v. Raum. Pal. p. 263 f., Ges. comm. on Is. xv. 1, and *thes.* iii. 1210; Rob. ii.

[1] וַיָּבוֹ is to be regarded according to the *Kethibh* וַיָּבוֹ for וַיָּבוֹא (see on 1 Ki. xii. 12): "and Israel came into the land and smote Moab," comp. *L. de Dieu, crit. s. ad h. l.*—The *Keri* וַיִּכּוּ has been rightly rejected by Dathe and Maurer.—וְהַכּוֹת is the *infin. constr.*, which in a negligent style stands for the *infin. abs.*, see Ew. Krit. Gr. 565 and hebr. Gr. § 616.

p. 466, iii. p. 124.—This fortress the allied kings besieged; the slingers surrounded it and did it much damage (וַיַּכּוּהָ.)

Vv. 25—27. When the king of Moab saw that the battle was too strong for him, he attempted, with seven hundred men with drawn swords, to break through the besiegers (לְהַבְקִיעַ properly, to cleave them) to the king of Edom, that is, on the quarter occupied by the king of Edom, probably because he expected least opposition from him. But the attempt failed, when he in despair offered his first born son,[1] not to the God of Israel (Eph., Syr., Grot.), but to his idol Chemosh (comp. 1 Ki. xi. 7) on the wall, and therefore in sight of the besiegers.[2] וַיְהִי קֶצֶף וגו׳ "and there was great indignation against Israel." Many understand these words so that by the abomination of a human sacrifice the heart of the pious Jehoshaphat, and perhaps also of the Idumæan king, was so moved and provoked with the Israelites, who had without mercy driven the besieged to an extremity and forced them to this abomination, that they retired and compelled the Israelites to do the same. Others think, that even the Israelites themselves were so excited to indignation by this abomination, that the allies with one accord raised the siege (Budd. *hist. eccl.* ii. 353, Schulz, Dathe, and others.) But as the phrase הָיָה קֶצֶף עַל, in all other places where it occurs (for example Num. i. 53, xviii. 5; Jos. ix. 20, xxii. 20; 2 Chr. xix. 10, xxiv. 18, etc.), is only used of the Divine anger and judgment, which is incurred by sin, we must not conceive it to be otherwise here. The sense is, by this deed of horror, to which the allied host drove the king of Moab, a heavy Divine judgment came upon Israel, that is, the besiegers feared the anger of God, which they

[1] Schulz erroneously assumes with several Rabb., that בְּנוֹ means not his own son but that of the king of Edom. For Am. ii. 1 obviously refers to another occurrence though unknown to us.

[2] The heathen in great calamities very often endeavoured to propitiate their gods by human sacrifices. Thus for example Eusebius (*præp. evang.* iv. 16) gives the following statement from Philo's Phœnician history: Ἔθος ἦν τοῖς παλαιοῖς, ἐν ταῖς μεγάλαις συμφοραῖς τῶν κινδύνων ἀντὶ τῆς πάντων φθορᾶς τὸ ἠγαπημένον τῶν τέκνων τοὺς κρατοῦντας ἢ πόλεως ἢ ἔθνους εἰς σφαγὴν ἐπιδιδόναι λύτρον τοῖς τιμωροῖς δαίμοσι. Comp. with this E. v. Lasaulx, die Suhnopfer d. Griech. Röm. (Würzb. 1851) p. 8 ff. and 11.

had incurred by giving occasion to the human sacrifice so strictly forbidden in the law (Lev. xviii. 21 and xx. 3), and desisted from the siege without taking the castle or subjugating Moab again to Israel, wherein the anger of God against them was manifested. Only the latter point is put forward in the text, while the former or subjective side of the question is omitted.

CHAPTERS IV. —VIII.

MIRACULOUS WORKS OF ELISHA.

From chap. iv. to viii. 6, follows a series of miraculous works of Elisha, all of which fall in the reign of Jehoram king of Israel, but are arranged not strictly in chronological order, but still in a certain order of nature. The union of the natural order with the chronological, according to which the chronological arrangement has been partly sacrificed to the natural connexion, and partly the natural resemblance to the succession of time,[1] is obvious, because *(a)* several of these narratives are not attached by the form of connexion proper to Hebrew historiography, for events succeeding each other (comp. iv. 1, 38, 42, v. 1, vi. 8—24 and viii. 1); *(b)* the miracles performed in favour of the scholars of the prophets and of private individuals are first related (iv.—vi. 7), and afterwards follows the action of our prophet bearing upon the political destinies of the people and the king as their leader (vi. ff.); and *(c)* not only in several sections is that, which is con-

[1] The cause of this peculiar phenomenon is, that the strict adherence to the chronological point of view prevailing in our books would have necessarily led to a dismemberment of the homogeneous matter which would have been detrimental to the general impression; to which it may be added, that the author of our books did not find stated in his sources the time at which each particular miracle occurred. The arrangement of the historical materials here followed moreover quite resembles that of the predictions in the greater prophets, where in Isaiah the chronological and natural principle are similarly combined with one another, but in Jeremiah the natural order and again in Ezekiel the chronological point of view predominates; comp. Hävern. Einl. ii. 2 p. 63 ff., 206 ff., 263 f.

nected in reality, but separated in time by a number of years, brought together, for example the promise given to the Shunammite, of a child, and the resurrection of this child in his youth, and likewise the miracles in the wars with the Syrians, but also it is evident that some of these events, which happened earlier, are recorded later than others. Thus the section viii. 1—6, coming in regard to time at all events before ch. v., is from the nature of the case placed at the end of the miracles which Elisha wrought for king Jehoram, because the salutary fruit and effect of these acts is most conspicuously displayed in it. On the contrary, from regard to chronology the four miracles wrought in favour of the scholars of the prophets are partly at least separated from one another, comp. iv. 1—7, 38—41, 42—44, and vii. 1—7. For that the interposed narratives actually intervene according to time, may be perceived from this, that not only v. 8 ff., but also vi. 1 ff. are attached to the foregoing by *Vav rel. hist.* Lastly, to the union of both principles the story of Naaman the leper owes its place in ch. v., which falls in the order of nature after vi. 7, since the series of miracles wrought for and on private individuals, closes with it, and the miracle itself is performed upon a foreigner, and thus the fame of the prophet already extended to foreign countries; in the order of time it must have stood either between vv. 23 and 24 of ch. vi., because the invasions of the Syrian forces, to which vi. 8—23 refer, preceded it, or else at the close of ch. vii. Regarded as a whole, however, the section iv. 1—viii. 6, has its right chronological place; for the history in ch. iii. falls at an earlier, and that in viii. 7, at a later period.

If now we consider the contents of our section, we perceive from the testimonies here given of the proceedings of Elisha, what a blessed fruit the zeal of Elijah for the Lord of Sabaoth had borne, in the first place in the position of our prophet to the idolatrous son of the superstitious Ahab, compared with that which Elijah had to Ahab and Ahaziah. For it was undoubtedly the fruit of the activity of Elijah, that Jehoram caused the worship of Baal no longer to continue as the religion of the state, and had in general an ear more accessible to the words and deeds of Elisha than his two predecessors on the throne, although he did not decide with his whole heart for the Lord his God, on which account also the curse pronounced upon the house of Ahab

was at length fulfilled upon him. A still nobler fruit of the activity of Elijah appears in the schools of the prophets, with which we meet repeatedly in these chapters. Already had inspired companies of prophets gathered around Samuel, who dwelt in his neighbourhood at Gibeah and Ramah (1 Sam. x. 5—20, xix. 19 ff.), and under his protection and guidance, dedicated themselves to the service of the Lord for the revival of the theocratic feeling, that had declined among the people of Israel, occupied themselves with prophetic addresses and sacred music, and assembled for their common exercises at Ramah in a place called נָיוֹת, interpreted in the Chald. בית אולפנא and perhaps also lived together there, 1 Sam. xix. 18 f., 22 f., xx. 1. These societies, arising solely from a common object of life and vocation, and not constituted by external rules, are usually identified altogether with the similar institutes of Elijah and Elisha.[1] But opposed to this is the circumstance, that the members of the societies of prophets originated under Samuel are never called בְּנֵי הַנְּבִיאִים, as those under the guidance of Elijah and Elisha are uniformly designated (comp. 1 Ki. xx. 35; 2 Ki. ii. 3, 5, 7, 15, iv. 1, 38, vi. 1, ix. 1.)[2] Should not this peculiar designation lead to this, that the בני הנביאים stood in a much more intimate relation to Elijah and Elisha as their spiritual fathers than that, in which the חֶבֶל הַנְּבִיאִים and "לַהֲקַת הנ stood to Samuel as their superior (נִצָּב עֲלֵיהֶם, 1 Sam. xx. 20)? This conjecture is confirmed, if we look to the object of these societies and their position towards the people. Definite statements concerning the peculiar nature of the so-called schools of the prophets are indeed wanting in the O. T., and hence they have been sometimes compared with monasteries,[3] sometimes with the fraternity of the

[1] Thus by Vitringa, *de synag. vet.* B. i. P. 2. C. 7, H. Wits. *Miscell. ss.* i. B. i. C. 9, Buddeus, *hist. eccl.* ii. p. 222 ff., and 510 ff., and in the other works and treatises quoted by Winer R.W. ii. p. 335, and de Wette Archaeol. § 268, p. 383.

[2] On this distinction hitherto quite overlooked, Havern. also Einl. ii. 2, p. 20, has briefly remarked.

[3] Comp. *Hieron. epist.* 4 *ad Rustic. monach. c.* 7 : *Filii prophetarum, quos monachos in V. T. legimus, aedificabant sibi casulas prope fluenta Jordanis, et turbis urbium relictis, polenta et herbis agrestibus victitabant.* Comp. also *ep.* 13 *ad Paulin. c.* 5 : *Noster (monachorum) princeps Helias, noster Heliseus, nostri duces filii prophetarum, etc.*

Pythagoreans,[1] but in both cases incorrectly. The object and time of monachism stand in direct opposition to the call and agency of the prophets and their societies; the comparison of them with the Pythagoreans implies a total misconception of the prophetic office.[2] The societies of prophets did not wish to retire into solitude from the bustle of the world, in order to lead a contemplative life of sanctity in quiet sequestration from earthly life and business, as the monks of the ancient church, but were associations for mental and religious training in order to exert a powerful influence on their contemporaries, roused and called into life by the prophetic gifts of chosen instruments of the Lord, as Samuel, Elijah, and Elisha, whom the Lord had miraculously called and furnished with an extraordinary measure of his spirit in order to call back apostate generations "to the law and to the testimony." Societies which pursue this purpose of life, will, so long as they do not lose sight of it, only withdraw from the external world so far as its opposes them with hostility and persecution. If we compare in this respect the times of Samuel with those of Elijah and Elisha, the position of the prophet to the people in the latter was much more stern and hostile than in the former. Samuel stood at the head of the theocracy, as judge, ordering and conducting its political administration; as prophet he had, also, indeed, to combat idolatry, but he found the people bowed down by long and hard oppression under the heavy yoke of the Philistines, a susceptible and fruitful soil for the sowing of the word of God which had become precious when he appeared (1 Sam. iii. 1), and soon earned for himself, by the victory gained over the Philistines through his prayer (1 Sam. vii.), the confidence of the nation, which must have contributed

[1] So Tennemann, Gesch. d. Philos. i. p. 92 ff., Meiners, Gesch. d. Wissensch. p. 391 ff., Winer and de Wette in p. q.

[2] Especially the view of the Kanto-friesian deism and rationalism, that the prophets were only moral teachers and censors of the people, who watched over the observance of the Mosaic law, and especially developed more fully its moral parts and attached still more that was moral to it, than Moses himself could have contemplated" (see Stäudlin, Gesch. d. Sittenl. Jesu, i. p. 207 f.), or, as de Wette (Arch. p. 382) expresses himself, "the purifiers of the doctrines of religion and morals, the state sages and naturalists or miracle-workers" among the Hebrews.

much to the success of his administration, the change of the hearts of the people, and their conversion to the God of their fathers. Elijah and Elisha, on the contrary, stood over against a superstitious royal dynasty and a people seduced by the priests of the calves and the prophets of Baal, who required in the first place to be humbled by severe judgments and constrained to acknowledge the Lord and his prophets. Exposed in this conflict to constant persecution on the part of the servants of Baal, those who were gained by their announcement of the word of the Lord to the prophetic office were obliged, on account of their personal safety, to withdraw themselves much more from a hostile world, to combine much more closely together and attach themselves to their spiritual fathers, in order to arm themselves for the battle in defence of the honour of the Lord. To this was added the peculiarity, mentioned on 1 Ki. xvii., in the position of these prophets, that they were to furnish the people with a substitute for the want of the Levitical priesthood, for which purpose likewise a more permanent organization of the societies of prophets was requisite. We cannot therefore transfer the notices of our chapters concerning the life and institutions of the schools of the prophets at once to those societies under Samuel,[1] still less can we, presupposing a historical connection between them, assume that the schools of the prophets had continued uninterrupted from Samuel to Elisha. There was certainly no cessation of prophets during this whole period, but schools of the prophets are nowhere mentioned in the interval between Samuel and Elijah, certainly only on the ground that Samuel had given no fixed external constitution to his societies in order to secure their stability. As Samuel had fulfilled the commission given to him by the Lord in the foundation of a purely theocratic kingdom in the person of David; the societies of prophets called into existence by him might be dissolved at his death, as David, by the revival, not to say the creation, of a sacred psalmody, by a new organization of the priesthood instituted by Moses on Sinai for the intercourse of the people with God, and the revival of the Levitical worship thereby effected,

[1] As was generally done till the time of Thenius (*d.* BB. Sam. erkl. p. 79.)

as a man after God's own heart not only did all that could be done on the part of man for the production and perpetuation of a purely theocratic spirit among the people, but also actually introduced a new epoch into the life of the theocracy.—We have to regard Elijah therefore not merely as the restorer, but the proper founder of our schools of the prophets. Moved by the power of the Spirit of God animating him, believing souls were drawn to him, and then trained by him to be servants of the Lord, organs of his Spirit, and bearers of the theocratic life.[1] In accordance with the character of prophecy, these societies scarcely had a fixed external organization and institution of life according to prescribed rules, but were combined into a firm unity internally by the common object of their office, externally by the hostile opposition of the people who had fallen away from their Lord and God, and attached themselves to Baal, so that we find them at the time of Elijah's ascension in numerous communities at Gilgal, Bethel and Jericho, which Elisha took under his guidance and special protection. At first they had probably no common abodes, at all events as long as the rage of the wicked Jezebel wished to extirpate all the prophets of the Lord, and Elijah himself was obliged to be concealed, and escape out of the country. Only under Joram in Elisha's time do we find them dwelling in common buildings with a common board, (iv. 38 ff., vi. 1 ff.), and even then not all, but probably only

[1] Predicting or foreseeing future events certainly could not be taught, because this was a gift, which the Holy Spirit imparted according to his free will to whom he would; and therefore no doubt only the smallest number of the scholars of the prophets were endowed with this gift. But the imparting of this gift did not take place in an arbitrary manner, but presupposed on the part of the receiver not only a mental state suited to it, but also a fundamental knowledge of the law, and of the earlier manifestations of God, in which the schools of the prophets might be prepared. Although therefore nothing is related in the Old Testament of the points of instruction in these schools, yet it may be assumed in general, and indeed with full right, that the study of the law, and of its historical realization in the past development of the theocracy, formed the main point of instruction, to which were added the occupations of sacred poetry and music, which were inseparable. Music, however, was in no case cultivated merely in order that the scholars of the prophets might afterwards avail themselves of it in their discourses, as Winer (R.W. ii. p. 335) assumes, but as the most appropriate means to elevate the soul to God.

the unmarried and younger, while the married had their own houses (comp. iv. 1 ff.)

CHAPTER IV.

ELISHA MIRACULOUSLY MULTIPLIES THE WIDOW'S OIL, VV. 1—7, PROMISES THE SHUNAMMITE A SON, AND RAISES THE CHILD FROM THE DEAD, VV. 8—37, MAKES NOXIOUS FOOD WHOLESOME, VV. 38—41, AND FEEDS MANY WITH A LITTLE, VV. 42—44.

Vv. 1—7. A poor widow of a scholar of the prophets complains to Elisha of her distress, that a creditor is about to take her two sons for bondmen. The law of Moses gave the creditor the right to claim the person and the children of the debtor, who could not pay, that they should be compelled to serve him as bondmen till the year of jubilee, when they should again become free, comp. Lev. xxv. 39, and Mich. Mos. R. iii. § 148, 4.[1] When the prophet learned from her, that she had nothing in her house but a cruet of oil (אָסוּךְ שָׁמֶן), he directs her to borrow of her neighbours empty vessels (not a few), then to shut herself in with her children, to pour oil from her cruet into the borrowed vessels and fill them, and then to sell this oil and therewith pay her debt, and keep the remainder for the support of herself and her children.—The widow does according to the word of Elisha, and the oil in her cruet is so wonderfully blessed, that it only ceases to flow when all the vessels she was able to muster were completely filled. She was to shut the door of her house (v. 4), in order not to be disturbed in her business by unnecessary spectators, and at the same time to avoid all unnecessary display of the miracle.—The form מִיצַקְתְּ I hold with Gesen. to be the *piel* מִצַּקְתְּ, because this intensive form is here very suitable. If Maur. on the contrary objects, that the *piel* of this verb does not

[1] The complaint of this widow shows, therefore, that even in the kingdom of Israel the law of Moses was the foundation of civil rights. See Hertz i. p. q. p. 44 f., Hengstenb. Beitr. ii. p. 135 f.

elsewhere occur, the form of the *hiph.* הוֹצִיק assumed by him is also nowhere found, but only הִצִּיק, comp. Jos. vii. 23, 2 Sam. xv. 24.—וַיַּעֲמֹד הַשׁ׳, "the oil stayed," that is, ceased to flow. *L. de Dieu* is justly offended with וְאַתְּ בָּנַיִכִי as such an asyndeton is unusually harsh, and proposes to change וְאַתּ into וְאֵת; "and live with thy children of the rest," whereby all harshness is removed.[1]

Vv. 8—16. On a journey to Carmel, Elisha came to Shunem in the plain of Esdraelon (see above p. 4) where a wealthy woman (אִשָּׁה גְדוֹלָה) constrained him to eat with her, whereupon he, as often as he came this way, called on her. הַיּוֹם (vv. 8, 11, 19) the day, that time, then; comp. Ew. Gr. § 533. —הֶחֱזִיק בְּ to lay hold on, here in a figurative sense, to compel to remain. On סוּר see at 1 Ki. xx. 39.—V. 9 f. Hereupon this woman spoke to her husband, that he might build for this holy man of God an upper chamber and supply it with the necessary furniture, that he might at all times turn in thither. עֲלִיַּת־קִיר Cler. improbably explains *cœnaculum non pariete ligneo, sed muro structum*; Dathe, *conclave in muro.* The best is that of Ges. in his *thes.* iii. 1210, *conclave ad parietem s. latus domus* "a balcony attached to the side of the house." This balcony or upper chamber was erected "either on one of the back corners of the building or on the interior court-yard," see Faber, Arch i. p. 441.

[1] The forms אַתִּי for אַתְּ (vv. 16, 23, and viii. 1) and the suffixes ־ַיְכִי, ־ֵכִי (vv. 2, 3, 7), regarded etymologically, are more ancient than the abbreviated forms אַתְּ and ־ֵךְ, ־ַיִךְ in ordinary use, but are mostly found only in later writings and called Syriasms, because they are the usual forms in the Syriac dialect, which preserved most tenaciously the etymological forms in the orthography. Comp. Ges. Lehrgeb. p. 216, Ew. Krit. Gr. p. 177, 372, Heb. Gr. § 302, 2.—To infer from these two forms with Eichhorn (Einl. iii. p. 554), Bertholdt (Einl. iii. p. 956), and Meyer (in Amm. u. Berth's Krit. Journ. iv. p. 245), that here a passage of his own has been inserted by an author, who had otherwise no part in these books, is untenable for this reason, that this narrative entirely corresponds in matter with the rest, and the form אַתִּי occurs also in 1 Ki. xiv. 2, and the corresponding suffixes are to be met with elsewhere either singly, as Jer. xi. 15, or collectively, as Ps. ciii. 3, 4, 5, cxvi. 7, 19.

—V. 11 ff. As Elisha lodged in the עֲלִיָּה prepared for him, he wished to prove himself grateful for the friendship shown to him by his hostess, and called her to him by his servant Gehazi and addressed her: "Thou hast taken all this care for us (חָרַד חֲרַדְתָּה *sollicitam curam gessit*, Winer in *lex.*) what can I do for thee? Dost thou require to speak with the king or the captain of the host?" that is, hast thou any concern with them, that I could make interest with them for thee. She answered, "I dwell among mine own people," that is, I live quietly and peaceably among my neighbours, so that I do not need thy interest for me with the king or the grandees of his kingdom. *Ἀπραγμοσύνῃ χαίρω, καὶ εἰρηνικῶς διάγω καὶ πρός τινα ἔχειν ἀμφισβήτησιν οὐκ ἀνέχομαι.* Theod.—V. 14 ff. When Elisha conferred farther with Gehazi on the matter, the latter said to him, "But the woman has no son and is already old," whereupon he called her again, and informed her, "About this time next year thou shalt embrace a son." To estimate the great favour which this announcement implied, we are to consider not merely the natural longing of a mother after children, but at the same time the circumstance that barrenness and childlessness were regarded by the Israelites as a disgrace (Gen. xxx. 23; 1 Sam. i. 6 f.; Luk. i. 25) which a pious maternal heart must have felt the more acutely, as the Lord had promised in his word to the godfearing along with other blessings, the fruit of the body also as a special blessing for the true fulfilment of his commandments, Deut vii. 13 f., xxviii. 3, xxx. 9, comp. Ps. cxxviii. 3 f. כָּעֵת חַיָּה, "when the time revives," that is in the following year.[1] The expression

[1] On this expression see the discussion between Fritzsche and Tholuck in Tholuck's Beitr. z. Spracherkl. d. N. T. p. 68 ff. The rendering of כעת חיה "*sub tempus vivens, i.e. praesens,*" still maintained by Fritzsche (see his *Comm. in ep. ad Rom. C.* 9, 9), offends, as Thol. has rightly shown, (1) against the rules of grammar, as חיה, which has not the article, cannot be joined as an adjective with כָּעֵת, which is defined by the article, contains (2) a pure tautology with the foregoing לַמּוֹעֵד חַיָּה, and (3) the assertion *sub tempus praesens* or "about this time if it is living = present" (as M. Baumgarten says on Gen. xviii. 9) is equivalent to "about this time after a year or next year about this time," a quite arbitrary *quid pro quo*.

is taken from Gen. xviii. 10, 15; comp. Hengstenb. Beitr. ii. p. 136. The Shunammite is to partake of this grace of God, which Sarah experienced in old age, that she may know that the God of Abraham still rules in and over Israel. אַל־תְּכַזֵּב, that is, raise no deceitful hopes in thy handmaid, comp. v. 28.

Vv. 17—25. Incredible though this announcement appeared to the Shunammite, as formerly to Sarah (Gen. xviii. 12 f.), yet it came to be fulfilled.—On v. 17, comp. Gen. xxi. 2. But her faith was soon to be tried and confirmed by a still more glorious manifestation of the omnipotence of the Lord working through his prophet. When the child given to her by God was grown to be a lad, he once complained in the field with the reapers of a violent headache, saying to his father, "My head, my head!" and when brought home to his mother, died at noon on her knees (vv. 18—20.) Although the disease of the child is no farther defined, yet expositors can scarcely be wrong in supposing that he died of inflammation of the brain produced by a stroke of the sun, as the sun-stroke during the hot season has brought violent fever on many travellers in those countries, comp. Cleric. *ad. h. l.* and Rosenm. A. u. N. Morgenl. iii. p. 221.—Without mentioning to her husband the death of the child, the believing Shunammite (v. 21 ff.) brings the body into the chamber prepared for Elisha, lays it on his bed, requests her husband to send an ass with a lad to lead and drive it, on which she should ride (as is still customary in the East, see Rosenm. A. u. N. Morgenl. iii. p. 222), and hastens to the man of God on Carmel, not once intimating the object of her journey to her enquiring husband, in order to lose no time nor allow herself to be diverted from her purpose by his possible objections, or to waver in her confidence in the wonder-working power of the prophet. From the words: "Wherefore wilt thou go to him to-day, as it is neither new moon nor Sabbath" (v. 23) Theod., Kimchi, C. a Lap., Vatabl., Grot., Cler., and others, have rightly inferred, that the pious in Israel on these days, which, according to the law (Num. xviii. 11 ff., Lev. xxiii. 3), should have been religiously observed, were accustomed to assemble in order to be edified by the prophets, from which Hertz i. p. q. p. 45, and Hengstenb. i. p. q. have farther concluded, that in the kingdom of Israel not only were the Sabbaths and new moons observed, as appears also from Am. viii. 5, but

the prophets here provided the pious with a substitute for the want of the Levetical priesthood.[1]—V. 23. שָׁלוֹם—וַתֹּאמֶר שָׁלוֹם here scarcely means *à Dieu*, but has the sense, "it is all well." The word usual in reply to the question concerning the welfare of any one (see v. 26) seems, as Cler. has remarked, to have been also employed, when it was intended to give no definite answer to the question and yet to satisfy the enquirer.

Vv. 25—32. When Elisha saw the Shunammite coming at a distance (מִנֶּגֶד properly, from the opposite quarter, that is, here *eminus*, from a distance, comp. ii. 7—15), he sent his servant Gehazi to meet her to enquire after the welfare of herself, her husband, and her child. She answers, שָׁלוֹם, because she wished to speak immediately with the prophet, to open the grief of her heart only to him, goes to the prophet and embraces his knees, in order to entreat the help of the "holy man of God" (v. 9.) Gehazi wishes to hinder her—*quod videretur inverecunda importunitas, prophetam hac ratione urgere et quasi cogere velle.* Seb. Schm. But the prophet says: "Let her alone; for her soul is vexed within her; and the Lord hath hid it from me, and hath not told me" (v. 27.)[2] The pious woman now complains to the prophet (v. 28), "Did I desire a son of the Lord?—thou didst promise him to me of thine own accord." "Did I not say, Do not deceive me (v. 16)?" that is, Did I wish lightly to put faith in thy word, that such a thing is now befallen me? What has befallen her she never mentions, which is psychologically explained at once by her great grief; but the prophet was able to discover it of himself from what was said. He therefore commands his servant Gehazi (v. 29 ff.) to take his staff, to go with it directly to Shunem and to lay it upon the face of the child; but the staff laid on wrought no miracle: "there was no voice, no hearing,"

[1] The words, "it is neither new moon nor Sabbath," are quite perversely explained by Harmar (*Beobacht. iii.* p. 381 of the German transl.) thus, "It is not the usual time either for a secular journey, which is willingly commenced with the new moon, or for a sacred one."

[2] Older theologians, Sanct., Seb. Schm., Calm. concluded from this, that the *donum prophetiae* was not a *habitus*, but a *virtus transiens*; but it only follows, that the supernatural revelation of every event did not belong to the *donum prophetiae*.

that is, the dead gave no sign of life. This is the meaning of אֵין קוֹל וְאֵין קָשֶׁב here as in 1 Ki. xviii. 29. Why does the prophet send his servant Gehazi to lay his staff upon the dead? And why did he command him to greet no one by the way and to return no greeting? The two questions are connected, for the prohibition to greet any one, must refer to the object of his mission. The answer given by most interpreters to the second question, *ne moras necteret*,[1] is obviously unsatisfactory, though the remark is also correct, that the Orientals lose much time in tedious greetings, (comp. Niebuhr, Beschr. v. Arab. p. 48, Winer R.W. i. p. 597 f.) More to the purpose are the remarks of C. a Lap., *ut G. vitaret omnem oculorum auriumque distractionem totumque se disponeret per preces ad tanti miraculi patrationem*, and of Theod., ᾔδει αὐτὸν φιλότιμον καὶ κενόδοξον, καὶ ὅτι τοῖς κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐντυγχάνουσι τοῦ δρόμου τὴν αἰτίαν ἐρεῖ. ἡ δὲ κενοδοξία τὴν θαυματουργίαν κωλύει. Only we must connect therewith the farther view of Elisha, to cut off antecedently by this prohibition the evasion that in the case of the fruitlessness of Gehazi's mission the failure of his attempt at resuscitation might be ascribed to an external accident. For he sent Gehazi with his staff, not in the hope that he would actually perform the miracle, but to give a practical proof to the Shunammite and her family, perhaps also to Gehazi himself, that the power to work a miracle did not lie magically in himself or in his staff, that on the other hand it could be accomplished only as a mark of Divine omnipotence through faith and prayer. This expedient, therefore, was prompted not by the design to exalt his own person at the expense of another, to display himself as the only wonder-worker, or to advance his own reputation (Köster i. p. q. p. 87), but only by regard to the believers, who relied on him, whose faith was to be purified from erroneous notions, turned from confidence in the human person of the prophet and directed only to God the Lord; and the resuscitation attempted by Gehazi failed neither *propter fidem ipsi a muliere non adhibitam* (Seb. Schm.) nor on account of the κενοδοξία of Gehazi, but in order to summon the confessors of the

[1] Olshausen finds this reason also unsatisfactory in the similar precept given by Christ to his disciples, Luke x. 4, and suiting neither the preceding nor the following context, and therefore wishes to ascribe to ἀσπάζεσθαι the kindred idea of seeking for favour.

Lord in Israel to true faith in the Lord. The pious woman, indeed, appears to have placed little confidence from the first in the expedient adopted by Elisha; for she solemnly assures him, that she will not leave him (v. 30); but it is still a question, whether this urging of the prophet to come and help her himself arose from a doubt of the miraculous power granted to the prophet, or whether it was not rather the natural expression of her excessive grief and ardent desire to see her beloved child restored to life. The latter may be inferred from the compliance of the prophet with her request. But in that case every miracle should serve not only for the glorifying of God in the person for whom it is wrought, but in general for the recognition of the glory of the God of Israel among all believers.

Vv. 32—37. The raising of the dead child[1] by Elisha is certainly analogous to that accomplished by Elijah (1 Ki. xvii. 20 ff.), but the way and manner in which it is effected by Elisha still differs considerably from the former.[2] While the former took place immediately after Elijah had stretched himself three times on the dead child, the resuscitation here takes place step by step. After Elisha had prayed and bowed himself down (on גָּהַר comp. on 1 Ki. xviii. 42) the first time on the body and applied his mouth, eyes, and hands to the mouth, eyes, and hands of the child, the flesh of the child becomes warm. *Ingressa est anima in corpus pueri et cœpit calefacere corpus sine tamen actibus vitalibus.* Seb. Schm. On this he goes hither and thither in the chamber once, perhaps *ut ambulando excitaret tum majorem calorem, quem puero deinde incumbendo aspiraret, tum majorem fervorem orandi pro pueri resuscitatione* (Schm.), and

[1] Though it is distinctly stated in the text, that the child was actually dead (vv. 20, 31, 32), yet according to the opinion of the rationalist expositors he must have been only in a deep faint or a kind of apoplexy, and only apparently dead, and Elisha must have recalled him to life by some medical operations not particularly described (see Eichhorn, allg. Biblioth. iv. p. 246, Meyer, Hermeneut. d. A.T. ii. p. 264.) According to Passavant (Unters ü. d. Lebensmagn. p. 204 f.) and Ennemoser (d. Magnetism. p. 442), Elisha restored him by magnetic manipulations, and Gehazi was unable (according to Passav.) to do this, because he and the mother of the child had an antipathy to each other. But no dead person has yet been restored by animal magnetism.

[2] And this very difference directly shows, that double the measure of the spirit of Elijah was not imparted to Elisha.

again bows himself over the child, when he sneezes (יְזוֹרֵר see Ges. *thes.* i. 435) seven times and opens his eyes—*secuti sunt actus vitales sternutatio, apertio oculorum.* Seb. Schm. This sneezing was the first act of recovered respiration.

V. 38—41. At Gilgal during a famine (see on viii. 1 f.) Elisha makes an unsavoury and poisonous repast, savoury and harmless for the scholars of the prophets, by pouring meal into the pot in which it was cooked. V. 38. יֹשְׁבִים לְפָנָיו means not, they lived with him in common, but they sate before him hearing his instruction, comp. vi. 1.—שָׁפַת corresponds as a *term. techn.* to our put on, of the placing of a pot on the fire, comp. Ezek. xxiv. 3, and Hävern. on the passage.—V. 39. The difficult אֹרֹת most explain, *olera*, so also the Chald. יְרוֹקָנִין. The LXX. retain the Hebrew word, only somewhat distorted, *ἀριώθ*, on which Theod. remarks, that others explained it *ἄγρια λάχανα*. The Syr. and Arab. give it by ܪܘܥܢܐ, خُبَّيْزًا, that is, mallows, a plant much eaten by the poor; the Talmud. גרגיר, that is جرجير, *eruca*, rocket, a kind of cabbage, of which Casaub. *ad Athen.* p. 248 says: *Erucae olim inter tenuiorum lautitias, aliquando etiam inter beatorum mensas admissae.* See *Celsii hierob.* i. p. 459 ff. and Gesen. *thes.* i. 56. The context speaks most for the general meaning *olera.*—גֶּפֶן שָׂדֶה denotes not the wild vine (*vitis labrusca, ἄμπελος ἀγρία*), but "wild runners," as Luther has well rendered it, a running plant similar to the wild vine. What? This may be known from the fruits, which the scholar of the prophets gathered from it. פַּקֻּעֹת LXX. *τολυπὴ ἀγρία*, that is, according to Suidas, *colocynthis.* So the Vulg.; the Chald. u. Syr. have retained the same word, but the Arab., after the Syr., renders حنظل *colcynthis.* Ephraim Syr., however, mentions three explanations, *a.*, ܩܪܥܘܢܝܬܐ *cucurbitae parvae, b.*, ܒܢܬ ܡܪܝܪ *ova amara, i.e., colocynthides, c.* ܩܛܝ ܚܡܪ *cucumis asininus.* Of these three explanations only the latter two can be taken into account. Coloquintida and wild cucumbers have some resemblance to the leaves and tendrils of the wild vine, and their fruits also are alike. *Celsius (hierob.* i. p. 393 ff.), Rosenm. (Althk. iv. 1, p. 126 ff.), Winer (R.W. i. 525), and Gesen. (*thes.*

ii. 1122) have decided for the wild cucumbers, an egg-shaped fruit of very bitter taste, which, when it is ripe, on the slightest touch, burst with a crack and squirts out sap and seed-grains, while this property particularly suits the *rad.* פקע to split, in the Chald. and Syr. *fissus, ruptus est.* But this property, in my opinion, is directly opposed to this explanation. For how could the scholar of the prophets have brought home uninjured in his garment fruits that burst on the slightest touch, and shred them into the pot without becoming suspicious of their being eatable? I prefer, therefore, with Mich. (*suppl. ad lexx. hebr.* p. 344 f.) and Oedmann (verm. Samml. aus d. Naturk. iv. p. 88) the explanation of the old versions. The coloquintida also belong to the family of cucumbers, run along the ground and form round yellow fruits of the size of a large orange, which are extremely bitter, abstergent, causing colic and affecting the nerves.[1] The extremely bitter taste of this fruit alarmed the scholars of the prophets in partaking of this mess, so that they cry out, "there is death in the pot." Eaten in any quantity these fruits might actually cause death, comp. Dioscor. iv. 175 (178.) The ו before קְחוּ קָמַח is not redundant, but presumes a thought suppressed in speech, perhaps, they are right not to eat of it, and (but) bring meal. That the meal cast in could not remove the bitterness, even the exeg. Handb. admits, but at the same time adds: "he may have added something else." By such arbitrary additions we may certainly explain anything naturally. Elisha also took away from the food not only its bitter but its noxious quality (observe the phrase דְּבַר רָע.) The meal as natural and wholesome nutriment of man was the symbol employed by Elisha to give the scholars of the prophets the soothing assurance that the food was deprived of its pernicious tendency.

Vv. 42—44. By the word of the Lord, as Elisha announced, twenty barley loaves and some ground corn, sent as first fruits to the prophet, are so blessed that a hundred men eat of it and there is something left. In this feeding, blessed by the word of the Lord, we have a faint type of the multitudes miraculously fed by

[1] Even *Celsius* i. *c. p.* 403 concedes: *nec diffiteor, quasdam in colocynthidem convenire notas τῶν* pakkyoth, *ut amarorem, virulentiam et externam faciem viti utcunque respondentem.*

Christ (Mat. xiv. 16 ff., xv. 36 f.; Mark viii. 8; Luk. ix. 7; Joh. vi. 11 f.); though it is not to be overlooked, that Elisha did not perform, but only predict this miracle, and therefore does not appear as a type of the Lord. The object also with which this brief narrative is given to us, is not to record one more miracle of Elisha,[1] but to show that the Lord cared for his servants, as he provided for them that which he had promised in the law to the Levitical priests. For, according to Deut. xviii. 4 f.; Num. xviii. 13, the first fruits of corn, must, and oil, as well as the cakes baked of the first of the new corn, were to be given to them, comp. Mich. Mos. R. iv. § 193. This record also affords a new evidence, that the pious in Israel did not acknowledge the priests of the calves instituted by Jeroboam as lawful; comp. 1 Ki. xi. 31, and Hengstenb. Beitr. ii. p. 136 f.—Baal-shalisha is a place in the land of Shalisha (שָׁלִישָׁה, 1 Sam. ix. 4) situated, according to Euseb. and Hieron., fifteen Roman miles north of Diospolis in the region of Timnah, west of the chief ridge of Mount Ephraim. According to Thenius' not improbable conjecture, this district had received its name שְׁלִישָׁה, *three-land*, from the circumstance that here three different wadys run into one, the wady Kurawa (כְּרָוָא), (see Käuffer's Stud. ii. p. 142.) The place was accordingly not far to the west of Gilgal and Bethel. The word כַּרְמֶל, occurring besides here only in Lev. ii. 14, xxiii. 14, and taken thence, the Rabb. explain, "tender and fresh ears;" without any etymological grounds, comp. Mich. *Suppl. ad. lexx. h.* p. 1355 f., where also the different explanations of the old translators are to be found. כרמל is here, and Lev. xxiii. 14, according to the just remark of Gesen. (*thes.* ii. 713) an abbreviated expression for גֶּרֶשׁ כַּרְמֶל, that is, *contusum s. polenta* (ἄλφιτον) *frumenti praecocis et horni*, "fresh wheaten or barley groats." The assumption, however, that כרמל properly signifies *fruges hortensis easque praecociores et nobiliores* is very uncertain. See the particulars in Ges. *l. c.*—On the ἅπαξ

[1] On the whole the collective miracles of this chapter are not designed to awaken respect for the prophet, but to ground the scholars of the prophets and the pious in Israel in fidelity towards the Lord and in the steadfast faith, that the God of their fathers would not leave nor forsake any who trusted in him, but, as in former times, so now also would be nigh to all the faithful with his almighty aid.

λεγ. צְקְלוֹן *saccus, pera*, comp. Ges. *thes.* iii. 11,184 and Win. *lex. s. v.*

CHAPTER V.

HEALING OF THE SYRIAN LEPER NAAMAN, V. 1—19, AND PUNISHMENT OF GEHAZI WITH LEPROSY, V. 20—27.

V. 1. Naaman, the captain of the host of the king of Syria, a valiant warrior and highly esteemed by his king, because by him the Lord had given deliverance (תְּשׁוּעָה, not merely victory, but prosperity of every kind, in which no doubt victory was included), for the Syrians was afflicted with the leprosy (מְצֹרָע.) On the leprosy and its different kinds see Winer R.W. i. p. 131 ff., and the lit. there quoted.—נָשֵׂא פָּנִים, one to whose appearance respect is paid, that is, the illustrious, Is. iii. 3, ix. 14; Job. xxii. 8. No ellipsis of ו occurs before מצרע, but the sentence is to be conceived thus: "and the man was as a warrior leprous." Here we are directed to the difference of views concerning the leprosy among the Israelites and the Syrians. While in Israel the leprous were by law excluded from human society, because the leprosy was regarded as the bodily type of sin (comp. Hengstenb. Christol. iii. p. 594), in Syria a person affected with the leprosy was invested with a high state office in the court of the king.[1]

Vv. 2, 3. The attention of Naaman is drawn by a maiden of Israel, taken captive in an incursion of the Syrians, who was in the service of his wife, to the prophet in Samaria (Elisha) as the man, who could recover him of his leprosy. וַתְּהִי לִפְנֵי, she served לפני = היה לפני עמד, on which comp. p. 3.—V. 3. אַחֲלֵי here and Ps. cxix. 5, is a particle of wishing: "O that" probably to be regarded like אַשְׁרֵי, as originally a substantive (Kimchi), from the *rad.* חלה, comp. Ew. Krit. Gr. p. 501 and

[1] There is here also an indirect reference to the law of Moses, which becomes still more evident in the sequel of the narrative, and has been noticed by Hertz i. p. q. p. 46, and Hengstenb. Beitr. ii. p. 137.

Ges. *thes.* i. 69. On the contrary, Fürst regards it (Concord p. 28), as a compound of אַח and לִי, analogous to לוּלַי. The peculiar phrase אָסַף מִצָּרַעַת *recepit a lepra*, heal of the leprosy, is explained by Num. xii. 14 f., where נאסף is used of the re admission of Miriam, who was excluded from the camp on account of the leprosy. As this readmission took place only after being healed of the leprosy, אסף was transferred to the healing itself. In v. 11 it is construed quite in this sense with *accus. pers.* Other explanations see in *L. de Dieu ad h. l.*

Vv. 4, 5. As soon as Naaman communicates this intelligence to his sovereign, he is provided with a letter to the king of Israel and travels to Samaria, carrying with him rich presents. Ten talents of silver = (26180 Pr. rixd.) £3421. 6000 shekels of gold amount, according to Mich., to 8824 ducats, according to Eisenschmidt, 24474; but it is quite uncertain, as the relative value of gold and silver at that time is unknown.—"Ten holiday suits," חֲלִיפוֹת בְּגָדִים, changes of garments, *εἵματα ἐξημοιβά* (Odyss. viii. 249), *χιτῶνες ἐπημοιβοί* (Od. xiv. 514), are costly state-dresses, which were worn on festal occasions, where the Orientals are still very fond of the change of garments (Nieb. Ruse i. p. 182), see Hamar ii. p. 112, iii. p. 447 and Winer R. W. i. p. 782. These presents designed for the prophet on healing him were extremely valuable; but Naaman, as captain of the Syrian army and favourite of his sovereign, was not a poor man, and the malady, of which he expected to be healed, was such as no physician in his own land was able to cure.

Vv. 6, 7. When, on the arrival of Naaman, the king of Israel (Jehoram) received the letter of the Syrian king, and read that he requested him to heal Naaman, he rent his garments in alarm, and exclaimed, "Am I a god, that can kill and make alive." Never thinking in his unbelief of the prophet Elisha, Jehoram sees in the desire of the Syrian king only an occasion for a new war, hence his alarm. וְעַתָּה and now (here and x. 2) is explained by this, that the whole contents of the letter are not communicated, but only the passage of it relating to the present matter, comp. Ew. Krit. Gr. p. 655 not. The terms of the letter, "I send to thee . . . . . that thou mayest heal him," were not so

insolent in meaning as Jehoram imagined.[1] וַאֲסַפְתִּהוּ has only the meaning, cause him to be healed, as thou hast a wonder-working prophet.—The words "Am I a god to kill and make alive," are a description of the Divine omnipotence, see Deut. xxxii. 39, 1 Sam. ii. 6, and not to be referred with Grotius to this, that leprosy is *velut mors cutis*. מִתְאַנֶּה from אָנָה *tempus fuit, appropinquavit tempori suo*, in *kal* unused, in *piel; obvenit, occidere fecit* to cause to come or happen, occasion, Ex. xxi. 13, in *hithp.* to cause something to come, to seek an occasion, hence תַּאֲנָה occasion, Judg. xiv. 4.

Vv. 8—14. After Elisha heard the affair, he rebukes the king for his unbelieving conduct, and directs Naaman to come to him, "That he may know that there is a prophet in Israel." When Naaman with his train (horses and chariots), stood before the house of the prophet, he says, by a messenger sent out to him: "Go and wash in Jordan seven times, and thy flesh will return to thee and thou wilt be whole." Naaman had expected that the prophet would come out to him, a man so high in rank, and perform the cure by solemn invocation of his God with sundry manipulations, and is therefore so provoked at this treatment, that he turns round and goes away in anger, because he thinks his native streams, the rivers of Damascus, much better than all the waters in Israel. But his servants represent to him that he might still try this easy cure, as he would certainly have done something much greater (more difficult) at the word of the prophet; and, as soon as he had dipped himself in the Jordan seven times, according to the word of Elisha, his leprosy is removed,

[1] The old expositors found in these words partly insolence, partly ignorance. *Insolentia—dum imperat regi Israelis, ignorantia—dum putat in potestate regis esse, imperare prophetae ut sanet Naemanum.* But as the Syrian king had actually no evil design, but only wished the cure of his highly esteemed general, we are not to interpret his words too harshly. Ignorance of the nature and office of the prophets they certainly betray, but this is not to be made of much account in a heathen king, whose priests and γόητες were quite at his service. That he does not mention the prophet in his letter is explained partly from the fact, that it is merely a letter of recommendation, to which Naaman himself was to add the necessary explanation, and partly from his having presumed that so celebrated a prophet would be universally known.

"his flesh came again (as fresh and whole) as the flesh of a little child." The reason why Elisha did not come out to Naaman is neither to be sought with Ephr. Syr., Theod., and Procop. Gaz. in the Mosaic law, which prohibited intercourse with lepers; the law, indeed, prescribed the inspection of the lepers by the priests, for which purpose they must come near them, nor with C. a Lap. in the intention to magnify the miracle in the eyes of Naaman, but discovers itself in the expressions of Naaman concerning this conduct. Naaman was strongly built up in the haughtiness inherent in every natural man by his high civic position, in which all beneath his master and sovereign bowed before him, and served him most reverently, and was to receive a salutary humbling, and at the same time to learn that he owed his cure not to a magical touch of the prophet, but only to the power of the Lord working through his word.[1]—V. 10. וְיָשֹׁב בְּשָׂרְךָ, "thy flesh will return," that is, become sound. In the perfect white leprosy, of which we are involuntarily led to think here (comp. v. 27), the flesh is dissolved and consumed by scabs, ulcers, and raw flesh, until at length the patients often die suddenly in consumption combined with dropsy, comp. Winer (R.W. i. p. 132 f.), so that the cure may be rightly described as a restoring of the flesh. V. 11. הֲנִיף יָד to wave the hand, that is, here, to move it hither and thither over the deceased part, to stroke it. V. 12. Abana and Pharpar are rivers of Damascus. The Abana (אֲבָנָה probably identical with אֲמָנָה, by commutation of the labials ב and מ, as the *Keri* has it), coming from the hill Amana (Song. iv. 8) a peak of Antilibanus, is generally taken for the *Χρυσορρόας* or *Βαρδίνης* (Steph. Byz.), now called Barady (ברדי) the cold stream, which divides into five branches, and flows through Damascus; see O. v. Richter, Wallfahrten, p. 155 f. The Pharpar (פַּרְפַּר *celer* from פָּרַר *festinavit*) must be a small stream descending also from Antilibanus, that unites its clear and trans-

[1] *Naeman superbus est sua mundana dignitate, qua apud regem Syriae pollebat, putatque prophetam hunc ipsi debere honorem exhibere, ut ipse ad eum egrediatur; imaginatur, si utique propheta aliquid possit, id tamen debere fieri per contactum manus, quasi virtus singularis in manu prophetae residere debeat, quod cum non fieret, indignabatur quasi non recte fieret, conatur tandem istam imaginationem defendere argumento a ratione petito, quod aqua Jordanis esset impotens.* Seb. Schm.

parent waters with the Barady, and is now called Fyjeh (الفيجة), comp. فاج iv. *festinavit*. These determinations are, however, not quite certain, as the statements concerning the names of the Barady and its tributaries in different places are not quite consistent, comp. Ges. on Burckhardt's Reise i. p. 488, *thes.* i. 116, and ii. 1132, Winer, R.W. i. p. 60, and ii. p. 293. As the water of Fyjeh is "the purest and most transparent that can be found, and is very wholesome, indeed this stream improves the water of the Barady, which is considered unwholesome," (O. v. Richter p. 157), we can easily conceive, that Naaman esteemed his native rivers better than the water of Jordan, which is usually troubled, "of a clay colour," (Robins. Pal. ii. p. 496), lukewarm rather than cold, but still drinkable, comp. Rosenm. Althk. ii. 1, p. 201, and Winer R.W. i. p. 708.—אָבִי (v. 13) is a confiding and respectful form of address, as in vi. 21. The sentence דָּבָר גָּדוֹל וגו׳ is to be joined as condition with the following, "If the prophet had told thee (bid thee do) some great thing, wouldst thou not have done it?" Comp. Ew. krit. Gr. p. 662. Heb. Gr. § 626. וְאַף כִּי "how much rather then (comp. Ew. § 622), when he has said to thee." V. 14. "He dipped himself seven times in Jordan." This Elisha had required, because the cure was to be performed on the basis of the covenant of Jehovah with Israel. Seven is the signature of the covenant, see Bähr, Symb. i. p. 193.

V. 15—19. After Naaman was cleansed of his leprosy, he returns to Elisha, confesses before him his belief that there is no God in all the earth but in Israel, and offers the prophet a gift in token of his gratitude. But when the latter, to remove all appearance of selfishness, by which the false prophets were wholly actuated, steadfastly refused to receive the present, Naaman begs for permission to take two mules' burden of earth, that he may be able to worship Jehovah thereon in his native land; for he will henceforth offer neither burnt-offering nor sacrifice to any other god, but only to Jehovah; but may Jehovah pardon him in this, that when on account of his office he must accompany his king into the temple of Rimmon, he bows down with him before Rimmon. In this confession of Naaman we have the

Divine object in his cure. The bodily help given was to be for him the way to deliverance from his spiritual misery, the means of leading him to the knowledge of the true of God, and to faith in him. In this also he goes so far as to promise, that he will worship no other God but the Lord; but his knowledge remains still confused with polytheistic superstition. He wishes to take earth from the land of Israel, to sacrifice upon it to the God of Israel, because he is still bewildered with the misconception, that Jehovah, as the heathen believed of their gods, can be truly and acceptably worshipped only in his own land, or if not there, yet on an altar erected of the earth of his own land. But because his knowledge is still obscured by superstition, he cannot confess his faith in the Lord as the only God without respect of persons, and hopes Jehovah will forgive him, if he still, so far as his earthly official situation requires, comply outwardly with idolatry, without really worshipping idols. The answer of Elisha, "Go in peace" (v. 19), contains neither approbation nor disapprobation of Naaman's religious convictions, but is the usual form of leave-taking, which in the mouth of the prophet was certainly more than a conventional form, it was a benediction in which he wished the peace of the Lord to the departing Syrian. Naaman, indeed, had not asked the prophet whether his conviction was right or wrong, whether the course proposed was well-pleasing or displeasing to the Lord, but categorically declares: may Jehovah make allowance for him in this respect, may he pardon this weakness. In this case Elisha, as he was not sent to the heathen to establish among them the exclusive worship of the true God, but was appointed to convert Israel from idolatry and bring them back to their only God and Lord, could do nothing more without a Divine commission than commit this heathen, who had become a believer, to the farther guidance of the Lord and his grace.[1]—V. 15. וְכָל־מַחֲנֵהוּ with all his camp,

[1] Most of the older theologians found in these words of the prophet an approval of the religious convictions expressed and the course intended by Naaman, and, as it was impossible for them to admit that a prophet would have approved of participation in idolatrous ceremonies even in a heathen, endeavoured to obviate the consequence issuing from their view, namely, *licitam ergo esse Christianis* συμφώνησιν πιστοῦ μετὰ ἀπίστου *seu symbolizationem et communicationem cum ceremonia id. lolatrica*, either by the extremely forced explanation of the words of

that is, with all the host of his followers. בְּרָכָה (from בָּרַךְ to bless, wish blessing and happiness) signifies more commonly alms, gift, present, comp. Gen. xxxiii. 11; 1 Sam. xxv. 27, etc.—V. 17. וְלֹא, "but if not," comp. Ew. Gr. § 626.—V. 18. בֵּית־רִמּוֹן temple of Rimmon. רִמּוֹן the pomegranate, denotes here a deity of the Syrians, of which traces are found in the name Tabrimmon (1 Ki. xv. 8) and perhaps in the town Hadadrimmon, unless we require with Hitzig to change the mourning in Hadadrimmon (Zech. xii. 10) into a mourning over Adonis as the decaying winter Sun. Movers (d. Phönig. i. p. 197 f.), referring to the fact that Hadad was the supreme god of the Syrians, considers Rimmon an abbreviated form of Hadad-Rimmon, and the god to be a deity kindred with Adonis, who was so named after the pomegranate which was sacred to him. Winer (R.W. ii. 390) and Ges. (*thes.* iii. 1292) with Cler., Selden (*de Diis Syr.*) and others derive רִמּוֹן from רוּם = רָמַם and compare with it Ἐλιοῦν (of Sanchun.) = עֶלְיוֹן *Deus excelsus s. summus.* The words, "and he leaneth on my hand," are to be understood, not literally, but as designating the service, which Naaman as

Naaman, that he speaks only of that which he had hitherto done, not of that which he intended to do, or with reference to the known usage of הִשְׁתַּחֲוָיוֹת by the distinction between *incurvatio regis voluntaria et religiosa* (actual worship) and *incurvatio servilis et coacta Naemani* (mere bowing for state convenience). See the various opinions and prolix treatises on this point in Pfeiffer's *dub. vex.* p. 445 ff., J. Meyer's *Annot. ad Seder Ol.* p. 904 ff., Stark's *notae sell. ad. h. l.* and Buddeus' *hist. eccl.* ii. p. 360 f. But this consequence is not obviated either by the assumption, that Naaman bowed before his God only out of civil respect without worshipping him, even if we admit, that he had confessed his faith with sufficient publicity, so that no one could have any doubt of the matter, of which, however, nothing is said, or by the assumption, that the prophet did not expressly sanction his view, so long as we, on the one hand, regard the words of Naaman as a question, concerning which he wished to hear the opinion of the prophet, because on this supposition his answer, "go in peace," contains a tacit approval of his view, or, on the other hand, leave out of view the fact, that Naaman, though a believer among the heathen, was still not a member of the covenant people, and therefore Elisha, as the prophet of the old covenant, had no Divine commission, to oblige one standing without the covenant of God with Israel to renounce all heathenish practices, to which the disciples and confessors of Christ were appointed and bound by the express command of the Lord (Matt. xxviii. 19 f.)

adjutant had to render to his king, comp. vii. 2—17. On the Chaldee form הִשְׁתַּחֲוָיְתִי comp. Ew. Gr. § 331.—V. 19. כִּבְרַת אֶרֶץ "a field length" (Luth.) denotes a very short distance here, and Gen. xxxv. 16, xlviii. 7. The etymology of כִּבְרַת is uncertain, see *Lud. de Dieu crit. s.* c. 19 and Ges. *thes.* ii. 658.

Vv. 20—27. Scarcely was Naaman departed, when Gehazi was seized with a desire of a part of the Syrian's costly presents that were rejected by his master. He therefore ran after him and begged of Naaman, who had, out of profound respect for his master, alighted out of his chariot at his approach, in the name of his master, a talent of silver and two changes of raiment, as he pretended, for two poor scholars of the prophets, who had come from mount Ephraim to Elisha. Naaman forces on him two talents of silver, and courteously sends them with the changes of raiment to the hill beside the dwelling of Elisha, where Gehazi gets rid of the bearers and conceals his treasure. Immediately after he appears again before his master, as if he had not left the house, but the prophet, to whom the affair had been revealed in spirit, accosts him with the question, Whence comest thou, Gehazi? and on his lying answer, that he had gone no whither, upbraids him with all he had done, and denounces on him the punishment, that the leprosy of Naaman shall cleave to him and his family for ever, a punishment which is forthwith inflicted. This heavy infliction was not too severe for the crime of Gehazi. For it was not the covetousness alone that was punished, but at the same time the ill use made of the prophet's name to gain an object prompted by a mean covetousness, and the attempt to conceal it by lying. *Pœna haec fuit non modo intempestivae δωροδοκίας (acceptionis munerum), sed vel maxime mendacii. Nam qui prophetam circa ea quae ad munus ipsius pertinent, circumvenire vult, mentiri dicitur spiritui sancto, cujus instrumenta sunt prophetae. Vide Act. v.* 3. Grot. V. 20. חָשַׂךְ אֶת נע״ מִקַּחַת מִיָּדוֹ, he has refrained from Naaman, that is, spared to take from his hand. On כִּי אִם after ״חַי יו see above p. 29.—V. 21. The quick leaping down (נפל comp. Gen. xxiv. 64) of Naaman from his chariot, at the approach of Gehazi, is a token of grateful and respectful complaisance, which Naaman wished to show the prophet in the person of his servant. Quite unsuitable are the

proofs, quoted by several expositors from accounts of travels, of the courtesy which Christians and Jews in the East *are compelled* to show to distinguished Moslemans when they meet them by alighting from vehicles and asses. V. 23. The loose connection of the words כִּכְּרַיִם כֶּסֶף, which occurs elsewhere also (see Ew. Gr. § 499, 515), is here well chosen, *ne pereat indicium numeri* (Win.) V. 24. הָעֵפֶל *the* hill, either that on which the city of Samaria was built, or the well-known *hill* in the neighbourhood of Elisha's house. V. 26. The ambiguous words: לֹא לִבִּי הָלַךְ I understand with Win. (*lex.* p. 253) and Maur., *non abierat (evanuerat) animus meus*, that is, I was there in spirit. So Theod., Grot., Cler., and others, with reference to 1 Cor. v. 3. —"Is it a time to receive silver, and to receive garments, and olive trees, etc.," that is, is it now, when so many hypocrites, from selfishness and avarice, pretend to be prophets, and bring the prophetic office into general contempt with the unbelieving and idolatrous, a time for a servant of the true God to receive money and goods for that which God has wrought by him, in order to acquire for himself earthly power and property?—V. 27. The expression מְצֹרָע כַּשָּׁלֶג, plainly pointing out the white leprosy, is also found in Ex. iv. 6, and Num. xii. 10.

CHAPTER VI. vv. 1—23.

ELISHA MAKES IRON SWIM, vv. 1—7, AND SMITES THE SYRIANS WITH BLINDNESS, vv. 8—23.

Vv. 1—7. The brief narrative of these verses gives us a glimpse of the humble circumstances of the scholars of the prophets. When their number was so enlarged in one place,[1] that the building designed for their common meeting was too small

[1] Almost all expositors take this place for Gilgal; but this assumption rests merely on the erroneous supposition, refuted in ii. 1, that Gilgal lay in the valley of the Jordan. Jericho is probably to be understood.

for them, they resolved, with the concurrence of Elisha, upon erecting a common residence, and proceeded for this purpose to the bank of the Jordan, which was overgrown with trees, in order to cut down the requisite timber. In this labour the iron (the axe) fell into the water, and Elisha, by cutting down a piece of wood and casting it in where the axe had fallen, caused the iron to swim, so that the scholar, who was sorely vexed by the loss of the axe, which was not bought but received as a present, is able to take it up again. As to the miracle, Elisha employs indeed a natural means; but the wood cast into the water, even if Elisha, as the natural expounders of miracles think, had thrown it so dexterously, that the stick had fallen directly into the hole designed for the reception of the handle,[1] could not possibly make the axe swim on the water. Would that the expositors, who believe this, would only make the trial, in order to convince themselves by practice of the untenableness of their theory! For they would no longer venture to censure the old Dr Luther, because he has not translated correctly, when he, because it was well known to him, that no man can bring an axe to swim with a stick, regarding clearness of thought more than the grammatical form, freely translated: "the iron swam." וַיָּצָף from צוּף means, "he caused to flow," comp. Deut. xi. 4—he made the iron to flow as the water, that is, to swim on the water. —The dispute of the older theologians, whether the building to be erected by the scholars of the prophets was designed merely for a place of assembly for hearing the expositions of Elisha or for a common dwelling, it is not so easy to decide from our narrative. The expression in verse 1, "The place where we sit before thee" (יֹשְׁבִים לְפָנֶיךָ), points to a place of assembly; on the contrary the words: let us make us a place לָשֶׁבֶת שָׁם (v. 2) are more in favour of a dwelling place. If we compare with this the narrative iv. 38 ff. we shall be constrained even by v. 1 to think

[1] This also could not happen naturally, because the Jordan, between the Sea of Galilee and the Dead Sea, is very deep, in the neighbourhood of Jericho ten or twelve feet, and has a rapid stream with muddy waters. And if in summer, at its lowest water-mark, it be passable at some fords, we are not to suppose this here, because in this case the scholar of the prophets might have himself got the axe out of the water.

of a common dwelling, without conceiving it, however, as a formal cloister. It appears also to follow from v. 2, that they wish to erect the new building near the Jordan; for שָׁם as well as מִשָּׁם must refer to the Jordan.—V. 5. אֶת־הַבַּרְזֶל is not to be regarded as the nominative (comp. Ew. Gr. § 494), but as the object: "As to the iron, it fell into the water." After "Alas, master!" is to be supplied, my axe is lost. The omission of this thought is to be explained from the great consternation, in which the speaker expresses only that which was to him most important at the moment, that the lost axe had been obtained by begging. All interpreters render שָׁאוּל by lent; but שָׁאַל means only: to ask, demand, entreat, never to borrow.[1] That the meaning, to beg, in the *paul* participle, begged, suits here also is evident. The distress of the scholar of the prophets is so great, because his axe fallen into the water was begged, that in his poverty he had not bought but begged and received it as a gift.

Vv. 8—23. The blindness of the Syrians. Vv. 8—14. In a war, which the Syrians carried on against Israel by predatory incursions (v. 23), Elisha on several occasions disclosed to king Jehoram the place which the Syrians intended to surround, and thereby directed him to counter measures, by which the plan of the enemy was defeated. When this occurred several times, the

[1] Winer in his *lex. s. v.* quotes only our passage for this meaning, as he has rightly acknowledged, that in Ex. iii. 22, xi. 12, xii. 35, which most interpreters so explain with Gesen., the usual meaning *petere* suffices. And if this rational philologist asserts even for the *hiph.* הִשְׁאִיל in Ex. xii. 35 and 1 Sam. i. 28 the only correct meaning, *dedit*, to bestow (comp. Hengstenb. Beitr. iii. p. 524); he will certainly be willing to explain שָׁאוּל 1 Sam. i. 28, which is not settled by him, not by *lent* or *borrowed*, because hence the absurd thought arises, that the pious Hannah, when she presented to the Lord her son Samuel asked of the Lord in his sanctuary, said to Eli: for this child I prayed and the Lord granted me the petition that I asked of him (אֶת־שְׁאֵלָתִי אֲשֶׁר שָׁאַלְתִּי מֵעִמּוֹ). Therefore also will I *lend* him to the Lord (הִשְׁאִלְתִּיהוּ); all the days of his life he shall be lent (שָׁאוּל) to the Lord, instead of, therefore will I also give him to the Lord, that is, willingly and gladly present him, that he may all his life be bestowed to the Lord.

Syrian king declared his suspicion that some of his servants betrayed his plans to the enemy, but on making enquiry receives the answer, that the prophet Elisha tells the king of Israel all that he (the Syrian king) speaks in his bed-chamber. Thereupon he resolved to have the prophet, then residing at Dothan, seized or taken prisoner by a body of troops sent thither. The right view of the whole proceeding depends on the conception of the words הִשָּׁמֵר מֶעֲבֹר וגו׳ (v. 9.) The Rabb. understand them so, that the Syrian king laid ambuscades in several places for the king of Israel, in order to take him, whereupon Elisha warned Jehoram not to visit such and such places, and to beware of the snares of the Syrians. Accordingly Schulz and Dathe understand the words in question (*eumque monuit*) *ut sibi caveret, quominus in illum locum veniret, sc. secure, nihil mali timens.* But עָבַר מָקוֹם may certainly mean, to invade a place (with hostile intent) or march through a place, but not *in locum venire.* Still less warrant is there for the supplying of *secure*, which is necessary to the sense in this view. We must therefore understand the words with Seb. Schm., Cler., Stark (*not. sel.*), de Wette, and others: *cave tibi, quo minus illum locum praetereas, i.e., negligas*, that thou overlook this place, leave it unoccupied, for the Syrians intend to attack it—נָחֹתִים properly coming down upon it. On the doubtful form נָחֹתִים Ew. (Gr. § 385, p. 246) remarks, that it might be the *niph.* participle of חָתַת, Winer (*lex.* p. 617) regards it as an Aramaising plural form of the *kal* participle of נחת with *daghesh euph.* The meaning of the word, however, is by no means doubtful, as the *niph.* of נָחַת in Ps. xxxviii. 3 means to descend, and verbs פ״נ often coincide in form with verbs ע״ע. V. 10. The words לֹא־אַחַת וגו׳ "not once, not twice," are logically and grammatically connected with וְנִשְׁמָר שָׁם. V. 11. מִי מִמֶּשַׁלְנוּ אֶל וגו׳ "who of ours is for the king of Israel?" is devoted to him, adheres to him. V. 13. Dothan or Dothaim, where Joseph was sold by his brethren, lay twelve Roman miles north of Samaria in the plain of Esdraelon, in a narrow pass through the mountains (Judith, 4, 5. 7, 3), on the caravan road from Gilead to Egypt, (comp. Winer R. W. i. p. 323); the site has not yet been discovered, although the monks show the supposed pit of Joseph (see Rob. Pal. iii. p. 576).

Vv. 15—17. When the Syrians, in order to seize the prophet, had surrounded Dothan by night, Elisha's servant was greatly terrified when, on going out the following morning, he discovered this, and said to him, "Alas! my master, how shall we do?" But the latter encouragingly said, "Fear not, for they that are with us are more than they that are with them,"[1] and thereupon prayed the Lord to open the eyes of his servant, whereupon the latter saw the mountain full of horses and chariots of fire round about Elisha.—The eyes of the prophet's servant, which the Lord opens, are not those of the body, but of the spirit; the opening of the eyes denotes the transference into the ecstatic state, in which the spirit sees things which the bodily eye cannot see, because they belong not to the material but to the spiritual world.[2] The fiery horses and chariots have here a meaning somewhat different from that in ii. 11. There the horses and chariot are only the vehicle for the ascent into heaven; here they are the symbols of the Divine power and protection (comp. ii. 12.) The fiery form denotes, however, in both places, the supernatural Divine origin; for fire, the most ethereal of the earthly elements, is the most appropriate symbol of the Godhead. That which Elisha sees, moreover, is more than a mere "fine expression of thought, that the eye of faith sees the sure protection of God, where all is dark to the ordinary eye" (Köster i. p. q. p. 91.) The sight has reality, certainly not material but spiritual reality, even as faith in the higher protection of God rests upon the reality of the Divine omnipotence and providence.

Vv. 18—20. As soon as the Syrians came down to him (Elisha), they were at his entreaty smitten with blindness, whereupon he told them, that this was not the right way nor the right city, he would lead them to the man whom they sought, and then led them to Samaria, where, at his prayer, their eyes were again opened, so that they knew whither they had been led. וַיֵּרְדוּ

[1] The believing confidence of Elisha, expressed in these words and his prayer, rest "on Gen. xxxii. 2, 3, where Jacob, when danger threatens him from Esau, sees himself surrounded by a double camp of angels." Hengstenb. Beitr. ii. p. 137 f.

[2] So also the Lord opened the eyes of Balaam, that he saw the angel intercepting his way, whom his natural eye had not seen, Num. xxii. 13. Hengstenb. d. Gesch. Bil. p. 60.

אֵלָיו is referred by Budd., J. H. Mich. and Fr. v. Meyer, to Elisha and his servant—These went down to the Syrian host. But the supposition, on account of which these theologians felt themselves compelled to deviate from the other much more obvious and generally received meaning, "The Syrians came down to him (Elisha)," namely, that Elisha was upon a mountain, the Syrians, on the contrary, in a valley, so that they could go not down, but only up, by no means follows from this, that Elisha's servant sees the mountain full of fiery chariots and horses round about Elisha; but we may very well understand this description so that he saw the fiery chariots and horses on the same mountain surrounding the city, which the Syrians occupied in a line encompassing the city, whereby the Syrians in the vision perhaps quite vanished from his view, as in ecstacy the bodily eye is usually closed. See the proofs of this in Hengstenb. d. Gesch. Bil. p. 137 ff. The blindness, with which the Syrians were smitten, is also mental blindness, a state of mental illusion in which a man with seeing eyes yet sees not what is right (comp. Jos. vi. 10.) This fact also, as many expositors have noticed, has its foundation in the Pentateuch, in Gen. xix. 11, where the Sodomites were smitten with blindness by the angel of the Lord, the only other passage in which סַנְוֵרִים is found. V. 19. The words of Elisha, "This is not the way," etc., contain an untruth, and are to be judged of as every stratagem, by which the enemy is deceived.[1]

Vv. 21—23. Elisha forbade king Jehoram to slay the enemies led to him, because he had not taken them in war, and advised him rather to entertain them well and send them back to their master. The object of this measure was to show the Syrians that they had to do with a prophet of Jehovah, against whom they could avail nothing, and thus to make them aware of the authority of the prophet, and therein the omnipotence of the God of Israel. This object would have been defeated if Jehoram had put to death these enemies when delivered into his hands, be-

[1] The scruples, which Michaelis raises against the verisimilitude of what is related v. 20, only prove that he had less faith in the Divine power of the prophet than Jehoram the king of Israel had: they cannot shake the truth of the narrative.

cause the exasperation thereby produced would have prevented the recognition of the Divine omnipotence revealing itself in this occurrence.[1] And even in a political point of view this course was more correct and conducive to peace than the execution proposed by the king, as the event shewed (see v. 23.) The enemies were mentally conquered, and renounced the attempt to establish in the old way a material supremacy.—On אָבִי comp. v. 13.—The words, v. 22. הֲמַכֶּת . . . אֲשֶׁר most expositors understand as a question, "wouldst thou smite those whom . . ." that is, as thou dost not otherwise slay thy prisoners of war but sparest their lives, much less mayest thou slay those whom thou hast not taken in war. But this argument would rest on a supposition which Jehoram had scarcely warranted, namely, that he had acted more mildly toward his enemies than the custom and right of war and the law of Moses (Deut. xx. 13) required. But even if this supposition were well-founded, how shall we reconcile with it the fact, that the otherwise so mild king here all at once wished to act more strictly than the law required, and the customs of war in all not utterly barbarous nations allowed, and to put to the sword enemies whom he had not taken in open battle? Regarded as a question, then, they appear to me to give no tolerable sense, although even Ew. (Gr. § 443) still holds the ה before אֲשֶׁר to be interrogative? I therefore understand them with the Chald., Syr., de Wette, and Maur., thus: those whom thou takest with sword and bow, that is, in open battle, thou mayest put to death, as the law demands, but not those whom I have brought to thee. This sense the context evidently demands. But whether the הַ before אֲשֶׁר be the article in the sense of the demonstrative pronoun, as Ges. (Lehrgeb. p. 754, and Gr. § 122 *a*) assumes, or is to be taken with Maur. for an error of the pen, I venture not to determine. Maurer's objection, that הֲ the article should not have a pattach before א, is set aside by the assumption, that the Masor. regarded it as the article.—V. 23. "And he prepared for them a great entertainment." כָּרָה כֶּרֶה means here to prepare a banquet; on

[1] Εἰ σφαγείεν, φησὶν, οὐ γνωσθήσεται τῆς θαυματουργίας τὸ μέγεθος· εἰ δὲ ὑγιεῖς ἀπέλθοιεν πρὸς τὸν ἀποστέλλοντα, μαθήσεται κἀκεῖνος τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ ἡμετέρου τὴν δύναμιν. Theod. and Procop.

this all interpreters are agreed, but it is very difficult to derive this meaning from כרה. Winer (*lex. s.v.*) assumes three stems united in the word כרה with the following primary meanings. 1. *fodit* = كرى and كرب. 2. *emit* = كرو *conduxit rem.* 3. *epulas instituit* = كرى *hospitio excepit*, Ges. (*thes.* ii. 711 f.) only two, *fodit* and *emit*, as also Fürst in *Concord. s.v.* Both connect the meaning required by the context in our passage with *emit*, Gesen. without any intervening ideas, Fürst by the middle term *parare* and the comparison with חָרַד *coquere* (? in what dialect has חרד this meaning?) *de apparatu epuli.* With regard to the appeal to Arabic usage كرى corresponds to the Heb. קרא to call, in the sense of inviting, bidding to a feast, not, as Gesen. *l. c.* ii. 712 conjectures, in the sense *obviam eundi*, and كرو has certainly, in conj. vi. and viii., the assigned meaning *conduxit rem*, but in conj. i. it means only *fodit*, and is = كرى, comp. Freytag, *lex. Arab.* iv. p. 31. The appeal to the Arab. therefore proves nothing; and even if there were actually two verbal stems in Arabic كرو and كرى of different primary meanings, yet it is first to be enquired, whether they do not run back to a common primary meaning before we venture to transfer the usage of the richer and more cultivated dialect to the poorer and less developed Hebrew language, as the formation of language proceeds naturally, not to the combining of several roots into one, but inversely to the splitting up of unity into multiplicity. We are thus sent back to the Hebrew speech usage. In this the meaning *emit* does not appear from Deut. ii. 6 and Hos. iii. 2 as an independent primary meaning collateral with *fodit*, but כרה in both places may be explained from the fundamental meaning *fodit*. At the basis of the expression, Deut. ii. 6, כָּרָה מַיִם בַּכֶּסֶף to procure water with money, lies the reference to the digging of cisterns (Gen. xxvi. 25; Ex. xxi. 33, etc.) whereby water was usually procured, and in Hos. iii. 2, כרה means nothing but procuring, acquiring, gaining possession, after the custom mentioned, Deut. xv. 17; comp. Hengstenb. Christol. iii. p. 29. The *rad.* כרה has on the whole only one primary meaning, namely, *fodit*, to dig. The idea of digging passes, however, gradually into the wider idea of making ready, preparing, pro-

curing,—*parare, apparare, comparare.* This transition is seen in such passages as Gen. l. 5, where in the words of Jacob, "Bury me in my grave אֲשֶׁר כָּרִיתִי לִי in the land of Cannan," כרה means not to dig, but to make ready; for Jacob had digged no grave for himself in Canaan, but merely possessed there a hereditary burial place purchased by Abraham in the cave of Machpelah in Hebron, in which he wished to be buried, comp. Gen. xlix. 31 f. with xxiii. 19 f. The meaning *parare* suffices also in our passage, כָּרָה כֶּרֶה גְּדוֹלָה means only *paravit apparatum magnum.* That this providing, preparing, refers to an entertainment, is implied, not in the words by themselves, but in the connection, in the words, "set bread and water before them," and "they ate and drank." The last words: "And the bands of Aram came no more into the land of Israel," are not to be restricted by supplements, such as, for a long time, or *vivente Elisa* (C. a Lap.), but the thought is: the incursions of the Syrians in predatory bands ceased from this time, although the regular war related in the following passage was not thereby excluded.

CHAPTER VI. 24—VII. 20.

ELISHA ANNOUNCES, DURING A FAMINE IN SAMARIA, THE SUDDEN OCCURRENCE OF GREAT CHEAPNESS.

Vv. 24—29. In a siege by Benhadad there arose so dreadful a famine in Samaria, that a mother accused another before the king of not keeping her agreement to slay her child for food, as she herself had done.—V. 25. "Until an ass's head cost eighty shekels of silver, and the fourth part of a cab of dove's dung five shekels of silver." The ass was an unclean animal, and its flesh therefore was not allowed to be eaten; but necessity knows no law. The head of the ass is besides the worst part of the whole animal to eat. Eighty shekels, as the common or state shekel only can be meant here, which Bertheau (z. Gesch. d. Isr. p. 49)

computes at (10½ grs.) 15¾ pence, amount to about £5, 5s. A fourth part of a cab = a ξέστης (Joseph. *Antiq.* ix. 4, 4), was the smallest dry measure of the Hebrews, 27.58 Paris cub. inches (see Bertheau, p. 65 and 73.) Five shekels 6s 4d.—חרייונים, according to the Kethibh, is to be read חֲרֵי יוֹנִים *excrementa columbarum*, for which the Masor. have substituted the euphemistic דִּיב יוֹנִים *fluxus, profluvium columbarum.* The meaning of the word is certain, but it is doubtful whether the phrase here means actual dove's dung, or, after the analogy of the German expression, devil's dung, for asafetida, only a wretched article of food from the vegetable kingdom, to us unknown. Bochart (hieroz. B. i. C. 7), after he has set aside as erroneous seven different opinions, for example, that dove's dung was used as salt and spices, or for fuel, or for manuring the fields in the city, and so on, has endeavoured with great learning to prove, that dove's dung here means roasted chick peas, called by the Arabs properly اشنان, and oftener improperly dove's or sparrow's dung.[1] In this proof so much is correct, that اشنان *herba Alcali* is called by the Arabs also dove's or sparrow's dung; but the farther proof, that this plant is *ciceris genus*, rests, as Celsius has shown (hierob. ii. p. 233 f.), on a confusion of حمص *cicer* with حمض *salsa et amara planta*, in the Arabic authors quoted by Bochart. The reasons, however, by which Cels. ii. p. 30 ff. wishes to prove the proper meaning of the expression, the only one admissible in our passage, are not absolutely binding, although Joseph. (*de bello Jud.* v. 13, 7) relates that in the siege of Jerusalem by Titus, the famine was so extreme, that men searched the sewers and gathered old dung and excrement for food, to which Cels. *l.c.* has added two testimonies from the Spanish and English histories of the fourteenth century. These facts prove no doubt the possibility, even the probability, of the literal meaning, but not its necessity, for which reason we refrain with Gesenius (thes. i. 516) from deciding.—V. 27. אַל־יוֹשִׁיעֲךָ יי "Nay! Jehovah help thee." Maur. has justly

[1] Roasted chick peas are eaten in the East as a delicacy for a dessert, see Harm. Beobacht. i. p. 255 f.

declared against the explanation of אַל by *nisi*, but his own meaning *vereor ut Deus te servet* is not warranted by the passages he quotes, Ps. xli. 3, l. 3, cxxi. 3, Song vii. 3, for in all these places אַל stands before the future in the sense, may he not. Thus it would be necessary to understand it, may Jehovah not help thee, and the sense assigned by Cler. *perdat te Jehova*, would be obtained. The other meaning proposed by Maur. can alone be maintained: *ne sc. me adeas precibus tuis*, nay, that is, do not this, speak not to me for help. אַל has certainly this meaning in Ruth i. 13. Maur. is wrong also, when he explains the words, "Whence shall I help thee? From the threshing-floor, or the wine-press," as the most bitter irony on the part of the excessively provoked king. For the king is extremely excited only by the following heart-rending recital of the woman. The words have simply the meaning, I can help thee neither with corn nor wine, with nothing either to eat or drink, because I myself have nothing more. If he had been exasperated at first by her cry for help, he would not have farther enquired: מַה-לָּךְ what is thy request? (v. 28.)[1]

Vv. 30—33. Horrified by the shocking recital of the woman, the king rends his garment (comp. on v. 7), whereby it becomes manifest, that he wears a penitential garment (שַׂק comp. on 1 Ki. xxi. 27) on his body. But whether the horror of the king arose from the whole import of the curses and denunciations of the law being brought to his mind by the horrible revelation of the woman, is not quite so evident as Hengstenb. ii. p. 138 f. assumes. For had he instantly recognised therein the curse of the Divine law, this would have led him also immediately to sincere humiliation before the Lord, and not to the imprecation, that God would punish him, if the head of Elisha remain on him to-day. This imprecation, which he wishes immediately to execute, proves, that his distress of mind was no wholesome

[1] On vv. 28 and 29 Grot., Cler., and others have remarked, referring to Lev. xxv. 29; Deut. xxviii. 53—57, that here the curse of the law, that the mother shall eat the flesh of her own children, is literally fulfilled. A judgment which was also repeated at the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar and Titus, see Lam. iv. 10, and Joseph. *de bello Jud.* vi. 3, 4.

fruit of the recognition of his own guilt such as the law coming to his view must have produced, but only a consequence of his contemplating the heart-rending misery that now for the first time stands before his eyes in all its frightfulness, for which he wished to wreak his vengeance on the prophet, whom he held to be the prime cause of the appalling necessity, probably because he had given the advice, not to surrender the city on any condition, with the promise that God would deliver them if they humbled themselves before him in sincere repentance, and implored his aid. By putting on a garment of hair, the king believed that he had done his part; and since, notwithstanding this, the expected help did not come, he fell into a rage, which was to be expended on the prophet. This rage arose indeed only from a momentary ebullition of anger, and soon gave way to the better voice of conscience: the king hastened after the messenger, whom he had sent to behead Elisha, in order himself to prevent the execution of the death order which he had given in the haste of his burning rage (v. 32); but it proves that true repentance, which springs from the recognition of the necessity as a judgment imposed by the Lord, was still wanting in the king. The act of desperation to which his violent passion had hurried him would have taken place, had not the Lord protected his prophet, and revealed to him the design of the king, so that he could take measures to prevent it.—V. 32. The elders of the city were assembled in the house of the prophet, probably to ask counsel and aid of the man of God, when the king sent (וַיִּשְׁלַח) a man from before him (namely, to behead the prophet), but before the messenger came to him (Elisha), the prophet informed the elders of the design of the king: "See ye, that this son of a murderer (Jehoram, according to pedigree and disposition, was a genuine son of Ahab, the murderer of the prophets, and of the innocent Naboth) sends to take away my head," and commanded them to shut the door against the messenger, and to drive him back at the door, because he already heard the noise of his master's feet after him. The step of Elisha was no resistance of the lawful authorities, but only a precaution, by which he prevented the execution of an unrighteous sentence of death pronounced in haste, and thereby did the king himself a ser-

vice.—In v. 33 the brevity of the expression occasions some obscurity, which is to be removed by supplying some thoughts which lie in the connection. "While he (Elisha) yet talked with them (the elders) behold, the messenger came down unto him—*and he said.*" From the subsequent import of the speech that follows, it appears that it was not Elisha who spoke, nor the messenger who arrived, but the king. The words: "Behold, this evil comes of the Lord. Why should I wait for the Lord any longer?" are suitable neither in the mouth of the messenger sent to execute the sentence of death, nor in the mouth of the king's minister, who, according to vii. 2, had come to the prophet, but only in that of the king, on whom the decision concerning the fate of the city depended. This is put beyond doubt by vii. 17 f. We must therefore supply the performance of that which Elisha (v. 32) said to the elders, namely, "and after him (the messenger, at his feet) followed the king," who naturally was immediately admitted to the prophet, "and he (the king) said." His words, this evil comes from the Lord, etc., are the words of a despairing man, in whose soul, however, a trace of faith is still concealed. For in the very fact that he shows this frame of mind before the prophet, he lets it be understood that he still cherishes a feeble glimmer of hope and confidence in the Lord, and wishes to be directed and encouraged by the prophet. This encouragement is accordingly imparted to him.

Chap. vii. vv. 1, 2. Elisha announces a cheapness of provisions on the following day, as great as was the dearth on this day. A seah (the third part of an Ephah, see on 1 Ki. xviii. 32), of fine flour סֹלֶת, comp. on 1 Ki. v. 2), for a shekel and 2 seahs of barley for the same price. At the gate of Samaria, that is, in the market of Samaria, comp. Rosenm. A. u. N. Morgenl. vi. p. 272.—V. 2. With contemptuous scorn the unbelieving minister of the king answers: "Behold, the Lord will make windows in heaven," namely, in order to rain down corn or meal, see Mal. iii. 10. The scoffing lies in the הִנֵּה, which most expositors have erroneously taken for a conditional particle, *if*, and in the allusion to Gen. vii. 11 (comp. Hengstenb. Beitr. ii. p. 139.) But Elisha replies to him with the solemn threatening, "Behold, thou shalt see it with thine eyes, but shalt not eat thereof."

The fulfilment, see in v. 17 ff.—On שָׁלִישׁ, comp. on 1 Ki. ix. 22, and on אֲשֶׁר נִשְׁעָן, on 2 Ki. v. 18. The ל in לַמֶּלֶךְ is very strange, as it seems here to stand for the nominative, which is contrary to the fundamental meaning of לְ. If it is not admissible to repeat the relative אֲשֶׁר before נִשְׁעָן, and regard לַמֶּלֶךְ as a circumlocution for the genitive, we must consider the latter with Maurer as an error of the pen for הַמֶּלֶךְ.

V. 3 ff. With these verses begins the historical account of the fulfilment of the word of the Lord uttered by Elisha, with the simple relation of the occurrence, that first the flight of the Syrians was discovered by some lepers, who, to escape death by famine, went to the camp of the enemy and found it empty (vv. 3—5), whereupon the cause of the sudden raising of the siege and flight of the besiegers is introduced (vv. 6, 7), that these lepers then resolved to bring this intelligence to the city and report it to the king (vv. 8—11), that on this the king satisfied himself of the truth of the information received (vv. 12—15), and that, finally, by the plunder of the camp of the Syrians, the predicted cheapness arrived (v. 16), and therewith also the judgment pronounced upon the unbelieving minister was realized (vv. 17—20.)

Vv. 3—5. "Four men were as lepers before the gate," as the law of Moses (Lev. xiii. 46; Num. v. 3) commanded, perhaps in a separate building designed for this purpose (comp. xv. 5), in order to exclude them as unclean from the congregation of the Lord for the reasons stated on v. 1. *Videmus itaque legem Mosaicam in tanta cultus Divini corruptione non tamen plane exolevisse in Israele.* Seb. Schm. Comp. also Hengstenb. Beitr. ii. p. 139 f.—V. 5. נֶשֶׁף denotes here the evening twilight, not the morning twilight or last watch of the night (Cler., Budd., J. H. Mich., and others.) This appears from v. 12, according to which the king still in the night receives the intelligence of the flight of the Syrians—"The end of the Syrian camp" is its boundary towards the city. The Syrians probably had blockaded Samaria, which was on a hill, at the foot of the ascent, in order to starve them into a surrender.

Vv. 6, 7. The Lord had made the host of the Syrians to hear a noise of chariots and horses, a noise of a great host, so that they

thought the king of Israel had engaged the kings of the Hittites and Egyptians against them to surprise them, and had fled, leaving behind them their whole camp in order to save their lives. This miracle, by which God wrought deliverance for Samaria from death by famine or surrender to the enemy, consisted thus in an illusion of the hearing, so that they thought they heard the march of two hostile armies, and such a panic seized them that they took to flight in great haste and disorder, without even taking time to carry away their baggage, their beasts of draught or burden (v. 11.) Whether any objective reality, as a rustling in the sky, lay at the ground of the noise which they heard and took for the noise of an approaching hostile army, or that which was heard consisted in a purely subjective delusion, that had reality only in so far as it was wrought by God, this cannot be determined, nor is it a matter of any importance. The Divine causality is the same in both cases. It is moreover a well known fact that, especially in mountainous regions, if the ear be laid to the ground, the sound of an army on the march may be heard at a considerable distance.—*Kings of the Hittites* (Chittim) is a general designation of the northern kings of Canaan on Lebanon and towards Phœnicia; the name חִתִּים stands more frequently in a wider sense for the Canaanites in general, comp. on 1 Ki. x. 29, so that our verse with the passage quoted does not warrant the conclusion of Bertheau (z. Gesch. d. Isr. p. 158), "that a part of the Hittites dispossessed by the Israelites retreated into more northern districts in Syria." *Kings of the Egyptians* are put for the kings advancing from the south. From the plural מַלְכֵי it does not follow that the Egyptians at that time had several kings; the plural is explained by this, that the Egyptians stand as *species pro genere* for the southern, as the Hittites for the northern nations. The Syrians speak not of the historically certain, but from a mere conjecture founded upon the noise heard. On אֶל־נַפְשָׁם see on 1 Ki. xix. 3.

Vv. 8—11. When the lepers found the camp of the Syrians empty and forsaken, they first satiated themselves with the provisions found in the tents, and then brought away for themselves several valuables which they concealed; but presently their conscience accused them, and they said, "We do not right, this

day is a day of good tidings, we are silent and wait till the morning light, and guilt will fall upon us. *Officium enim civium est ea indicare quae ad salutem publicam pertinent.* Grot. They resolved, therefore, to report the joyful event to the palace of the king, and went and notified it to the porter. שֹׁעֵר הָעִיר the gate keeper; the singular stands as generic idea for the plurality of individuals, who kept the watch; this explains the following לָהֶם comp. Ew. Gr. § 571. Maur. has therefore rightly rejected the conjecture of Dathe שֹׁעֲרֵי. כַּאֲשֶׁר הֵמָּה as they were, that is, as was usual, in a camp.—V. 11. Many after Kimchi translate וַיִּקְרָא וגו׳, "And he (the spokesman of the four lepers), called the keepers;" others, on the contrary, after the LXX, "And they (the keepers) called and told it to the king's palace within." This latter view Maur. rejects as *falsa interpretatio*, but unjustly; this conception is rather the natural one, though the other is possible. If ויקרא were merely a repetition of וַיִּקְרְאוּ (v. 10), it would certainly be again constructed with אֶל, as the sense demands the meaning, to call to one, in which קרא is never connected with *accus. pers.*, which it has only in the signification *clamando arcessere* and *invocare*. On the use of the singular with a following *plur. subjecti* see Ew. Gr. § 567.

Vv. 12—15. The king suspected in the unexpected retreat of the Syrians only a stratagem, and thought they intended by a pretended flight to decoy the besieged from their fortress in order to fall upon them in the open field, and to break into the city. On account of this suspicion we are not with Seb. Schm. and others to accuse him of an *ingens incredulitas*, because similar devices in war are by no means rare (comp. several examples in Rosenm. A. u. N. Morgenl. iii., 233 f.), and Elisha had certainly predicted the sudden return of cheapness but not the flight of the Syrians. בְּהַשְׁדָּה stands according to later speech-usage for בַּשָּׂדֶה, comp. Ew. Gr. § 463.—In order to ascertain the ground or groundlessness of the suspicion expressed by the king concerning the flight of the Syrians, at the suggestion of one of the king's servants (counsellors) two pairs of horses (two war chariots) are sent to reconnoitre, who follow the Syrian host unto Jordan and find the whole way full of traces of the

most precipitate flight in garments and vessels which they had cast away. The meaning of the advice (v. 13), which is altogether misunderstood and pronounced to be obscure by some expositors, while it is not at all doubtful but only somewhat prolixly expressed, is simply this, we wish to send five of the horses that remain in the city; if they be taken or slain by the Syrians, in case their flight be only pretended, they meet with no worse lot than all the remaining people in the city, who are still left, but encounter death by hunger, or have been already swept away by the famine. The sending out of the horses implies of itself the sending of men with them; this explains in the simplest manner the parallel drawn between their lot and that of the Israelites in the city. The phrase הִנָּם כְּ makes more prominent the correspondence of the two parties, behold, even so. —14. שְׁנֵי רֶכֶב סוּסִים are not two horses, but two yoke of horses, that is, two pairs of horses yoked to two chariots, see on 1 Ki. v. 6. The difficulty, which Kimchi and others have started, that in v. 13 mention is made of five horses, but according to v. 14 only four are sent, is scarcely worth mentioning, as it is obvious, that five is stated in v. 13 as a round number. On the article in כָּל־הֲמוֹן, comp. Ew. Gr. § 515.—בהחפזם (v. 15) is to be read *niph.* בְּהֵחָפְזָם, the *Keri* בְּחָפְזָם is a bad amendment; for חפז "to hasten from fear" (comp. Hengstenb. comm. on Ps. xxxi. 23, xlviii. 6) occurs only in the *niph.* with the meaning, to flee hastily, comp. Ps. xlviii. 6, civ. 7, and 1 Sam. xxiii. 6.

Vv. 16—20. As soon as they were satisfied by the report of the scouts on their return of the reality of the retreat of the Syrians, the whole populace rushed from the gate to plunder the Syrian camp, in consequence of which the cheapness of provisions predicted by Elisha was realised. To keep order at the gate in the violent crowding of the famished people out of the city, and to prevent any evil that was likely to arise from too great a pressure, the king had ordered to the gate his minister, who the day before had derided the prediction of Elisha. Here he was crushed and trodden down in the throng. This remarkable fulfilment of the word of the Lord proclaimed to him by Elisha the narrator found to be so important, that in vv. 18—20 he again repeats this prediction with its occasion and fulfilment.

CHAPTER VIII.

ELISHA'S REPUTATION AIDS THE SHUNAMMITE IN GAINING HER RIGHTS FROM THE KING, VV. 1—6. IN DAMASCUS ELISHA ANNOUNCES THE KINGDOM TO HAZAEL, VV. 7—15. REIGN OF THE JEWISH KING JEHORAM, VV. 16—24, AND THAT OF AHAZIAH, VV. 25—29.

Vv. 1, 2. By the advice of Elisha, the Shunammite, whose son the prophet had restored to life (iv. 33 ff.), removed into the land of the Philistines during a seven years' famine in Israel. These two verses are by most old interpreters translated in the pluperfect; they manifestly form merely the introduction to the following narrative, the object of which is not to record the prediction of the seven years' famine by Elisha,[1] but to show, that the reputation of the prophet with king Jehoram had advanced so much, that the latter caused the Shunammite, for whom Elisha had done so much, to be forthwith reinstated in all her possessions. The seven years of famine in the middle of the reign of Jehoram, though we are not to conclude with Calm. from iv. 38, that this famine had already begun, when Elisha restored the child of the Shunammite; for even if the identity of the famine (iv. 38) with that of the seven years here mentioned can scarcely be doubted, yet it by no means follows from the position of section iv. 38 ff. after the raising of the dead child at Shunem, that this took place before the famine. For iv. 38 ff. is not annexed to what precedes by the Vau of the *relat. fut.* or *imperf.* indicating consecution of time. But the Rabb., C. a Lap., Seb. Schm., and others, have rightly inferred from the fact that Gehazi still talks with the king after the return of the Shunammite to her native land, that our section belongs to the time before the heal-

[1] Meyer (in Amm. u. Berth.'s Krit. Journ. iv. 226 f.) errs, therefore, when he compares this prediction of the seven years' famine with the drought announced by Elijah (1 Ki. xvii.) in order to prove that our narrative is a legend copied after the former. But it is still more erroneous in the ancients to draw from this supposed parallel a proof that Elijah's spirit rested in double measure on Elisha.

ing of Naaman the Syrian. By the words: "the Lord calls the famine into the land," the famine is represented as a Divine punishment for the idolatry of the people.

Vv. 3—6. As, while the Shunammite was sojourning abroad, others had taken possession of her house and land, she applied to the king for redress on her return. אֶל־בֵּיתָהּ in regard to her house, that is, *de fundo sibi restituendo* (Schulz. Maur.) For this we have in v. 5 עַל־בֵּ֫ית on account of her house. By a special Divine arrangement Gehazi was at that very time recounting to the king the doings of Elisha, and particularly his raising of the dead child of the Shunammite, when she appeared before him with her petition, whereby Jehoram was so interested in her case, that he immediately charged a courtier with orders to restore not only all her possession, but also the fruits of her field during the years of her absence.[1]—On the form עֲזָבָהּ without *mappik* and with *raphe*, comp. Ew. Gr. § 177.

Vv. 7—10. Upon this[2] Elisha came to Damascus, obviously with the view of executing the commission given to Elijah on Horeb (1 Ki. xix. 15) to nominate Hazael king of Syria. Benhadad was at the time sick, and sent, when the arrival of the man of God was announced to him, Hazael to him with a present, to enquire of Jehovah by him concerning his sickness. כָּל־טוּב (v. 9) "every kind of good thing of Damascus" is a more exact description of the מַשָּׂא.—"Forty camels' burden." The present consisted no doubt of the fruits of the land, and was very considerable, because the king wished to obtain from the prophet as favourable an answer as possible; though we are not to suppose it so large that forty camels were actually necessary to carry it, nor think of computing the forty camels' burden with Deres. at 20,000 or even 32,000 lbs.; but must take into account the often attested Oriental custom of making a great display

[1] It appears, accordingly, that the State had taken possession of the abandoned property, though this is not distinctly implied in the words; the king might assign his officer to the Shunammite to aid her in recovering her rights from the unlawful occupier of her possession.

[2] The phrase וַיָּבֹא annexes the following narrative as a later occurrence to the foregoing section, though not necessarily to the last mentioned event.

with presents, and employing as many servants and beasts of burden as possible, whereby only one article was placed upon each (see Harm. Beobacht. ii. p. 29 ff., iii. p. 43; Rosenm. A. u. N. Morgenl. iii. p. 17), so that the forty camels perhaps scarcely carried more than two or four animals might have carried if fully laden.[1] The expression, *thy son*, is explained by the custom mentioned at ii. 12 and vi. 21 of addressing the prophet as father.—V. 10. The words אֱמֹר לֹא חָיֹה תִחְיֶה are according to the *kethibh* to be rendered, "Say, Thou wilt not live," according to the *keri* אֱמָר־לוֹ, "Say to him, Thou wilt live." In favour of the textual reading, which Wits. (*miscell. ss. praef.* § 9) and Budd. (*hist. eccl.* ii. p. 372 f.) especially have defended, is (*a*) the general observation, that most of the *keris* are only arbitrary, unfounded, and objectionable conjectures; (*b*) that this reading is the more difficult, not only on account of the apparent contradiction in v. 14, where Hazael reports the answer of Elisha without the negative to his king, but also because the negative לֹא stands extremely seldom before the *infin. absol.*, mostly after it before the *verb. fin.*, since Ew. in his krit. Gr. p. 563 cites only two cases of that position (Gen. iii. 4 and Ps. xlix.); and (*c*) also that וְהֹרַאֲנִי would stand for כִּי הֹרַאֲנִי, "for Jehovah has shown me."[2] But important though these reasons are, the marginal reading, for which with the Chald., all the old

[1] It is not necessary, therefore, with Köster (d. Proph. p. 93) to pronounce the number forty either an error of transcription or a "hyperbole, such as the Eastern moralist loves, in order to make his moral more impressive." Moreover, it is not mentioned whether Elisha received or rejected the present. As the prophet of the Lord he certainly accepted it as little as the gifts offered by Naaman, as Paulsen (d. Reg. d. Morgenl. i. p. 183) has rightly conjectured.

[2] If besides it be maintained in favour of the *kethibh* and against the *keri*, that the Masor. might on the one hand have formed their conjecture from that which Hazael (v. 14) told the king, and have wished on the other hand to save the prophet from an untruth: the latter reason has little probability in and of itself, because Benhadad did not die of his sickness, but was murdered by Hazael, while the Masor. have not in general readily proposed textual changes from dogmatical reasons; and in reply to the former reason it may likewise be said not without an appearance of truth, that an ignorant transcriber may have changed לוֹ into לֹא, because he did not understand how the prophet could have said of Benhadad, who shortly after died, he will live.

versions, several *codd.* in Kennicott, the Masoretes,[1] and almost all expositors, even Vitringa (*observ. ss.* B. iii. C. 16) and Stark (not. sel. ad h. b.) speak, would deserve the preference. For irrespective of the position of לֹא before יָדוֹעַ, which might perhaps be intended, that the emphasis might rest on לֹא, it is very harsh in mere prose to regard the ו before הראני as causal. Then we can lay no particular stress on the answer which Hazael reported to the king, since he as a wily courtier, who was already forming designs of usurpation, might not have told the king the truth, although on the other hand again, we must acknowledge that he had no sufficient grounds for such lie, as the truth might have been at least as conducive to his plans.[2] Lastly, it is in favour of the marginal reading, that, in case לֹא were negative, the pronoun לוֹ, which the sense requires, would be wanting. The meaning of the answer of the prophet according the *Keri* Kimchi (in Michaelis' bible) has correctly stated thus: *ex morbo quidem certissime non morieris, per vim tamen vita privaberis.* Elisha answers to the question proposed to him quite correctly, Of thy sickness thou wilt recover, but adds for Hazael, that he will nevertheless die, and Hazael reports to his king only the first part of the answer of the prophet, the second, which favours his design, he conceals.

Vv. 11—15. Hereupon Elisha fixed his eye long upon Hazael and wept. When Hazael asked him the cause of his weeping, he declared to him that he saw the grievous sufferings that he (Hazael) would bring on the people of Israel; and when Hazael wished to repudiate this, he said to him, Jehovah has showed thee to me as king over Aram, whereupon Hazael went away, reported to the king the answer already mentioned, but on the following day suffocated him with a wet cloth laid on his face,

[1] The Masoretes reckon this among the fifteen places of the Old Testament in which לֹא is a pronoun, not a negative particle; see *Hilleri Arcan. Keri et Ketibh*, p. 62 f.

[2] Wits. *l. c.* adopts the decision of L. Capellus: *Nisi quis forte dicat, Spiritum sanctum ideo ambigua voce* לֹא *usum hic esse, ut et Elizaei mandatum et Hazaelis factum mandato contrarium simul exprimeret. Crit. sacr.* B. iii. C. 10 § 15. But no such ambiguity lies in the expression of Elisha, as he plainly adds: The Lord hath showed me that he will surely die.

and made himself king of Syria.—V. 11. וַיַּעֲמֵד אֶת־פָּנָיו וַיָּשֶׂם "he set his face fast (upon him.") . On עַד־בּוֹשׁ, comp. on ii. 17. The cruel conduct of Hazael, described v. 12, in the war with Israel, is only a farther enlargement of the brief sentence which the Lord (1 Ki. xix. 17) had spoken to Elijah concerning Hazael. The historical fulfilment of the details is not indeed recorded, but the general fact is so clearly indicated in x. 32 f., xiii. 3, 4, 7, 22, that no doubt can prevail on the matter, as all the atrocities mentioned usually occurred in wars, and were also specially predicted of the kingdom of Israel by Hosea x. 14, xiii. 1. Comp. also xvi. 16; Isa. xiii. 17 f.; Nah. iii. 10; Ps. cxxxvii. 9.—שִׁלַּח בָּאֵשׁ, send into the fire, that is, set on fire; comp. Judg. i. 8, xx. 48; Ps. lxxiv. 7.—V. 13. כֶּלֶב, dog, is in the cringing language of the East an insignificant and bad man, comp. 1 Sam. xvii. 43, xxiv. 15; 2 Sam. ix. 8, Oedmann, verm. Samml. v. p. 42 f.—On v. 14, comp. v. 10. That Hazael was in fact a dog, he forthwith proves, when abusing the predictions of Elisha he on the following day murdered his king (v. 15.)[1] מַכְבֵּר from כָּבַר, to plait, cognate with מִכְבָּר, a net, signifies a plaited coverlet. In accordance with Josephus (Ant. ix. 4—6, δίκτυον [διάβροχον]) J. D. Mich., and others, speak of a gnat net, κωνωπεῖον, which in warm countries is placed over the face in sleep to keep off flies and gnats; but the context is in favour of a thick cloth, as the gnat net soaked in water does not contract so much as to transmit no air. With this agree the Chald. and Syr. which render גּוּנְבָּה and ; both of which signify a thick cloth, as they are also used for שְׂמִיכָה, Judg. iv. 18.

Vv. 16—24. *Reign of Jehoram, king of Judah.* Comp. 2 Chr. xxi. 2—20, and my apolog. Vers. p. 412 ff. Jehoshaphat resigned the sovereignty to Jehoram two years before his death. There-

[1] Preceded by some ancient expositors, Schulz assumes that king Benhadad himself laid the cloth dipped in water on his face to cool it, and was thereby suffocated; but not to speak of the improbability which this assumption involves, it is quite arbitrary to assume a different subject for וַיָּדִי and וַיִּקַּח from that of וַיָּבֹא, וַיֵּלֶךְ and the last וַיֹּאמֶר (v. 14.) Comp. also Maurer *ad h. l.*

fore is it said, v. 16, he became king, when Jehoshaphat was king of Judah (וִיהוֹשָׁפָט מֶלֶךְ יְהוּדָה).[1]

Vv. 17—19. Through Jehoram, who had married Athaliah, daughter of Ahab (comp. v. 18 with v. 26), came the fatal consequences of the marriage of Ahab with the idolatrous princess Jezebel upon Judah also. Jehoram was the opposite of his pious father, Jehoshaphat; immediately after whose death he slew his six brothers, as it appears for no other reason than to make himself master of the treasures which his father had bequeathed to them (2 Chr. xxi. 2—4), and walked wholly in the footsteps of the house of Ahab, that is, introduced the worship of Baal also into his own kingdom.[2] This revolt from the Lord would have involved the total extirpation of the royal family in Judah as in Israel, if the Lord had not preserved a shoot, on account of the promise made to David (2 Sam. vii.) On v. 19 comp. 1 Ki. xi. 36.—לְבָנָיו is put in apposition with לוֹ to explain it, and therefore needs not the copula ו (וּלְבָנָיו).

Vv. 20—22. The divine chastisement, however, was not wanting. Jehoram's ungodliness was punished *partim defectione Edomitarum, partim morbo pessimo aliisque plagis, ut habetur*, 2 Chr. xxi. 12 sqq. Seb. Schm.—Edom, which had hitherto a governor with the title of king, tributary to the kingdom of

[1] These words are quite erroneously omitted by the Syrians and Arabians, by Luther, Dathe, de Wette, in their translations, and explained as a gloss by several expositors, as Schulz, Maurer, and others, also by some chronologists, for example Scaliger and Tiele (Chronol. p. 67.) The rejection of these words, which are found in the oldest versions, the LXX., where they are wanting only in the *edit. Complut*, and the Chald. is as arbitrary as the supplement, provided by Kimchi, of מֵת, "when Jehoshaphat was dead." Comp. J. Meyer, *annotat. ad Seder Olam*, p. 196 f.

[2] "In Jehoram's reign falls the building of Carthage; Dido, her husband Sichaeus, her brother Pygmalion, king of Tyre (*scelere ante alios immanior omnes.*) This synchronism of the history of Tyre is here not unimportant; Tyrian, Israelitish, Jewish history is here connected together. The daughter of Jezebel, a Tyrian princess, was Ahab's wife, and again her daughter Athaliah was Jehoram's wife, and after his death, murderer of the heirs of the throne and usurper of it. By marriage, Tyre brought its then prevalent spirit, and a vast amount of evil, into the two Israelitish kingdoms." J. D. Mich. on v. 24.

Judah (com. iii. 9; 1 Ki. xxii. 48), revolted from Judah, and elected for itself an independent king. Jehoram attempted indeed to reduce the rebels, but without effect. Of his expedition against Edom our books, as 2 Chr. xxi. 9 f. contain only the following brief notice: "And Jehoram went over to Zair with all his chariots, and he rose by night, slew the Edomites who compassed him, and the captains of his chariots, and the people fled to their tents, and Edom revolted from the supremacy of Judah," according to which we must, with most interpreters, suppose the process of affairs to have been thus: Jehoram with his army advanced as far as Zair, a city of Idumaea[1] not otherwise known, but was here surrounded by the Edomites, and slew, indeed, in a night attack the Edomite host that encompassed him, so that he extricated himself, but was compelled to abandon the subjugation of Edom, and retreated with his army to Judaea. סִבִּיב (v. 21) is a later orthography for סוֹבֵב 2 Chr. xxi. 9. At that time Libnah also revolted from Judah (Jos. xv. 42),[2] situated according to Eusebius in the district of Eleutheropolis, of which no trace has yet been discovered. See v. Raum. Pal. p. 207, Winer's R.W. ii. p. 32, and Rob. Pal. ii. p. 654.

Vv. 23, 24. Jehoram died of a horrible disease, in which his bowels fell out, and was buried, indeed, with his fathers in the city of David, but not in the royal burial place, nor with the funeral solemnities performed to his father, 2 Chr. xxi. 18 ff. He was succeeded on the throne by his youngest son Ahaziah or Jehoahaz, as the older ones had been taken captive and put to death by the Arabs, 2 Chr. xxi. 16, xxii. 1.

Vv. 25—29. *Reign of Ahaziah*; comp. 2 Chr. xxii. 1—6. If Ahaziah ascended the throne in the twenty-second year of his

[1] Movers (krit. Unters. p. 218) identifies Zair with Zoar, but without any ground. From the place being totally unknown צָעִירָה, 2 Chr. xxi. 9, is omitted, and instead of it is made the addition of עִם־שָׂרָיו explaining the narrative, which can scarcely, with Dahler (*de libr. Paralip.* p. 107) be explained as a mere error of transcription.

[2] This revolt took place probably on the invasion of the Philistines (2 Chr. xxi. 16 f.) and continued till Uzziah again conquered the Philistines, 2 Chr. xxvi. 6 f. For according to xix. 8, xxiii. 31, xxiv. Libnah, at least from the time of Hezekiah, again belonged to the kingdom of Judah.

life,[1] and his father became king in his thirty-second year and reigned eight years (v. 17), he must have been born in his father's nineteenth year. Hence it might seem strange that he had elder brothers; but in the East they marry early, and royal princes had, besides the wife of the first rank, usually concubines as is expressly stated of Jehoram, 2 Chr. xxi. 17, he might therefore, in the nineteenth year of his age, very well have several sons. —V. 25 f. Ahaziah reigned as his father in the spirit of the house of Ahab, as he consulted with his mother the idolatrous Sultana walidé Athaliah, 2 Chr. xxii. 2 f.—Athaliah is called, v. 26, 2 Chr. xxii. 2, daughter of Omri, that is, grand-daughter; for according to v. 18 she was the daughter of Ahab, and was thereby indicated as the one who represented the spirit of the house of Omri, that brought so much evil on Israel and Judah, even till its extirpation in Judah.—V. 28 f. The war against the Syrians at Ramoth Gilead, in which Ahab met with his death (1 Ki. xxiii.), was in the Divine disposal to furnish the occasion for the extirpation of the whole dynasty of Omri. Ahab's son, Jehoram, undertook, in conjunction with Ahaziah of Judah, a new expedition against Ramoth[2] and returned to Jezreel to be healed of his wounds. Thither came his nephew Ahaziah to visit his sick uncle, and there found his death along with him; comp. ix. 27; 2 Chr. xxii. 7—9.—רָמָה (v. 29) is equal to רָמוֹת גִּלְעָד, see above p. 50.

[1] The number "forty-two years," in 2 Chr. xxii. 2, rests upon an obvious error of transcription, as many older expositors and chronologists have observed. The various attempts of the ancients to maintain the correctness of this number and bring it into harmony with our passage may be found collected and estimated in *J. Marckii sylloge dissert. philol. theol.* (1717) *exerc.* xviii. p. 620 ff.

[2] As Ahab's attempt to reconquer Ramoth was unsuccessful (1 Ki. xxii. 36), yet according to 2 Ki. ix. 14 this city was in the hands of the Israelites, they can have recovered it either only after that disgraceful flight of the Syrians from Samaria (vii.), or only in this war. In the latter case we must assume that in the combat about the city Jehoram was wounded, but yet the city was taken by his army.

CHAPTER IX.

JEHU IS ANOINTED KING BY ELISHA, VV. 1—10; CONSPIRES AGAINST JORAM, VV. 11—16; AND SLAYS JORAM KING OF ISRAEL, AHAZIAH KING OF JUDAH AND QUEEN JEZEBEL, VV. 17—37.

Vv. 1—10. While the host of Israel was encamped at Ramoth, Elisha executed the last of the commissions which Elijah had received in Horeb (1 Ki. xix. 16), since he sent a scholar of the prophets thither to the camp to anoint Jehu, the captain of the host, king, to announce to him the sovereignty over Israel in the name of the Lord and to charge him with the extirpation of Ahab's house. V. 1. פַּךְ שֶׁמֶן a flask of oil; occurring besides here only in 1 Sam. x. 1, from פָּכָה to trickle (said of the slow flowing of a little water), Ezek. xlvii. 2.—מִתּוֹךְ אֶחָיו (v. 2) from the midst of his brethren, that is, of his comrades at arms. As to חֶדֶר בְּחֶדֶר see on 1 Ki. xx.—V. 3. מָלַךְ אֶל יִשְׂרָאֵל king for Israel; אֶל does not stand for עַל.—"And then open the door, and flee and tarry not." Elisha gives him this command scarcely, *ne pluribus ille negotiis se immisceret aut finem rei observaret* (Seb. Schm.), but *ἵνα μὴ συλληφθεὶς κινδυνεύσῃ* (Theod.), or *ne caperetur ab iis, qui familiae Ahabi etiammun fidi erant* (Cler.) V. 4. הַנַּעַר הַנָּבִיא has in negligent speech the article before the *nom. regens*. To regard הנביא as in apposition with הנער, with L. de Dieu and others, is inadmissible, because the two words together are in apposition with the preceding הנער. On v. 7 comp. 1 Ki. xviii. 4, xix. 10; on vv. 8—10 comp. xxi. 21—23.

Vv. 11—16. When, after the departure of the scholar of the prophets, Jehu returned to his comrades, they asked the reason why the scholar of the prophets had come to him. Jehu at first answered evasively; but when they gave no credit to this answer, he communicated to them his nomination to be king; whereupon they forthwith proclaimed him king and went with him to Jezreel, after Jehu had first taken the precaution, that

no fugitive from the city bore the intelligence of his conspiracy against Joram before him to Jezreel.—V. 11. הֲשָׁלוֹם וגו׳ "Is it peace (welfare)? Wherefore came this mad man to thee?" that is, is all well? Has this crazy fellow not brought thee some ill news? מְשֻׁגָּע, *amens, vesanus.* Thus Jehu's companions at arms contemptuously designate the prophet, as even in our days not seldom those, who regardlessly confess their faith before the world, are derided by the unbelieving as crazy heads.[1] "Ye know the man and his speech," that is, *nostis eum insanum esse ac proinde insana locutum, ideoque non credenda nec a me narranda.* C. a Lap.[2]—שֶׁקֶר that is, thou speakest not the truth. V. 13. "Then they hastily took every man his garment, and put it under him on the steps, and blew with the trumpet," etc.[3] The garments, which consisted only of a large piece of cloth (see on 1 Ki. xi. 29), were spread on the floor instead of a carpet as a sign of homage (Mat. xxi. 7), with which also the heathen distinguished highly honoured generals and monarchs; see Wetstein Nov. Test. ad Mat. xxi. 7. On the blowing of the trumpet comp. above p. 12. אֶל גֶּרֶם הַמַּעֲלוֹת the old interpreters only have succeeded in explaining; LXX. ἐπὶ τῷ Γαρὲμ τῶν ἀναβαθμῶν; Chald. לִדְרַג שָׁעַיָּא *ad gradum horarum,* which Kimchi and Jarchi explain by *lapidem in quo signatae sunt lineae horariae;* Syr. ܥܠ ܡܘܬܒܐ ܕܕܪܓܐ *super sedem graduum;* Arab. علي درج المطلع *super gradus loci quo ascenditur.* גֶּרֶם bone,

[1] We may not therefore, with Seb. Münster, Vatabl., Grotius, Hengstenb. Christol. i. 1, p. 294 f., and others, make use of this expression to prove that the state of prophetic inspiration was ecstatic, combined with the violent suppression of the intelligent consciousness and of the whole individual life, like the *furor* of the sibyls and heathen soothsayers. See against this view Hävernick's Einl. ii. 2, p. 35 ff.

[2] Seb. Schm., Joh. H. and J. D. Mich., Deres., and others, incorrectly explain these words, "ye may have sent him yourselves to make a jest."

[3] Hence we see again, how Jehu and his companions of their own will make use of the word uttered by the prophet for rebellion and conspiracy, to which they were not authorized by God; for the prophet had not commanded rebellion, as J. D. Mich. on v. 3 ff. asserts, according to his anti-biblical political views. Comp. what was remarked on this point on 1 Ki. xi. 26 ff.

Gen. xlix. 14; Prov. xvii. 22, etc., denotes here as עֶצֶם frequently *substantiam rei, rem ipsam.* על גרם המ *super ipsosmet gradus.* So Kimchi in the *lib. rad. L. de Dieu ad h. l.*, Winer *(lex.)* and others. On the contrary Gesen. *(thes.* i. 303) has given the preference to the other explanation of גרם, also proposed by *L. de Dieu*, from the Arabic جَرْم *sectio, pars; super aliquem e gradibus.* In the context this would also suit very well, but the analogy of גרם with עצם, as well as in general the late speech usage of our books, decides rather for the first meaning, having in its favour the Aramaic usage, which suits still better. The sense is, without seeking a place suitable for the erection of a throne, they placed their garments upon the steps themselves or the stairs of the house in which they were actually assembled, and set Jehu upon them to proclaim him king. V. 14. הָיָה שֹׁמֵר בר״ "was keeping watch in Ramoth;" hence Ramoth was now in possession of the Israelites, but was threatened by the Syrians.—V. 15. לַגִּיד for לְהַגִּיד, comp. Ew. Gr. § 463.

Vv. 17—21. Two horsemen sent, at the report of the watchman on the tower at Jezreel by the king, one after another, to meet the approaching troop, attach themselves to Jehu's train; whereupon at last, when the watchman from the tower thought he had recognized on the nearer approach of the company the driving of Jehu, king Joram and Ahaziah mounted their chariots to advance towards him, and encountered Jehu in the field of Naboth the Jezreelite.—The second שִׁפְעַת (v. 17) is a later form for שִׁפְעָה, comp. Ges. Lehrgeb. p. 467 and Ew. Gr. § 365. V. 18. מַה־לְּךָ וּלְשָׁלוֹם "What hast thou to do with peace," that is, to concern thyself about it? *Nihil hoc te adtinet, sitne pax nec ne.* J. H. Mich. סֹב אֶל־אַחֲרָי "turn thee behind me (after me)." V. 20. "The driving is like the driving of Jehu, for he driveth like a madman." בְּשִׁגָּעוֹן *in insania*, that is, in fact *cum præcipitatione* (Vatabl.) Falsely the LXX.: ἐν παραλλαγῇ and Chald. בְּנִיחַ *in quiete = pedetentim.* חֶלְקַת נָבוֹת (v. 21) is the כֶּרֶם נָבוֹת mentioned 1 Ki. xxi.

Vv. 22—26. To Joram's question, הֲשָׁלוֹם יֵהוּא, Jehu

answered, "What peace, so long as the whoredoms of thy mother Jezebel and her many witchcrafts continue?" From this answer discovering the treason, Joram turned and fled, but was pierced through by an arrow from Jehu, so that he sank down in the chariot, and his body was then cast by Jehu's adjutant in the field of Naboth, that the word of the Lord spoken by Elijah concerning the house of Ahab (1 Ki. xxi. 19 ff.) might be fulfilled. עַד־זְנוּנֵי וגו׳ "during the whoredoms," that is, so long as they endure. עַד denotes continuance, and is in this sense elsewhere connected with the infinitive, Judg. iii. 26. זְנוּנִים spiritual whoredom, that is, idolatry, with which כְּשָׁפִים properly *incantationes magicae*, then witchcrafts were in general (comp. Is. xlvii. 9) connected, comp. Deut. xviii. 10 ff. V. 23. On יַהֲפֹךְ יָדָיו see on 1 Ki. xxii. 24. מִרְמָה means also here only fraud. We are defrauded, that is, in fact, betrayed. V. 24. מָלֵא יָדוֹ בַּקֶּשֶׁת means neither, *implevit manu arcum*, nor *manus Jehu implevit arcum* (Schultens *Op. min.* p. 176), but, Jehu filled his hand with the bow, that is, seized the bow.[1] בֵּין זְרֹעֹתָיו between his arms, that is, in the back between the shoulders. כִּי זָכֹר אֲנִי וגו׳ "For remember me and thee, the riders . . . ," that is, recollect how we, I and thou, rode (or drove) after Ahab his father. The אֶת before רֹכְבִים is not the preposition *cum* (*L. de Dieu*), but *nota accusat* depending on זכר, as the pronouns אֲנִי וְאַתָּה, which are put in looser connexion for אֹתִי וְאוֹתָךְ. רֹכְבִים צְמָדִים most explain: *equitantes per paria, bini* (Gesen.); though we might understand it also with Kimchi and Bochart (*hieroz.* i. p. 979) *de binis, qui in eodem curru vehuntur*. נָשָׂא מַשָּׂא עַל "עַל means not to lay a burden on any one (Hengstenb. Christol. ii. p. 102 ff., and comm. on Pss. i. 300 f.), but, to pronounce sentence on any one, comp. Delitszch on Hab. i. 1.—V. 26. אִם לֹא is a form of oath; if not = truly. Jehu quotes the Divine

[1] The Arabic expression اصدا في القوس adduced by A. Schultens *l. c. p.* 176 and 555 does not apply here, because it originates from the complete phrase اصدا النزع في القوس.

sentence of Elijah on Ahab (1 Ki. xxi. 19) freely as to the words, but correctly enough as to the sense, which in consequence of the repentance of Ahab was to be fulfilled only in his son (comp. the remarks on 1 Ki. xxi. 19) and was now executed by Jehu on Joram. וְאֶת־דְּמֵי בְנָיו. In the account of the stoning of Naboth (1 Ki. xxi. 13 ff.), the stoning of his sons certainly is not expressly mentioned, but it follows from the fact that Naboth's goods were confiscated (see on 1 Ki. xxi. 14 ff.) and was not particularly mentioned, "because the thing was so usual, that the historian might omit it as understood of itself." Mich. Mos. R.V. § 229, comp. also on xiv. 5 f.

Vv. 27—29. When Ahaziah saw this, he wished to escape, but was overtaken by Jehu in Ibleam and mortally wounded, so that fleeing farther he died at Megiddo, and as a corpse was carried by his servants to Jerusalem and buried there. In 2 Chr. xxii. 9 this account is much curtailed, whereby it is made to appear as if Ahaziah had died in Samaria, an apparent contradiction, which Movers (Krit. Unters. p. 92) wishes to remove unnecessarily by violent alterations of the text,[1] whereas the two accounts simply harmonize as I have stated according to the older expositors in my apolog. Vers. p. 289. Ahaziah namely fled first by the way to the garden house and escaped to Samaria, but was here, where he had hid himself, taken by Jehu's men who followed him, brought to Jehu, who was still near or in Jezreel, and at his command slain at the hill Gur beside Ibleam in his chariot, that is, mortally wounded with an arrow, so that he again fleeing expired at Megiddo. Comp. *Buddei. hist. eccl.* ii. p. 388. To the command, "Smite him in the chariot at the hill Gur by Ibleam" must be supplied the execution of the command, as this is often omitted in the Hebrew. This method is simpler than to assume with de Wette and Maurer that וַיַּכֻּהוּ has fallen out after הַמַּכֻּהוּ. Ibleam lay, according to v. 27 and Judg. i. 27,

[1] But instead of removing the apparent contradiction, Movers has, by the proposed alteration of "וַיָּמָת" into וַיָּבֹא הוּא אֶל־יְהוּדָה לִיהוּדָה, he came to Judah, where he was slain," not only introduced an actual and unaccountable contradiction into the text, but also committed the geographical offence of regarding the town of Megiddo (see above, p. 48) situated in the plain of Esdraelon, as belonging to the kingdom of Judah.

near Megiddo in the tribe of Issachar (Jos. xvii. 11); as the place has not been discovered, nothing can be determined about the hill Gur.—V. 49 is a repetition of viii. 25. The difference "in the twelfth year of Joram," viii. 45, and "in the eleventh year of Joram" here is most simply explained by a different computation of the beginning of the years of his reign.

V. 30—37. Finally, the Divine judgment falls also upon the profligate Jezebel. When Jehu came to Jezreel, she adorned herself with paint and head-gear, to impose on him as queen, or at least to die as queen, but was at his command thrown out of the window, trampled upon by Jehu's horses, and instantly devoured by dogs, so that shortly after, when Jehu wished to have her buried, some remains only of her body, the skull, feet, and hands, were found.—"And she put her eyes in lead-glance," that is, painted them with lead-glance. פּוּךְ a favourite eye-pigment of the Eastern women to this day, composed of a mixture of burnt or pulverised antimony (*Stibium, Antimonium, Arab.* كحل) or of lead-ore similar to antimony and zinc, which was made up with some liquid, usually oil, and applied with a paint-brush to the eye-lids, whereby they received a dark border, and the eye appeared much brighter and larger;[1] comp. Rosenm. A. u. N. Morgenl. iv. p. 268 ff., Winer R.W. ii. p. 492, and the documents there quoted.—V. 31. הֲשָׁלוֹם זִמְרִי "Is it peace, Zimri, the murderer of his master?" Against this Maurer has objected, *quis credat, Isabelam regem interrogasse; num pacato, benevolo animo venisset, eodemque temporis momento regis interfectorem appellasse?* But this objection is of no importance, and should not have induced de Wette in the third edition of his Old Testament to confound the correct rendering with the false one of Maurer, "was it well with Zimri, the murderer of his master?"

[1] Accordingly the phrase, to put the eyes in lead-glance, for, to paint them, is very expressive of the reality, and there is no need of the explanation of וַתָּשֶׂם proposed by A. Schultens (Op. min. p. 177) from the Arabic وشم to tattoo, which does not correspond with the reality, since the eyelids were not scratched to introduce the paint, and is not in the remotest sense demanded by Jer. iv. 30, as the prophet designedly used the striking expression, to rend קָרַע the eyes with paint.

(an incolumis fuit *Simri etc.)* If the words had this sense, הֲיָדָה would not be wanting. In and of itself also it cannot be understood otherwise than in v. 22. But the difficulty raised against the only admissible rendering of the words is founded upon the false supposition, that Jezebel painted and attired herself, to corrupt Jehu by her charms, which was certainly entertained by Ephraim Syr. The true reason is found in the *Critt. ss.* by Münster and Clarius: *Adhibuit autem fucum mulier ista detestabilis faciei suae, non quod acceptior esset Jehu caperetque ipsum oculis suis, sed ut gravitatem regiam prae se ferret et illum a suo conatu terreret. Unde et superbo animo locuta est ad illum; nescis quod non bene cesserit Zimri, qui percussit Baasa dominum suum, sicut et tu tuum interfecisti.* She calls Jehu a second Zimri, in order to point indirectly to the fate which awaited him for the murder of his king, 1 Ki. xvi. 10—18.—V. 32. מִי אִתִּי מִי, "who is (holds) with me, who?"—V. 33. On the form וַיִּן see Ew. Gr. p. 161.—וַיִּרְמְסֻהָ *et conculcavit eam Jehu equis super eam actis.* Schulz.—אֶת־הָאֲרוּרָה הַזֹּאת, that is, her upon whom the Divine curse has fallen. On v. 36 f. comp. 1 Ki. xxi. 23. What Jehu here quotes as the prediction of Elijah stands not all literally in that passage, and it is not necessary to suppose with many expositors, that the sentence of the prophet is there given in an abbreviated form, as it is much more obvious to assume, that Jehu did not confine himself strictly to the words of Elijah, but freely expanded them according to the sense. This free expansion of the prediction explains also חֵלֶק for חֵל. The form תְּהִיֶת is the oldest form of the 3. p. s. f., which has been preserved in the Hebrew only in a few places (Lev. xxv. 21, xxvi. 34; Jer. xiii. 19), comp. Ew. Gr. § 286, and is usually called a Syriasm, see Gesen. Hebr. Gr. § 74. Remark 1.—"That they cannot say, This is Jezebel," they can no longer recognize her.

CHAPTER X. vv. 1—27.

EXTIRPATION OF THE REMAINING SONS OF AHAB, VV. 1—11; OF THE BRETHREN OF AHAZIAH OF JUDAH, VV. 12—14; AND OF THE PROPHETS AND PRIESTS OF BAAL, VV. 15—27.

Vv. 1—5. In order to extirpate the seventy descendants of Ahab residing in Samaria, Jehu sent letters thither to the rulers of Jezreel, the elders and guardians of the royal princes, with the challenge to appoint one of the sons of their master king. This summons was an artifice, by which he only wished to sound the disposition of the grandees of the kingdom, who stood nearest to the royal house, because he did not dare, without having ascertained this, with the obviously small number of his followers to march to Samaria, the capital, in order to exterminate the remaining members of the royal house of Ahab. The artifice succeeded. The nobles in Samaria were in great terror, partly, from his power, as he had the army on his side, partly also because they might recognize in him, who had slain the two kings, the divinely appointed avenger and executor of the curse pronounced upon the house of Ahab, and therefore declared by a deputation sent to him, their submission to his orders.—V. 1. The seventy בָּנִים of Ahab in Samaria are not strictly sons only, but, as guardians are still spoken of, and Ahab was now thirteen or fourteen years dead, the whole posterity of Ahab, consisting of sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons, comp. v. 13.—שָׂרֵי יִזְרְעֶאל the nobles, or most distinguished men of Jezreel. The old translators stumbled at Jezreel, so that the LXX. put Σαμαρείας, the *Vulg. civitatis* in its place, many of the moderns, as Cler., Calm., Mich., wished to change Jezreel into Israel, while others supposed that the chief men of Jezreel, after Joram was put to death, had fled from Jehu to Samaria. But neither alterations of the text, nor the other improbable suppositions are necessary; but the supreme court-officials of the royal house of Ahab are called the chief men of Jezreel, because Ahab often resided there, and many of them might actually belong to the men of rank in

Jezreel, but were at that time in Samaria.[1] הָאֹמְנִים אַחְאָב are the guardians and educators of the royal princes of Ahab. V. 2. On וְעַתָּה comp. on v. 6. From the expression, "with you are the sons of your master," that is, Joram, we perceive, that among the sons of Ahab, his grandsons, also the sons of Joram, are included.—The terms of the letter, "ye have all in your hands, the king's sons, chariots and horses, a fenced city and armour; Look even out the best and meetest of your master's sons," etc., are evidently ironical. הִלָּחֵם עַל־בֵּית fight for the house, as Judg. ix. 17.—V. 5. אֲשֶׁר־עַל־הַבַּיִת prefect of the palace, see above p. 44. אֲשֶׁר עַל־הָעִיר the governor of the town = שַׂר הָעִיר 1 Ki. 26.

Vv. 6—11. After the nobles in Samaria had signified to Jehu their readiness to submit to him, he wrote them an order to slay the seventy descendants of Ahab, and send their heads on the following day to Jezreel, which they also compliantly did." אֶת־גְּדֹלֵי ה׳ (v. 6) is not the nominative, so that אֶת *ex sequiori Hebraismo* stands before the nominative (Maur.), but אֵת is a preposition; "the king's sons, seventy persons, were with the great men of the city, who brought them up." Jehu then caused the heads cut off to be laid in two heaps before the city gate, in Jezreel, and on the following morning, in sight of them, said to the assembled people, "Ye are righteous, I conspired against my master and slew him, but who slew all these? (v. 9.) Know now, that nothing of the word of the Lord falls to the earth (remains unfulfilled), which he spake concerning the house of Ahab, and Jehovah has done that which he spake by his servant Elijah" (v. 10.) The sense of these words is differently apprehended. Cler., Dathe, Schulz, Maur., and others find in v. 9, an ironical expression of Jehu, *ut ostendat, sibi soli non esse exprobrandum, quod in Achabi familiam rebellasset, cum primores ipsi Israelitarum omnes ejus filios interemissent.* But although

[1] From the circumstance, that in v. 5 instead of the chief men of Jezreel (שָׂרֵי יז׳) "he that was over the house," and "he that was over the city," are named, de Wette infers, that perhaps both residences had only one commandant of the city and one steward of the household.

Jehu wishes in some measure to justify his conspiracy, yet his words, ye are righteous, are neither ironical, nor can they be taken with J. H. Mich. and others, as a question, are ye righteous? as if Jehu had thereby wished to represent the people as accomplices in his conspiracy. The words contain a cunning device, inasmuch as Jehu not only conceals from the people that Ahab's descendants in Samaria were beheaded by his order, but summons them, as righteous, to judge impartially, whether his conspiracy and slaughter of the king, which he openly confesses, are to be regarded as a punishable offence, and to discern from the circumstance that the sons also of Ahab were slain ostensibly without his assistance, that he had done nothing but co-operate on his part in the execution of the judgment inflicted by the Lord on the house of Ahab. V. 11. The effect of this speech was, that the people quietly looked on, while Jehu put to death also all the more distant relatives and still remaining influential friends and followers of the dynasty of Ahab in Jezreel. כֹּהֲנָיו his priests are probably court priests, such as the heathen kings had, not secular advisers, as several expositors think.

Vv. 12—14. When Jehu on this went to Samaria, by the way he met at the binding-house of the shepherds the relatives of Ahaziah, king of Judah, who having no intelligence of the preceding events, wished to go to Samaria to visit the princes of Israel, and caused them all, forty-two men, to be taken alive and slain at the cistern of the binding-house, in order probably to prevent the royal house of Judah, with the certainly not inconsiderable party of adherents to the royal house of Ahab in Samaria, from conspiring against him. בֵּית עֵקֶד הָרֹעִים (Βαιθακάθ LXX.) Jarchi, with the Chald., explains בֵּית כְּנִישַׁת רָעְיָא *locus conventus pastorum*, according to which Gesen. *thes.* i. 195 (with reference to the Arabic عُقْدَة, *pagus, prædium*) *domus prædii pastorum*; but has عُقْدَة actually this signification? Freytag does not recognize it in his *lex. s. v.* The older interpreters generally give, *tonstrinae pastorum, i.e., domus ubi pastores ligabant oves quando eas tondebant.* Eusebius says, Βαιθακάθ . . κώμη ἀπέχουσα τῆς Λεγεῶνος (Megiddo) σημείοις ιέ ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ πεδίῳ. Here certainty cannot be obtained.—אַחֵי אֲחַזְיָהוּ, for

which stands 2 Chr. xxii. 8, בְּנֵי אַחְזִי אח, nephews of Ahaziah, are not full brothers of Ahaziah, as these were carried away by the Arabians and slain before he ascended the throne (2 Chr. xxi. 17, xxii. 1), but partly step-brothers, that is, sons of Jehoram by his concubines or wives of the second rank, partly brothers' sons, nephews, and cousins, in general blood relations of Ahaziah. When could Jehoram, who died when forty years old (2 Ki. viii. 17), have begotten forty-two sons? Comp. my apolog. Vers. p. 414.—לִשְׁלוֹם *ad salutandum*, briefly for לִרְאוֹת שָׁלוֹם to enquire after the health, that is, to visit. בְּנֵי הַגְּבִירָה are the sons of Joram, בְּנֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ, the sons of the queen mother (regent, comp. on 1 Ki. xv. 10—13, xix. 1) Jezebel, thus the brothers of Joram; both together are, v. 1, included under the בָּנִים of Ahab.

Vv. 15—17. By the way Jehu meets also with Jehonadab the Rechabite, and after he had satisfied himself of his upright intentions, caused him to mount his chariot and go with him to Samaria, that he might witness his zeal for the Lord, when he on his arrival cut off all the surviving members and adherents of the house of Ahab. Jehonadab, the son of Rechab, is to be regarded as the patriarch of the Rechabites, since he prescribed to his sons and descendants for all time to come the rule, to pursue the simple nomadic life, namely, to dwell in tents, to till no ground, and to abstain from wine, which rule they held so sacred, that the prophet Jeremiah set them forth as an example to his contemporaries who transgressed the Divine law without any fear, and was able to promise to them, the Rechabites, in return for their faithful adherence to their father's injunction, exemption from the calamities of the Chaldee invasion (Jer. xxxv.) His father Rechab, from whom Jehonadab's posterity derived their family name, was the son of Hemath, and belonged to the tribe of the Kinites or Kenites (1 Chr. ii. 55), to which also Moses' father-in-law, Hobab, belonged (Num. x. 29), so that the Rechabites probably descended from Hobab, as the Kenites, the children of Hobab, went with Israel from the desert of Arabia to Palestine, and there had continued their nomadic life. Judg. i. 16, iv. 11; 1 Sam. xv. 6. Compare Witsius *Miscell. ss.* ii. p. 223 ff., Carpzov, *appar. crit.* p. 148. This Jehonadab was accordingly a distinguished man on account of the strictness of his

life, and Jehu appears to have treated him in so friendly a manner on account of the great reputation which he enjoyed, not merely in his own tribe, but generally in Israel, in order through his friendship to be more exculpated in the eyes of the people with regard to his conspiracy.[1] חֲרֵשׁ אֶת־לְבָבְךָ וגו׳, "Is thine heart honest as my heart towards thy heart?" The use of the אֵת before the subject belongs to the grammatical inaccuracies of the later language, comp. Ew. krit. Gr. p. 597. וְיֵשׁ, and if it is (honest), give thine hand, *in fidei confirmationem et concordiae signum.* Seb. Schm.—V. 17. "All that remained to Ahab," that is, all the remaining members and adherents of the dynasty of Ahab. On the form עַד הִשְׁמִיד, see Ew. Kr. Gr. p. 649 not.

Vv. 18—27. By an artifice Jehu slew all the prophets, priests, and servants of Baal, since under the pretext that he wished to serve Baal still more than Ahab, he ordered a great sacrifice to this god, summoned to it all the worshippers of Baal in the whole land, surrounded the temple of Baal in which they were assembled with eighty men of his guards, and through them had the collected worshippers of Baal put to the sword after the offering was completed. *Quod ad factum, sacerdotum Baaliticorum interfectionem, non male fecit pro statu et ordinationibus Veteris Test. At quod ad circumstantiam facti, dum mentitur cultum Baaliticum excusatum nolumus.* Seb. Schm. In an objective light the slaying of the servants of Baal was quite in harmony with the law and quite legitimate on theocratic ground; but the subjective motive, which irrespective of the artifice influenced Jehu, was thoroughly selfish. As the priests and prophets of Baal in the land of Israel, with all their interests and their whole existence, were bound up with the dynasty of Ahab, they might be dangerous to Jehu, if he did not from political considerations earnestly promote their objects, whereas by their extermination he might hope to bring to his side the whole of the certainly very

[1] According to Corn. a Lap., he took him into his chariot, *ut auctoritatem sibi apud Samaritas nomenque probitatis conciliaret per Jonadabum sibi socium, quem omnes habebant pro viro integro et sancto, ut hac ratione facilius perageret caedem Baalitarum, quam moliebatur, nec aliquis ei resistere auderet.*

numerous party of the earlier legally constituted worship of Jehovah in Israel, and thereby give stability to his throne. But that Jehu used religion only as a means to an end is proved by the circumstance that he continued the worship of the calves (v. 29.) V. 20. קַדְּשׁוּ עֲצָרָה "consecrate a solemn assembly," that is, proclaim in the land a holy convocation for Baal, comp. Is. i. 13; Jo. i. 14; Am. v. 21. עֲצֶרֶת = עֲצָרָה is virtually equivalent to מִקְרָא קֹדֶשׁ Lev. xxiii. 36, comp. Num. xxix. 35; Deut. xvi. 8, and denotes originally the solemnity, with which the feast of tabernacles was closed on the eighth, and the passover on the seventh day, and not only the holy public convocation on this day, on which no work was to be done, but also the day itself as the close of the festival, comp. Bähr's Symbol. ii. p. 618 f. וַיִּקְרָאוּ "And they proclaimed" the solemn convocation. V. 21. פֶּה לָפֶה "from one end to the other," xxi. 16. This import of the phrase is not to be derived with Gesen. (*thes.* ii. 1088) from פֶּה = פֵּאָה *latus*, but from פֶּה mouth, orifice, from the upper rim of a vessel. *Metaphora sumta a vasis humore aliquo plenis.* Vatabl.—V. 22. The ἅπαξ λεγ. מֶלְתָּחָה *vestiarium*, wardrobe, finds its explication in the Ethiopic, see Ges. *thes.* ii. 764. "אֲשֶׁר עַל־הַמ the Arab. correctly renders صاحب الكسوة *praefectus vestium.* Like the priests of almost all nations, the priests of Baal also had their particular sacred robes, made probably of white byssus,[1] which they put on only when officiating, and which were kept in a particular wardrobe in the temple, under the care of a master of the wardrobe.[2] V. 24.

[1] This may be inferred partly from the dress of the priests of the Gadetanic Hercules in Sil. Ital. iii. 23.

. . . . . *Nec discolor ulli*
Ante aras cultus: velantur corpora lino,
Et Pelusiaco praefulget stamine vertex—

partly from this, that the priests of most nations wore white robes of office. Comp. Saubertus, *de sacrif.* c. 9, Spencer, *de leg. Hebr. ritual.* l. iii. c. 5, p. 682 f., Braun, *de vestit. sacerdot.* i. c. i. p. 9 and c. ix. p. 179 ff. and Bähr, Symbol. ii. p. 87 ff.

[2] The holy garments also of the priests of Israel were kept in the temple at Jerusalem, comp. Braun *l.* c. ii. c. 26, p. 675 ff. Many interpreters, therefore, even Gesenius, understand מֶלְתָּחָה incorrectly

נַפְשׁוֹ תַּחַת נַפְשׁוֹ "his soul hold for his soul." That is, if one of the priests of Baal escape, he who has let him escape is to hold his own life for his, that is, to give his own life instead of his, 1 Ki. xx. 39. V. 25. שָׁלִשִׁים the royal satellites see on 1 Ki. ix. 22.—וַיַּשְׁלִיכוּ they cast out, namely, the slain from the temple. עִיר בֵּית־הַבַּעַל is usually explained, city of the temple of Baal, that is, the quarter in which the temple was. So the old translators, de Wette, Maurer, and others. But the satellites of Jehu were already in the temple of Baal; how could they, therefore, after they had slain the priests assembled there, first go into the quarter where the temple was? For to assume two temples of Baal in Samaria is quite improbable, as in 1 Ki. xvi. 32 only the building of a house of Baal is mentioned, and here also the destruction of only one is spoken of, while Jehu entirely exterminated Baal out of Israel.[1] Seb. Schm. seems to have discovered the right explanation. *Puto templum Baalis magnifice fuisse extructum instar arcis alicujus: foris autem fuisse atrium, in quo sacrificia peracta. In hoc itaque atrio sacerdotes occisi sunt, et ex atrio irruperunt satellites Jehu in ipsam arcem templi et ejecerunt statuas Baalis.* For although the etymology of the word עִיר is quite uncertain, yet there can be no doubt of this, that it means primarily a place enclosed with walls, because by the surrounding wall alone was the city originally distinguished from the village or town, wherewith the idea of a castle, or more correctly perhaps an enclosed space, was closely connected. עִיר בֵּית is the

of the royal wardrobe; still more erroneous is the opinion of Dereser, that Jehu gave the priests of Baal a caftan out of it, to make them more easily distinguishable by the guards who were to slay them, or as Cleric. thinks, *ut fidem faceret omnibus, nullam fraudem subesse alliceretque omnes si qui adhuc laterent.* Both were unnecessary; the first, because Jehu (v. 23) caused the assembly to be searched, whether any worshipper of Jehovah was in it; the second, because the sacrifice proposed must have obviated all suspicion of treachery.

[1] Still more arbitrary is it, with Vatabl., *Lud. de Dieu ad h. l.* and Cler. to understand by עיר בית הבעל *urbem vicinam Samariae, ubi templum peculiare habebat Baal*, or with Calmet a town with the surname *templum Baalis*, or with J. D. Mich. (*Supplem. ad lexx. Hebr.* p. 1090 to explain it by غَيْر *alius*. Neither has עִיר the meaning *pit*, which Schulz, Dereser, and others give the word.

inner sanctuary of the temple, as xx. 4, הָעִיר הַתִּיכֹנָה the inner part of the city, where the Masoretes have explained עִיר by חָצֵר. The root is probably "עָר *circumire, circumdare, cingere*" (Fürst, *Concord.* p. 805), equivalent to חָצַר *circumdedit, circumvallavit*, so that the primary meaning of עִיר is *sepimentum, munimentum, locus circumseptus munitus.* But עִיר nowhere signifies an open village or shepherd's hamlet, as Hitzig on Is. i. 8 asserts. In vv. 26 and 27 מַצְּבוֹת בֵּית הַבַּעַל are different from the מַצֶּבֶת הַבַּעַל; the latter is broken down, as was the house of Baal, and was consequently a conical stone dedicated to Baal, compare the remarks on 1 Ki. xiv. 23; the former are burnt, and were therefore of wood, and, according to Movers' very probable conjecture, *πάρεδροι* or *σύμβωμοι* of Baal (d. Phoniz. i. p. 674.) To cover the demolished temple with perpetual infamy they made it into privies לְמַחֲרָאוֹת, for which indecent expression the Masor. substituted מוֹצָאוֹת, a mode of insult of which there are examples in other nations, comp. Ezr. vi. 11, Dan. ii. 5, and Hävern. on the passage, Lorsbach, Archiv. für morgenl. Litter. i. p. 125, and Rosenm. A. u. N. Morgenl. iii. p. 279.

Vv. 28, 29. Thus Jehu destroyed Baal out of Israel, but allowed the worship of the calves introduced by Jeroboam (1 Ki. xii. 28 f.) to continue.

Third Epoch. From the reign of Jehu in Israel and Athaliah in Judah to the fall of the kingdom of Israel in the sixth year of Hezekiah, chap. x. 30—xviii. 41.

The last verses of chap. x. and the whole of chap. xi. form the introduction to this epoch, or the transition to the last section of the second period of the history of the kings, wherein the character which the development of the theocracy bears in this whole period of 162 years is beforehand clearly discovered. The kingdom of Israel, through the great works of God which Elijah and Elisha had wrought in it, had only advanced so far as to exterminate the worship of Baal, so that in the beginning of this third epoch it has only returned again to the illegal worship of God under the symbols of the calves at Bethel and Dan. The

Lord, therefore, began now, through the Syrians, to smite it in all its borders (x. 32 f.), although Jehu was so far favoured for the destruction of Baal effected in the name of the Lord, that his posterity were to occupy the throne till the fourth generation (v. 30.) Judah had also paid with the life of its king for the worship of Baal adopted from Israel, and was to be still farther chastised through Athaliah, descended from the idolatrous Jezebel, who usurped the throne and tyrannised over the kingdom for six years, until she was overthrown by the courage of the high-priest Jehoiada, and with her not only was the worship of Baal entirely eradicated, but also a king was given to the country in the person of Joash, the son of the king that was saved, who, as long as Jehoiada was his adviser, governed the covenant people in a purely theocratic spirit (ch. xi.) His successors on the whole followed the law of the Lord, although they did not entirely suppress the worship on the high places, till Ahaz, who publicly introduced the Syrian idolatry into Jerusalem.—In the kingdom of Israel Jehu's successors all walk in the sins of Jeroboam, and have to suffer much from the Syrians, until the Lord, through Jehoash and Jeroboam II., granted them victory over these enemies. But, after the death of the latter, anarchy and repeated murders of kings unsettled the scarcely recruited monarchy. Judah, on the contrary, strengthened under Joash and Amaziah, was indeed involved by the arrogance of the latter in an unfortunately ending war with Israel, but raised to still greater external power by Uzziah and Jotham. It sank again, however, under the untheocratic sway of the idolatrous Ahaz. The confederate Syrians and Israelites invaded Judah, and Ahaz, instead of trusting in the promised help of the Lord, applied to the king of Assyria, and thus prepared the way for these conquerors of upper Asia into the holy land, in consequence of which they, in repeated invasions, conquered the kingdom of the ten tribes, brought it to an end by the taking of Samaria, carried away its inhabitants to Assyria and Media (ch. xviii.), and transplanted Babylonish colonists into the depopulated country. Not content, however, with this, the Assyrians invaded Judah also, and pressed it so hard that Ahaz was able to save his kingdom from conquest and ruin only by the payment of a heavy tribute.

CHAPTER X. vv. 30—36.

REIGN OF JEHU OF ISRAEL.

Vv. 30—36. For the extirpation of the idolatrous house of Ahab, Jehu is promised the possession of the throne for his sons to the fourth generation, comp. xv. 12. The Divine sentence, "Thou hast done well in executing that which is right in mine eyes, thou hast done unto the house of Ahab according to all that was in mine heart," refers to the act as such, not to the subjective motive which may have influenced Jehu therein. This is shown at once by the contrast in v. 31, "But Jehu followed not the law of the Lord with his whole heart, he departed not from the sins of Jeroboam. Now, therefore, Hazael must exercise the office of corrector on the faithless kingdom of the ten tribes," v. 32 ff. לְקַצּוֹת בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל "to cut off in Israel," that is, to rend away parts of the kingdom. Hazael seized the whole land east of the Jordan, v. 33, comp. with Num. xxxii. 33—42, and Jos. xiii. 15—32. "The whole land of Gilead," assigned to the tribes of Reuben, Gad, and half of Manasseh, included the kings of Gilead and Bashan (see above p. 53), and extended southwards to the brook Arnon, northwards to mount Hermon (Jebel esh sheik), comp. Deut. iii. 8, iv. 48, Jos. xi. 3, 17, xiii. 11, v. Raumer, Pal. p. 27, and Rob. Pal. iii. p. 625. Of Aroer on the Arnon موجب Burckh. found ruins under the name of عرعاير Araair, (see Ges. *thes.* ii. 1074) on the north bank of the Mujeb, on which comp. v. Raum. p. 73, Ges. *thes.* i. 153, and Winer R. W. p. 102 f.

CHAPTER XI.

ATHALIAH USURPS THE THRONE, VV. 1—3, BUT IS OVERTHROWN AND JOASH RAISED TO THE THRONE, VV. 4—20. COMP. 2 CHR. XXII. 10, XXIII. 21.

Vv. 1—3. After the death of Ahaziah of Judah, his mother, Athaliah, (comp. on viii. 18, 26), usurped the government and destroyed all the seed royal except Joash, who was stolen by Jehosheba, his father's sister, the wife of Jehoiada, the high priest, when a little child, from the midst of the royal children, who were slain, and with his nurse was first brought into the chamber of beds and afterwards kept concealed from Athaliah six years in the residence of the high priest in the temple buildings. כָּל־זֶרַע הַמַּמְלָכָה all the seed of the kingdom, all the descendants of the royal family, who could lay claim to the throne, or all the sons of Ahaziah (v. 2.) For there were scarcely any other direct descendants of the royal house, as the elder full brothers of Ahaziah had been carried away and murdered by the Arabs, and the other near blood relations who were males, had been slain by Jehu, see on x. 13 f.—Jehosheba, the daughter of king Joram, married to Jehoida, was scarcely a full daughter of Athaliah, as this worshipper of Baal would hardly have consented to the marriage of her full daughter with the high priest, (Cler.), and she is in both narratives designated only as the daughter of Jehoram and sister of Ahaziah. She was thus begotten of Joram by a wife of the second rank. The Kethibh הַמְּמוּתִים is here an adjective: "devoted to death," elsewhere a substantive, Jer. xvi. 4, and Ezek. xxviii. 8, comp. Hävern. on the passage. The Masor. therefore wished to read מוּמָתִים the *hoph.* participle, as in 2 Chr. xxii. 11. The term בַּחֶדֶר הַמִּטּוֹת is to be connected with וַתִּגְנְבֵהוּ, "they stole him and his nurse into the chamber of beds," for, they stole him and concealed him in the chamber of beds, till they could bring him with his nurse into their dwelling in the temple.[1] The chamber of beds is not the

[1] This *constructio prægnans* is resolved in 2 Chr. xxii. 11, by supplying וַתִּתֵּן, which, however, does not entitle us with Mov. (Krit. Unters. p. 85), to amend our text after Chronicles.

dormitory of the priests and Levites in the temple courts, as many interpreters, with several Talmudists suppose, nor the chamber, *ubi liberi infantes regum cubabant* (Cler.), but a chamber in the palace, where the beds (matrasses and coverlets) were kept, for which they have a chamber in the East which is not inhabited. See Chardin in Harm. Beobacht. iii. p. 357.

Vv. 4—20. *Fall of Athaliah and elevation of Jehoash to the throne.* To this narrative is found a more copious parallel in 2 Chr. xxiii., deviating in several points. These deviations are made to be contradictions by de Wette (Beitr. i. p. 95 ff. and Einl. p. 264), and Gramb. (d. Chron. p. 135 ff., Religionsid. d. A. T. i. p. 255 ff.), and pronounced to be arbitrary changes of the writer of Chron. in favour of the Levites, in opposition to which Dahler *l. c.* p. 112 ff. endeavoured to show, that Chronicles in comparison with our narrative contains *narrationem integriorem et fide digniorem*, while Movers (Krit. Unters. p. 307 ff.) has declared all the deviations of Chronicles to be "singular mistakes" of the writer. In accordance with his erroneous view of the sources of Chronicles he could come to no other conclusion.[1] Yet even Dahler's defence of Chronicles is unsatisfactory in this respect, that it is made at the expense of the credibility of our narrative. The harmony of the two narratives Hertz i. p. q. p. 51 ff. has rightly asserted, but has done anything rather than proved, inasmuch as he has brought forward much that is untenable and erroneous along with several just remarks. The two narratives are short abstracts from a common larger source with diverse aim and plan, and all the differences and apparent contradictions are explained, partly by the incompleteness and brevity of the two abstracts, partly by the different points of

[1] The mode in which Mov. treats this history, in which he has, according to the just remark of Hävernick, rather "confused than illustrated the two narratives," affords a striking proof of the incorrectness of the hypothesis running through his whole work, that the writer of Chronicles composed all the sections parallel with the books of Samuel and Kings out of these as his chief sources. With this presupposition, which Movers shares with the opponents of the credibility of Chronicles, his whole investigation must be a medley of truth and error, of one-sided, warped, and perverse remarks, along with many just and striking disquisitions, and, missing its aim, only contribute to confirm the opponent in his prejudices.

view with which the two epitomisers proceeded in their task,[1] and may be satisfactorily resolved, as I have already shown in my apol. Vers. p. 361 ff. Hävern. (Einl. ii. 1, p. 253 f.) has recently acknowledged this, though he has pronounced the deviations to be greater than they really are, as will be shown in the course of the exposition.

V. 4. In the seventh year of the sovereignty of Athaliah, and after the deliverance of Jehoash, Jehoiada the high priest made a covenant with the officers of the royal guards in the temple to overthrow the tyrant, and place the young Jehoash, whom he showed them, on the throne. Chronicles gives not only the names of these officers in v. 1, but makes the further disclosure, that the high priest, by means of these men, who entered into covenant with him, summoned to him the Levites out of all the country, and the heads of houses of Israel to Jerusalem, probably under colour of a festival, in order to make sure of their assistance in the execution of his plan. שָׂרֵי הַמֵּאוֹת are officers of war, and, as the addition לַכָּרִי וְלָרָצִים proves, of the royal body guards, not the Levites, as Seb. Schm., Dahler, and others suppose. On כרי and רצים comp. above p. 14 f.[2] As to the form מְאָיוֹת for מֵאוֹת comp. Ew. Gr. § 437.

Vv. 5—8. After all the parties initiated into the plan by the high priest had assembled, on the day of execution, he issues the necessary orders, in which he assigns to them the places they were to occupy and guard, and, indeed, according to our narrative, so that he divided those who mounted guard on the Sab-

[1] Our author wishes simply to relate, how the royal family, brought to the verge of ruin, was miraculously preserved according to the Divine promise, the tyrant Athaliah overthrown, and the rightful heir of the house of David placed on the throne of his fathers. The writer of Chronicles connects with this general theocratic object the special design of drawing a picture of the venerable high priest Jehoiada, and setting forth at large the activity of the Levites and priests in this work. Comp. Häv. Einl. ii. 1, p. 253 f.

[2] The לְ prefixed to רצים and כרי is *nota genit.*, and chosen to avoid a double construct state, comp. Ew. Gr. § 517. Hartz p. q. p. 61 has quite mistaken the sense, when he renders ויקח את שרי וגו׳ "he took the heads of houses for (or instead of) Chari and Ratsim (body guards and heralds.)"

bath into three parts, committed to one third the keeping of the king's house, stationed the second at the gate Sur, and the third at the gate behind the runners. Moreover, all who were relieved on the Sabbath were to keep the watch of the temple beside the king in two divisions. According to the narrative of Chron., in which the last named two divisions are not mentioned, those entering upon guard on the Sabbath were so distributed that the one third should be keepers of the thresholds, the second at the house of the king, the third at the gate of Jesod, and the whole people in the courts of the house of the Lord. If we compare the two narratives, it appears that, according to them, the two divisions are the same; the one division, which is to keep מִשְׁמֶרֶת בֵּית הַמֶּלֶךְ (v. 5), is evidently identical with that which is to stand בְּבֵית הַמֶּלֶךְ (Chr. v. 5), in like manner that at the gate סוּר (v. 6) is the same as that at the gate יְסוֹד (Chr. v. 5.) But is the third division at the gate אַחַר הָרָצִים (v. 6), also identical with that which was appointed לְשַׁעֲרֵי הַסִּפִּים (Chr. v. 4)? This question it is not easy to answer, and yet its solution is of the greatest importance, not only for the right conception of our narrative, but also for the right adjustment of the mutual relation of the two narratives. Hävern. (Einl. ii. 1, p. 225) had declared himself very decidedly for the diversity, and asserts that the author of the Books of Kings speaks "throughout only of the body guard,[1] the Chronicles on the contrary of the Levites *and* the body guard, and indeed so that the third, which was to guard the temple (the שׁערי הספים v. 4) are priests and Levites, the other two thirds, who were to occupy the royal palace, a gate, and the courts of the temple, are not Levites, but the royal body guard, which the author of Chronicles denotes by the general expression כָּל־הָעָם." But this last assertion is as arbitrary as false; for כל־העם is expressly distinguished from the three divisions, and another place assigned to it, namely in the courts of the temple, whereas the second division is posted בְּבֵית הַמֶּלֶךְ, and the third בְּשַׁעַר הַיְסוֹד. Now if בבית המלך here mean "in

[1] Hävern. thereby appears in contradiction with his own assumption, Vol. i. 2, p. 593, where he quotes v. 6 of our chapter to prove, that the guards and keepers of the sanctuary were Levites.

the king's palace," as Häv. assumes, the royal palace must have been situated in the courts of the temple.—The בָּאֵי הַשַּׁבָּת and יֹצְאֵי הַשַּׁבָּת "the comers in and goers out of the Sabbath" denote the divisions of the guard, which commenced their service on the Sabbath, and were relieved on the Sabbath. That by these are to be understood the Levites, on whom lay the guardianship of the approaches to the temple, appears, irrespective altogether of the addition לַכֹּהֲנִים וְלַלְוִיִּם (Chr. v. 4), from the fact that from the time of David the priests and Levites were divided into classes, each of which had to attend to the service a week from one Sabbath to the other (1 Chr. xxiii.—xxvi., comp. Joseph. *Antiq.* vii. 14, 7; and Luk. i. 5.) But there is an entire want of historical evidence, that there was in the royal guards a like division and obligation of service, whereby the assumption, that by באי השבת and יצאי הש״ here the royal satellites are to be understood, becomes very questionable. To this it is added, that according to v. 7 all those retiring on the Sabbath are to keep the guard of the house of the Lord by the king (who was in the temple), that is, to guard the king. Would Jehoiada have committed the guarding of the young king in the temple all at once to the watch relieved from the royal palace? Certainly not; and wherefore should he have appointed to this duty the very satellites released in the palace from guarding Athaliah? We must therefore concede to Chronicles that the Levites surrounded the young king (v. 7), whence it farther follows, that the יצאי השבת and באי הש״ are the Levitical temple watch, of which Jehoiada did not release those, whose service ended with the Sabbath, but retained them in the inner apartments of the temple buildings to guard the young king, while the divisions, which entered upon duty, were so disposed, that the gates and avenues to the temple were occupied by them. According to this view, which is alone based upon the words, and farther confirmed by v. 10, we must affirm the identity of the הַשְּׁלִשִׁית בַּשַּׁעַר אַחַר הָרָצִים with the third of the priests and Levites appointed to be שֹׁעֲרֵי הַסִּפִּים. Thus the difference between our narrative and that in Chronicles consists neither in this, that Chronicles makes the Levites perform that which, according to the Books of Kings, the uninitiated satellites do, as de

Wette asserts; nor in this, that our author from his political point of view speaks only of the body-guard, but Chronicles along with the Levites, who in accordance with their priestly character are made to occupy the foreground, names also, v. 5, the body-guard, who had occupied the royal palace and a temple-gate, as Häv. assumes; but in this, that in our narrative the Levites are not mentioned *by name*. According to both narratives, Jehoiada, the high priest, stands at the head of the whole undertaking, and employs for its execution in the first place several officers of the guard in his interest, who then summon the Levites and heads of the people to Jerusalem. The execution itself is so effected, that the officers of the guard take the commands of the officiating priests, and by them occupy the nearer approaches to the temple, whereby a certain obscurity arises in our narrative simply from this, that the assignment of the command over the Levites to the officers of the guard is not expressly mentioned. To this Levitical party according to both narratives is added also a military party, which in Chronicles is comprehended under the general term כל העם, whereas in our narrative besides the כל העם (v. 19) הרצים (v. 11) are also expressly mentioned. But רצים are not the whole royal guard, but only the satellites who attached themselves to their leaders (the officers of the guard) and declared for the young king against Athaliah. These, armed with the rest of the people, were stationed from the right to the left wing of the temple opposite the altar of burnt-offering and the house (the temple) around the king, that is, outside of the temple watch who immediately surrounded the king (v. 11, and Chr. v. 10).—הַשְּׁלִשִׁית מִכֶּם בָּאֵי וגו "the third part of you shall commence duty on the Sabbath and keep the watch of the king's house,"[1] for

[1] Seb. Schm. thus understands the words: *tertia pars ex vobis (omnibus) scil. ii qui veniunt Sabbatho, ex hac inquam parte erit tertia pars custodientes custodiam etc.* The sense remains the same, but on account of the ellipse involved in this view it recommends itself less than that given in the text. The words moreover refer to all the Levites except those who were already on duty at the temple. Of these a third was to keep guard at the house of the king, the other two-thirds to be posted elsewhere. Several Rabbins, with whom L. de Dieu (*crit. ss. ad h. l.*) concurs, assume on the whole only three divisions, those of the Levites, who commence duty on the Sabbath, the other two consisting of

which in Chr. v. 5 stands simply, the third part shall be בְּבֵית הַמֶּלֶךְ. These words cannot with Häv. be understood of the occupation of the royal palace. Against this is the circumstance, that Athaliah comes from the palace to the people in the temple (v. 13); that farther the officers, the body guard and the whole people are in the temple (v. 19), and only after the anointing of the king and the subsequent putting of Athaliah to death do they proceed from the house of the Lord to the royal palace. Either בית המלך here denotes, not the royal palace, but the dwelling-place of the young king in a part of the temple buildings (Vatabl., Hertz., in p. q. p. 56), or the phrase בְּבֵית הַמֶּלֶךְ means at the house = towards the house of the king. The expression used in our narrative שָׁמַר מִשְׁמֶרֶת, "to attend to the king's house, observe, guard it" (see above p. 20), is so indefinite that it can determine nothing. שַׁעַר סוּר is generally admitted to be equivalent to שַׁעַר יְסוֹד. But whether סוּר be only an error of the pen for יְסוֹד, as Movers (Krit. Unters. p. 308) and Ges. (*thes.* ii. 945) assume, or another name for שַׁעַר יְסוֹד foundation gate, remains uncertain, as the name of this gate does not again occur. The older expositors are even in doubt, whether it be a gate of the temple or of the royal palace; but the connexion decides for a temple gate.[1] The following determination of place also, "at the gate behind the runners," is obscure; for though it is natural on comparison with v. 19 to identify שַׁעַר אַחַר הָרָצִים with שַׁעַר הָרָצִים, yet the expression "gate behind the runners (satellites)" is peculiar and can only be explained by the supposition, that the satellites, when

those who retire (v. 7), but these latter are clearly distinct from the three divisions mentioned in v. 6; most expositors therefore (Jarchi, Vatabl., C. a Lap., Seb. Schm., Grotius and others) acknowledge a double division.

[1] Here the old translators have only guessed. LXX. *πύλη τῶν ὁδῶν*, Chald. תְּרַע גִּבָּרַיָּא gate of the heroes, Syr. and Arab. ܬܪܥ ܕܣܘܪ and باب السور war-gate. The Rabb. understand it by the eastern gate of the court, and explain שַׁעַר סוּר *porta recessus*, so called because at it the unclean were addressed thus סוּר *recede*, Lam. iv. 15. Comp. Meyer, *adnotat. ad Seder Olam* p. 936 and M. Fr. Beck, Rem. on the Targum of Chronicles ii. p. 220.

they accompanied the king to the temple (1 Ki. xiv. 28) had a stated place in one of the outer temple apartments, after which the adjacent gate was named. This gate lay probably in the southwest corner of the outer court, where the way was to the royal palace on Zion; see on v. 19. The following words: "and ye shall keep the watch of the house in defence (מַסָּח)," which must necessarily be referred to all the three before-mentioned divisions, prove most decisively, that all three were stationed to guard the temple and not one of them in the royal palace. מַסָּח, which the LXX. and Luther regarded as *nom. propr.*, comes from נָסַח *depellere*, and is to be taken with Maur. and Ges. (*thes.* ii. 890) in opposition with מִשְׁמֶרֶת, the defensive watch, to ward off the people. V. 7. וּשְׁתֵּי הַיָּדוֹת וגו׳ and the two parts of you, namely, all that go out on the Sabbath, that is, are relieved, they shall keep, etc.," that is, as it is more particularly stated, v. 8, they shall surround the king in all his movements (in going in and out) and let no one come within the ranges, who might endanger his life.

Vv. 9—12. Comp. Chr. vv. 8—11. After Jehoiada had issued the necessary orders, and given to the officers of the body guard, who had come into the temple unarmed to avoid observation, the spears and shields of king David preserved in the temple, the officers with the armed Levites attached to each proceeded to their places.[1] At the same time the satellites who came with them took their station with the people in the front of the court from the right to the left wing of the temple buildings before the altar of burnt-offering and the temple. There Jehoiada brought forth the young king, placed the crown upon him, and

[1] This circumstance also furnishes an important proof, that the men placed under the officers of the guard (v. 9) were not the royal body guards but the Levites. For if the officers of the guard had marched with their men to the temple, they would not have come without arms. For in that case they could not have come privately, which was quite possible on the contrary, if they came along without the body guard, and first in the temple itself took the command of the Levites, who as usual proceeded on the Sabbath to the temple there to perform their duty. On the whole the royal body guard, as such, could not have marched to the temple without raising the suspicion of a revolt, even if it had been intended to acquaint them at first with the conspiracy, which is also improbable.

gave him the testimony, whereupon they made him king by anointing and solemn acclamation.—אִישׁ אֶת־אֲנָשָׁיו "every man his men," that is, the armed Levites assigned to him. אֶת־הַחֲנִית (v. 10) stands collectively for אֶת הַחֲנִיתִים (Chr. v. 10.) The רצים (v. 11) are different from the אֲנָשָׁיו (v. 9), for they take another position than that of the אֲנָשִׁים placed under the command of the officers of the guards. Chronicles has for this the more general term כל העם, which is even more significant, inasmuch as the satellites might have been joined by many of the people, who made common cause with them; and hence in v. 13 the people and in v. 19 along with the royal body guards כָּל־עַם הָאָרֶץ is mentioned. עַל הַמֶּלֶךְ סָבִיב stands in v. 11 proleptically, as the officers with their men could not stand round about the king, before the young Joash was brought forth and anointed king, which again could not take place before the Levites and soldiers had occupied the places assigned to them. —V. 12. הָעֵדוּת signifies neither the royal robes (בגדי מלכות Kimchi, Vatabl., Vatke, bibl. Theol. p. 410) nor *insignia regia* (Cler., Dathe), nor the *phylacteria* (Grot.), nor Samuel's laws of the kingdom (Gramb. Religionsid. ii. p. 175), but the law of Moses, which is often called the testimony (see above p. 20), as Jarchi, Abarb., C. a Lap., Seb. Schm., and others, have rightly observed, and as at present even de Wette (Einl. p. 212) finds probable. The high priest presented to the young king the book of the law as the rule of his life and government according to the direction, Deut. xvii. 18 ff. Comp. Hävern. Einl. i. 2 p. 594 f. With regard to the anointing, see above p. 12, and on יְחִי הַמֶּלֶךְ comp. p. 7.

Vv. 13—16. Comp. Chr. vv. 12—15. As soon as Athaliah heard the loud shouting of the people, she came to the people into the court of the temple, and when she beheld the young king on his platform surrounded by the princes, the musicians playing and the multitude shouting, she rent her garments in terror and cried, Conspiracy, conspiracy! But Jehoiada commanded the officers of the guards to bring her out of the ranges, and to slay every one that followed her, in order that the temple might not be stained with blood, whereupon she went back to the palace

and was there slain. הָרֹצִין הָעָם is no *trajectio* for *populi currentis* (Kimchi, Cler., Dathe) but *constructio asyndeta*, "of the runners (and) the people." On the Chald. plural ending ין. See on 1 Ki. xi. 33.—V. 14. "The king stood on the platform according to right," that is, as it behoved him. הָעַמּוּד is here no pillar, but a raised stand, *(suggestus)*, which was erected at the east gate of the inner court (בַּמָּבוֹא, Chr. v. 13, comp. Ezek. xlvi. 2) for the king, when he visited the temple during the festivals (comp. xxiii. 3), and was probably the same with the brazen scaffold erected by Solomon, 2 Chr. vi. 13. Comp. my treatise, der Tempel Sal. p. 130, not.[1] For מִפְקָדֶת, see on i. 7. The שָׂרִים (v. 14) are certainly, not exclusively the שָׂרֵי הַמֵּאוֹת, but these and the other assembled heads of the people. הַחֲצֹצְרוֹת stands by metonomy for הַמַּחֲצֹצְרִים, the trumpeters, that is, the Levites blowing, 1 Chr. xiii. 8, xv. 24—28, xvi. 42, etc.; for they are different from the people blowing on trumpets. V. 15. הַבָּא אַחֲרֶיהָ, whoever follows her, *qui partes ejus sumit, ei auxiliaturus*. Seb. Schm.—V. 16. יָשִׂימוּ לָהּ יָדִים means, not they laid hands on her (LXX., Vulg., Luth., and others), but they made way for her on both sides (Chald., Syr., Jarchi, Kimchi, Maurer, and others.) שַׁעַר הַסּוּסִים = מְבוֹא הַסּוּסִים (Chr. v. 15), *via per quam equi regis introduci solebant* Vatabl., Grotius.) This gateway is not farther known.[1]

Vv. 17—20. Comp. Chr. vv. 16—21. After Joash was crowned and Athaliah put to death, the high priest made a covenant first between the Lord and the king and people, and then between the king and the people. The covenant of the king and

[1] When some older theologians, as Vitringa, *de Synag. vet. proleg. c.* 4 p. 29 ff., Lundius, jüd. Heiligth. p. 375, and others, explain them as different, it is under the erroneous impression that Solomon's scaffold was erected *in atrio sacerdotum*, whereas according to 2 Chr. vi. 13, it was put up in the outer court (הָעֲזָרָה, comp. 2 Chr. iv. 9.)

[1] Robinson (Pal. ii. p. 118) considers it identical with the horse gate mentioned, Neh. iii. 28. J. N. Tiele (in Tholuck's lit. Anz. 1844 No. 41) conjectures that Athaliah went from Zion to the temple and returned over the bridge, of which Rob. (ii. p. 64 ff.) has discovered some remains, and which Tiele also believes mentioned as the עֶלְיָה, 2 Chr. ix. 4, comp. 1 Ki. x. 5.

people with the Lord was only a renewal of the covenant which the Lord had made with Israel by Moses, Ex. xix. and xxiv. by which king and people bound themselves, לִהְיוֹת לְעַם לַיהוָה Deut. iv. 20, xxvii. 9 f., and which was based upon the "testimony" presented to the king at his coronation. Comp. Hävern. Einl. i, 2 p. 595. A consequence of this covenant was the covenant between the king and the people, by which the king promised to govern the people according to the law of the Lord, and the people engaged to be subject to the king as the lawful governor placed over them by the Lord. Comp. the first note on 1 Ki. xii. The renewal of the covenant with the Lord was necessary, as the people under the preceding sovereigns had revolted from the Lord and addicted themselves to the worship of Baal. The immediate salutary fruit of this covenant was therefore the destruction of the temple of Baal with his altars and images, and the slaying of the priest of Baal by the people (v. 18.) This temple of Baal was probably built by Jehoram and Athaliah, who introduced the worship of Baal into Judah, comp. viii. 27, and Joseph *Antiq.* ix. 7—4.—הֵימֵב stands adverbially in the sense *bene*, bravely; in fact, wholly, completely, as Deut. ix. 21. V. 19. Hereupon Jehoiada placed the temple again under its customary officers, and then brought the young king with the captains of the body-guard, the satellites and the whole people to the royal palace, and there set the king upon the throne of his fathers. פְּקֻדוֹת are not merely the sentries, but *praefecturae*, and denotes the collective body of priests and Levites, who were invested with ruling offices in the temple, of which the door-keepers formed only a part. For the enthronement of Joash not only the officiating Levites were placed under military commanders, but also the royal satellites and the people were stationed in the courts to guard the external approaches to the temple. As soon, therefore, as the object of this extraordinary expedient was attained, Jehoiada, who had arranged it, again suspended it and committed the oversight of the temple to the Levitical prefects appointed for this purpose by the law, and the distribution of the Levites and priests instituted by David, as the Chronicles relate at large from their priestly point of view. Comp. my apol. Vers. p. 370. With respect to the שַׁעַר

הָרָצִים comp. on v. 6. If its identity with שַׁעַר אַחַר הָרָצִים (v. 6) be well founded, we are to understand by it a gate of the temple, which in Chr. v. 20 is called שַׁעַר הָעֶלְיוֹן, comp. xv. 35, and 2 Chr. xxvii. 3.[1] In v. 20 this narrative is closed with a statement of the result of the whole proceeding, namely, that it corresponded with the wishes of the people, and the peace of the city was not disturbed by the overthrow of the tyrant.

CHAPTER XII.

REIGN OF JOASH KING OF JUDAH, AND REPAIR OF THE TEMPLE.

To this chapter also Chronicles (2, xxiv.) furnishes a parallel in which the deviations are again completely explained by the particular object of the chronicler, namely, to give special prominence to the share of the Levites in the repair of the temple, so that de Wette (Beitr. i. p. 98 ff.) and Gramberg (die Glaubw. d. Chr. p. 139, 149 ff., and Relgionsid. i. p. 226 and 258) could only maintain the objection that in Chronicles the history is garbled in favour of the Levites, by garbling both narratives. See my apol. Vers. p. 371 ff., Dahler i. p. q. p. 119 ff., Hertz i. p. q. p. 70 ff., Movers krit. Unters. p. 312 ff.,[2] and Hävern. Einl. ii. 1, p. 255 f.

Vv. 1—4. *Beginning, duration, and spirit of the reign of Joash.* —Concerning Beersheba (v. 2) compare 1 Ki. xix. 3.—V. 3.

[1] The reasons by which Tiele, i. p. q. p. 327, wishes to prove that it signifies not a gate of the temple, but the high bridge between Moriah and Zion, are much too weak to support such a conclusion.

[2] Movers here certainly pronounces the chronicler quite free from the charge brought against him by de Wette and Gramberg, but yet only in the very unsatisfactory way, that, imputing to our author a dishonest concealment of the truth, he declares that, according to both narratives, the Levites had embezzled the money collected for the repair of the temple, according to which de Wette at present (in the Einl. p. 255 and 264) asserts, that in Chronicles this "tacit inculpation" lying in 2 Ki. xii. 4 *is softened.*

"He did that which was right in the eyes of the Lord as long as Jehoiada the priest instructed him." כָּל־יָמָיו אֲשֶׁר *omnibus diebus suis, quibus.* אשׁר depends on ימיו, not on הוֹרָהוּ, by which connexion J. D. Mich. brings our verse into contradiction with 2 Chr. xxv. 3 and 16 ff., and then endeavours to avoid it by arbitrary alterations of the text. The instruction of Joash by Jehoiada continued as long as this true priest of the Lord lived, to whom Joash owed his life and throne. So long also Joash remained true to the covenant made with the Lord when he ascended the throne; but after the death of Jehoiada he yielded to the request of the princes of Judah, and consented to the idolatry prohibited by the covenant with the Lord, so that they served Asherim and idols, and at length went so far as to cause the prophet Zechariah, the worthy son of his benefactor Jehoiada, to be stoned to death on account of his open censure of the revolt from the Lord, 2 Chr. xxiv. 17—22. Comp. my apol. Vers. p. 415, and Mov. i. p. q. p. 160 f.—Only the worship on high places was not entirely suppressed during Jehoiada's instruction of the king. V. 4. Comp. on the standing formula of this verse at 1 Ki. xv. 14.

Vv. 5, 6. While Joash was truly devoted to the Lord, he made arrangements for repairing the temple, and for this purpose commanded the priests to collect in the land the tax to be paid to the sanctuary, and therewith to defray the expenses of repairing the temple. הַקָּדָשִׁים אֲשֶׁר יוּבָא *L. de Dieu* renders, *argentum sacrorum quod inferendum est;* grammatically more correct *quod inferri solet* (Cler.), comp. Ew. Gr. § 264.[1] This tax was threefold: 1. כֶּסֶף עוֹבֵר "money of the numbered." This expression is explained by the phrase used, Ex. xxx. 13, כָּל־הָעֹבֵר עַל־הַפְּקֻדִים all "who pass through the enumeration" shall give half a shekel as an offering to the Lord. 2.

[1] The context also requires this view, especially the arrangement that every priest was to receive it from his acquaintances (v. 6), which was not possible, if every Israelite had brought the money to the temple, because his acquaintances might not be at all times on duty. Thus the same is here intimated, which is more clearly stated, 2 Chr. xxiv. 5, that the priests were to collect it in the cities of Judah from all the people.

אִישׁ כֶּסֶף נַפְשׁוֹת עֶרְכּוֹ "money of the estimation of every soul," that is, the money, which, if any one had devoted himself or any one belonging to him to the Lord, was to be paid for the redemption of this person according to the estimation (עֶרֶךְ נְפָשׁוֹת) appointed in the law (Lev. xxvii. 1—8) for the different ages and sexes, and accordingly administered by the priests. 3. כָּל־כֶּסֶף אֲשֶׁר יַעֲלֶה וגו', "all money, which it comes into the heart of any one to bring into the house of the Lord," that is, the money, which was brought as a freewill offering to the sanctuary.[1] In Chronicles the different kinds of money to be col-

[1] The two last mentioned taxes are rightly understood by most expositors, the first on the contrary is mistaken by many, even by J. D. Mich., who has written a Mos. Recht. Although the Chald. rightly explains עֹבֵר by דְּעָבַר עַל מִנְיַן גִּבְרַיָּא *quae transit super computum virorum*, as in Ex. xxx. 13, דְּעָבַר עַל מִנְיָנַיָּא and Jarchi, Abarb., Seb. Münst., Vatabl., *L. de Dieu*, and others, have expressly pointed to this law of Moses for the elucidation of the phrase, yet by an improper reference to Gen. xxiii. 16, the false explanation, current, (Luth.), *pecunia usuaria* (Seb. Schm.), current money (de Wette, Ges. *thes.* ii. 982, and Winer *lex.* p. 689) has become generally prevalent, against which in recent times only Hertz. i. p. q. p. 72, and Häv. Einl. i. 2, p. 594, have again maintained the right interpretation. Of the incorrectness of the explanation, current coin, there can be no doubt; for even if we do not insist with Hävernick, that this must necessarily be עֹבֵר לַסֹּחֵר as in Gen. xxiii. 16, since the phrase might be abbreviated as one well known, as it actually is abbreviated from עֹבֵר עַל־הַפְּקֻדִים, yet it is decidedly against this explanation, that כֶּסֶף עֹבֵר must have referred as well to the free-will contribution as to the estimation money; but in this case scarcely any reason can be imagined, why money current with the merchant only should have been required, as not only Moses had asked and accepted, as free-will offerings for the building of the tabernacle, gold, silver, copper, purple, fine linen, and other materials from the people (Ex. xxv. 2 f., xxxv. 5, xxxvi. 5 f.), but David also had received as free-will offerings from the heads of the people, for the building of the temple, gold and silver, copper, iron, and precious stones, and other articles of value, as each one had and was willing to give (1 Chr. xxix. 6 ff.) Might not Joash have employed similar things of value, instead of money current in commerce, for the repair of the temple? The context is thus most decidedly against this explanation, and points to the arrangement, naturally occurring to every Israelite acquainted with the law, Ex. xxx.

lected are not specialized, but comprehended v. 6 in the words, "the collection of Moses the servant of the Lord and of the congregation of Israel for the tabernacle of witness, under which" are included not merely the tax of half a shekel, ordained Ex. xxx. 12 ff., for the building of the tabernacle, but also the other two contributions. Besides it is said in v. 5 of Chr., that they were to collect the money from year to year and repair the temple, which is not expressly mentioned in our narrative, but lay in the nature of the thing, as not only the estimation tax for persons devoted to the Lord must have come in annually, but also, what many expositors deny, the poll tax must have paid annually, and the repair could scarcely have been completed in one year, as under the idolatrous reigns of Jehoram, Ahaziah, and Athaliah, the temple of the Lord must have been neglected (Chr. v. 7.)

Vv. 7—10. Comp. Chr. 6—10. By this arrangement of the king, however, the repair of the temple had not been effected in the twenty-third year of his reign, because the priest did not hasten the matter (Chr. v. 5.) The year in which it was adopted is not mentioned in either narrative, so that it is impossible to determine how long it was without effect; but it was at all events so long as to satisfy the king that it was vain and ineffectual. With the consent of the priests therefore, he introduces a new arrangement. He took from the priests the collection of the money and the repairing of the temple, and caused a chest to be placed by the high priest at the entrance into the temple on the right side of the altar of burnt-offering, into which the money offered by the people for the repair of the temple was to be put by the Levites keeping the door, and commanded this arrangement to be made known in Jerusalem and to all the people. The reason of the inefficiency of the former method is not stated in our narrative. J. D. Mich., de Wette, Gramberg, Deres., and Mov. find it in this, that the priests had embezzled the money collected. But had the king entertained such a suspicion against the priests, he would not have asked for their

12 ff., where עֹבֵר also occurs; and this so much the more, as the money to be demanded was destined for the same object, for which Moses had appointed the poll-tax, namely, the building of the sanctuary.

consent to a change or to the new arrangement, much less have commanded that the door-keeping priests should put the money contributed into the chest, because no check would thereby have been put to fraud, as the door-keepers had only not to cast the money into the chest if they wished to embezzle it. The ground and occasion for the abandonment of the first and the introduction of the new measure lay simply in this, that the former had proved inadequate to the end hoped for by the king. Inasmuch as the king assigned no definite sum for the repair of the temple, but left it to the priests out of the money collected, of which a part at least, according to the law, was justly due to them for the maintenance of themselves and the worship of God, to defray besides the expense of repairing the buildings, it might easily happen, without the least fraud on the part of the priests, that the money collected would be given out for the immediate necessities of religious worship and personal sustenance, and nothing remain over for the purposes of repair. If, therefore, we look to our narrative alone, the priests might be acquitted of all blame. On the contrary, in Chronicles, it is matter of reproach, certainly not to their advantage, as de Wette still asserts, that they did not hasten with the matter, that they were dilatory in the collection of the money, as well as in applying a portion of their revenues to the repair of the temple. But the object of the chest was to separate at once the money to be collected for the building from the other moneys coming in and destined for the priests, and also to augment the contributions for the building, as it was expected that the people would give more, when the collection was appointed for the special purpose of repairing the temple, than when they were to give the legal and voluntary payments only to the priests, whereby no giver knew how much of it might be applied for building. This latter object lies explicitly enough in the words of Chr. v. 10, "And the princes and all the people rejoiced, and brought the contribution and cast into the chest until it was full. But the new arrangement adopted by the king was not confined merely to the setting up of the chest for the collection of the money, so that the priests were no longer obliged to collect money around the country, but applied at the same time to this, לְבַלְּתִי חַזֵּק וגו׳, that is, that the priests should no longer attend to the repair of

the temple. The king himself, therefore, undertook the management, that is, the superintendence of it. The words, "Receive no (more) money of your acquaintance, but give it for the repair of the house" (v. 8), have this meaning, collect no more money to defray the cost of the worship, your own necessities, and the building, but let it be applied to the repair of the temple, to which I will attend. That the meaning can be no other, appears clearly from that which, according to v. 9, the priests consented henceforth to do. V. 10. "And Jehoiada took a chest," etc., namely, by order of the king, as is evident of itself from what goes before and as it is expressly stated in Chr. v. 8.

Vv. 11—13. Chr. vv. 11—13. When the king had undertaken the superintendence of the repair of the temple, he sent his scribe, as often as the chest was full, that he, in conjunction with a person deputed by the high-priest, should count the money, hand over the sum to the overseers of the building, who paid the workmen with it and purchased materials. Instead of הַכֹּהֵן הַגָּדוֹל (v. 11) is named in Chronicles פְּקִיד כֹּהֵן הָרֹאשׁ "the deputy of the high-priest," as the high-priest effected the business either sometimes or probably always by a delegate. צרר to bind in a bag, comp. v. 23. V. 12. עֹשֵׂי הַמְּלָאכָה וגו, "that did the work, that were appointed over the house of the Lord," that is, those who superintended and conducted the building of the house. המפקדים is according to the *Kethibh partic. paul* מְפֻקָּדִים, which is quite suitable, comp. xi. 15 and Num. xxxi. 48, so that the *keri* is unnecessary.

Vv. 14—17. Vessels for the temple were not procured with this money, namely, until the completion of the repairs. What then remained over was according to Chr. v. 14 applied to this purpose. No account of the application of the money was required of the overseers of the building, as their integrity was undoubted (v. 16.) "The money of trespass and sin-offerings was not brought into the temple," that is, applied to defray the cost of its repair, but was left to the priests, as the law prescribed. According to Lev. v. 16 and Num. v. 8 in the trespass-offering restitution was to be made for the earthly trespass according to the estimation of the priest, with the addition of a fifth part in money, which money fell to the priest not only in the trespass

committed by the violation of what was to be performed or belonged to the Lord, but also in the injury of the goods belonging to a neighbour, if the neighbour, to whom otherwise the restitution was to be made, was no longer living; comp. Kurtz, das Mos. Opfer, p. 202 ff.—In the sin-offering the priest received no money, but in certain sin-offerings the flesh of the victim that was not burned upon the altar was assigned to him. Most expositors therefore assume, that the Israelites living at a distance had sent money to the priests, with which they paid for the sin-offerings, and kept the surplus, if any, to themselves. But a custom so contradictory to the law could scarcely have existed at that time, and even if it did, the words could not well be understood of such an abuse. כֶּסֶף חַטָּאוֹת is in substance identical with כֶּסֶף אָשָׁם and the double designation of the same thing is explained by this, that in the Pentateuch אָשָׁם and חַטָּאת are often combined, the ritual for each is almost the same (Lev. vii. 7, xiv. 13), and in general the notions of sin and trespass are very closely connected.

Vv. 18, 19. The brief notice of the expedition of Hazael against Jerusalem is supplemented by 2 Chr. xxiv. 23, 24. After the Syrians under Hazael had taken the Philistine Gath, Hazael sent a small body of troops against Jerusalem, which smote the much stronger army of Joash, so that the Jews lost many men, especially many princes of the people, but the Syrians took much spoil and sent it to Damascus. In order, therefore, to prevent Jerusalem from being taken by the Syrians, Joash took all the treasures of the temple and of his palace and therewith purchased the withdrawal of the Syrians. Thus the two brief accounts of the expedition harmonize and illustrate each other. There is neither a contradiction between them, as Credner, Comm. on Joel p. 57, asserts, comp. on the contrary, my apol. Vers. p. 416, nor is there any necessity for the assumption of Kimchi, Vatabl., Calm., and others, that our verses speak of an earlier expedition different from that in Chr., against which Seb. Schm. has justly declared. It did not concern the author of Chronicles to state all the historical circumstances of the war, as he only wished to show how Joash was punished for his revolt from the Lord, and his cruelty to the prophet Zechariah; in our

narrative the external occasion of the march of the Syrians to Jerusalem, and the manner in which Joash preserved his capital from conquest, are stated, while the particular course of the war is omitted. The time of the war is, v. 17, not more exactly determined than by אָז *tunc;* according to Chr., it occurred in the last year of Joash, a long time after the death of Jehoiada, the high priest, after which Joash, seduced by his nobles, had forsaken the Lord. גַּת is the often-mentioned Philistine city Gath, which, under Solomon, whose dominion extended also over the Philistines to Gaza (1 Ki. v. 1, 4), had a king Achish tributary to Israel (1 Ki. ii. 39), and was fortified by Rehoboam (2 Chr. xi. 8.) Among the five chief cities of the Philistines Gath lay nearest to Jerusalem, according to Hieron. on Mic. i., on the way from Eleutheropolis to Gaza, close upon the Jewish border, comp. v. Raum. Pal. p. 189, and Ges. *thes.* ii. 849, but was, even in ancient times, utterly destroyed, comp. Rob. Pal. ii. p. 690 f. Whether Gath was at this time subject to the kingdom of Judah or independent, cannot, from defective accounts, be determined. For, although a part of the Philistines brought presents (2 Chr. xvii. 11), that is, paid tribute to king Jehoshaphat, yet under his son Jehoram, the Philistines, with the Arabians, invaded Judah, plundered Jerusalem, and carried off the royal princes, (2 Chr. xxi. 16), whereby it remains uncertain whether those of Gath belonged to the party or not. Equally uncertain is it, when Gath was again taken from the Syrians. That it was effected by Jehoash of Israel, son of Jehoahaz, as Winer, R. W. *i. p. 46* assumes as certain, v. Raumer, as probable, cannot be inferred either from the fact, that this king recovered from the Syrians all the cities, which they had taken from the Israelites under Jehoahaz (xiii. 25), or even with certainty from this, that he smote and took captive the Jewish king Amaziah at Bethshemesh, which lay on the Philistine border (xiii. 13, 2 Chr. xxv. 21 ff.) It is only certain that Uzziah quite reduced the Philistines and razed the walls of Gath (2 Chr. xxvi. 6), after which Gath never recovered its independence, comp. Amos vi. 2. שׂוּם פָּנָיו with a following *infin.* means *proposuit sibi aliquid facere, speciatim de proficiscendi proposito,* used not only by the Hebrews, but by the Arabs, Syrians, Persians, and Turks, (see Ges. *thes.*

ii. 1109.) Comp. Jer. xlii. 15, and στηρίζειν τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ Luk. ix. 51. He resolved to advance against Jerusalem, after, as appears from Chr., the Jewish army sent against him was defeated. V. 19. "All the hallowed things, that Jehoshaphat, Joram, and Ahaziah, his father . . . had dedicated, and his own hallowed things. Joram and Ahaziah were certainly addicted to the worship of Baal (viii. 18, 27, and 2 Chr. xxi. 6, 10, xxii. 3 f.), but yet might, from political motives, and now and then even from a fit of piety, make some presents to the temple, as the service of Baal did not necessarily exclude the worship of Jehovah.[1]

Vv. 20—22. Not long after the departure of the Syrians, Joash was murdered in consequence of a conspiracy by some of his servants. Here also Chronicles (2d, xxiv. 25 ff.) completes our brief narrative. According to it the Syrians had left Joash in many diseases (מַחֲלָיִם probably wounds, which he had received from them in battle), whereupon his servants formed the conspiracy, put him to death in his bed, and buried him in the city of David indeed, but not in the sepulchres of the kings. The conspirators are called, v. 22, Jozachar the son of Shimeath, and Jehozabad the son of Shomer; in Chr. v. 26, Zabad the son of Shimeath the Ammonitess, and Jehozabad the son of Shimrith the Moabitess. The identity of the latter name is obvious; for שֹׁמֵר is only another form of שִׁמְרִית; but even that of the former cannot be mistaken; זָבָד (Chr.) is a mere error of the pen for זָכָר, and this an abbreviated form of יוֹזָכָר.—Concerning "the house of Millo, which goeth down to Silla" (הַיּוֹרֵד סִלָּא) conjectures only can be formed. Millo is without doubt the castle of this name on Mount Zion (see on 1 Ki. ix. 15), and the

[1] With this also agrees the statement, 2 Chr. xxiv. 7. "For the wicked Athaliah (and) her sons (Ahaziah and his brothers) have ruined the house of God, and also all the dedicated things of the house of the Lord they have made to be Baal's;" for it is not here said, that they made images of Baal out of the gifts of the temple, as it might appear according to the ungrammatical rendering of this verse by de Wette, "and also out of all the consecrated things of the house have they made Baals," but only that they, from their heart being given to Baal, perverted even the gifts which they offered to the house of the Lord, to the service of Baal, because by a heart divided between Baal and Jehovah, they had changed Jehovah himself into a Baal.

house of Millo probably the place of residence in this castle, the situation of which was designed to be more exactly determined by the added בֵּית־דַּד סִלָּא. Some regard סִלָּא as an abbreviation from מְסִלָּה a high way, others as a *nom. propr. loci vel oppidi* in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem. Thus, according to all the old versions, Winer in his *lex.* p. 674, and Ges. in his *thes.* ii. 958.

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